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THE

WORKS

OF

JOHN LOCKE,

IN NINE VOLUMES.

THE TWELFTH EDITION.

VOLUME THE NINTH.

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CONTINUATION OF

FAMILIAR LETTERS

BETWEEN

Mr. LOCKE

AND

SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

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FAMILIAR LETTERS

BETWEEN

Mr. LOCKE

AND

SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

CUM ante dies decem, ad amicum nostrum dom. Guenellonem scripsi, facilè credes quod te. V. C. non insalutatum præteriverim: verum mei officii, tuorumque beneficiorum ratio postulat à me aliam & salutandi & gratias agendi methodum, ne aut obitèr, aut negligentèr, id quod mihi maximè incumbit, agere videar. Præsertim cum Guenellonis nostri silentium me incertum reddat, an meæ ad ipsum pervenerint literæ, quas sane minime vellem intercidisse; ne vobis omnibus, quibus tot nominibus obstrictus sum, aut parum memor, aut parum gratus appaream, credatisque paucarum horarum intervallum ex animo meo tot tantorumque beneficiorum delevisse memoriam, quam nulla temporis diuturnitas unquam delere valebit. In iis etiam significavi quam humaniter tuus Vander Key me excepit, quam officiosè adjuvit, quo nomine hic tibi gratias iterum agendas suadet viri istius summa humanitas, quanquam illud parum est, si cum maximo beneficiorum tuorum cumulo conferatur. Dom. Veenium & optimam illius fœminam, quibus salutem verbis non facile reperio, cum nulla sint, quæ aut illorum

beneficia, aut eas quas habeo & semper habebo gratias, æquare possint; tuis tamen rogo quibus potes verbis maxime ornes. Ut me hic ulterius pergentem detinuit valetudinis ratio ad dom. Guenellonem scripsi. Amœnitas loci, & si non desidia, saltem quietis amor, & molestiæ, quam in itinere perpessus sum, aversatio adhuc detinet. Deambulationes hic, quibus quotidie prægressum ulciscor otium, valde jucundæ sunt; sed longe jucundiores forent, si aliquot vestrum expatiandi haberem socios, quod tam mei quam vestri causâ continuo opto, præsertim sic favente cœlo: nec enim credo sanitati incommodum esset, præsertim dominæ Guenelloni, cujus infirmis pulmonibus & valetudini parum robustæ prodesset maxime, credo, hic serenus & liber aër. Quid agatur apud vos, præsertim nostrorum respectu, ad me perscribas rogo; præsertim me de tuâ amicorumque nostrorum valetudine certiorem facias. Sum

Cleve, 28 Sept. 1685.

Tui observantissimus,

J. LOCKE.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

DUAS à te, vir amplissime, officii & benevolentiæ plenas hic accepi literas: nec ingratus tibi videbor, spero, si ad singula, prout oportet, non fuse respondeam, temporis angustiâ impeditus. Hoc unum enixè rogo ut des operam, ut de adventu comitis Pembrokiæ per aliquem tuorum amicorum Hagæ degentium certior fiam, transmisso ea de re, vel ad me, vel ad te, nuntio. Dux copiarum Britannicarum futurus huc adventat, si jam non adest, quotidie expectatur. Meâ multum interest, ut quam fieri potest maturè illius accessum cognoscam. Hoc cum dixero, satis scio te omnem curam operamque in eo locaturum, ut quam celerrime id mihi innotescat. De aliis alias, nam tabellarius discedit. Amicos meos, meo nomine, quam officiosissimè quæso, salutes. Vale, & me, ut facis, ama,

Cleve, 3 October, 1685.

Tui observantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir Clarissime,

SI duabus tuis amicissimis epistolis parum, vel nihil, à me responsum est, id instanti tabellarii discessui imputes, rogo, nec credas me tam rebus meis intentum tuæ vero consuetudinis & jucundissimi juxta ac doctissimi sermonis negligentem, ut omnia de meis negotiis, de tuis gratissimis literis nihil dicerem, nisi gravis aliqua subesset causa, cur de adventu comitis Pembrokiæ, quam fieri potuit citissimè, certior fierem. Sed jam quo maximè propendet animus, ad te, vir optime, & scripta tua redeo, in quibus primo accuso amicitiam tuam de me & meritis meis tam magnificè, de vestris erga me officiis & beneficiis tam exilitèr, loquentem. Hi sunt, fateor, magnæ & non fictæ amicitiæ aliquando errores, de quibus ideo queror, ut mihi aliter de iisdem rebus sentienti ignoscas, & me credas amicitiæ & gratitudinis dictata sequi, cum in eâ persistam sententiâ, aliqua me apud vos accepisse beneficia, quibus respondere verbis nec possim, nec debeam. Et nisi vos omnes in re, contra quam par est, voluntati meæ obstare viderem, tuam ego hic opem implorarem, ut hanc mihi velles eximere ægritudinem, & tuâ autoritate, quâ plurimum apud præstantissimum Veenium polles, huic querelæ tam justæ finem imponeres. Si quod videris promittere, sed heu! longum abest, his in collibus & sylvarum umbrâ, tuâ frui daretur & amicorum nostrorum consuetudine, crederem ego specimen aliquod aurei rediisse sæculi. Nam virtus, benignitas, pax & fides in sylvis solum degebant, quibus in urbanorum hominum frequentiâ vix datur locus. Sic cecinerunt poetæ: an aliquid aliud nos docent historici, hoc tempore non est mihi inquirendi animus. Gaudeo fratrem tuum convaluisse, & sine graviore aliquo symptomate. Locum illum epistolæ tuæ, ubi scriptorum tuorum memineris, non sine mœrore legi; sentio quantum ex discessu meo fecerim jacturam, & voluptatis & eruditionis, quod non legerem reliqua tua scripta, ex quibus non minorem mihi lucem promitterem, quam ex jam lectis, multo cum fructu, percepissem. Si vis ut sincerè &

apertè dicam, nullibi reperi opiniones magis dilucide propositas, argumentorum rationibus melius subnixas, à partium studiis longius remotas, & veritati per omnia magis conformes. Hoc me ex animo proferre dubitare non potes, cum me tam importunè, tam deditâ operâ, criticum tam paucis potuisse dentem malignum imprimere patet. Sed me miserum! magnam partem fructûs, quem ex istâ meâ criticâ severitate mihi proposui, perdidi. Plurima enim, quæ inter legendum notaveram, non tam tui corrigendi, quam mei informandi, feci animo, de quibus tecum ulterius inquirendum statueram. Non est igitur, quod mihi tanto ardelioni gratias agas; satis est, si vehementi nimis inquisitori, & culpandi ansas studiosè quærenti ignoscas. Quanquam non malè pictæ tabulæ indicium est, si quis cogatur in eâ quærere nævos. Utinam quæ ego meditor, eo essent scripta idiomate, ut tu poteris vices rependere, reperires te ulciscendi copiosam materiam. Quod scribis de critici critico * facile credo; quam primum enim attigi istum undecimæ epistolæ locum, videbar mihi audire obstrepentium exclamationes, quasi de religione omnino actum esset, nôsti hujusmodi hominum mores, quo minus heterodoxum aliquid possint refellere, ne nihil in causâ Dei agere videantur, tanto magis clamoribus, incusationibus, calumniis insurgunt. Fateor argumentum istud modestè proponendum fuisse, & cautè tractandum, sed tamen ejusmodi est, ut mereatur tandem summâ cum acribiâ discuti. Si omnia, quæ in sacris libris continentur, pro theopneustis paritèr habenda, sine omni discretione, magna sane præbetur philosophis de fide & sinceritate nostra dubitandi ansa. Si è contrario quædam pro scriptis pure humanis habenda; ubi constabit scripturarum divina autoritas, sine quâ corruet religio christiana? quodnam erit criterium? quis modus? adeo ut in hâc questione, si quâ aliâ, maxime fundamentali, summâ cum cautione, prudentiâ, modestiâ agendum, præsertim ab eo cui, uti credo, jam non nimium favent ecclesiasticæ potestates & theologorum classes. Sed signa cecinerunt, & ex-

* Sentimens de quelques theologiens d'Hollande sur l'histoire critique du P. Simon.

pectandus est conflictus. Ego, qui ubique solam quæro veritatem, eamque, quantum capere possum, sive inter orthodoxos reperio, sive heterodoxos, pariter amplector. Fateor aliqua esse in eo scripto, quæ mihi plenè non satisfaciunt, alia quibus respondere non possum; de illis ab authore libenter responsum acciperem, si commodum existimas, de his tuum quærø judicium.

I. Ni fallor, author sæpius utitur contra apostolorum continuam inspirationem hoc argumento, quod scil. multa ab illis dicta invenimus, quæ sine auxilio spiritus sancti dici poterant; quod tamen concessum, contra divinam sacræ scripturæ autoritatem & θεοπνευςίαν nihil concludit. Asseritur in s. scripturâ constans per omnia & infallibilis veritas. Si quid autem dicit sanctus Paulus Act. xxiii. (V. 241,) quod cœlitus ipsi revelatum non erat, id nihil detrahit certitudini scripturæ, quandoquidem ejusmodi res esset, quam certò & infallibilitèr cognoscere potuit, sine revelatione divinâ. Quæ sensibus & certâ cognitione apostolis constabant, non opus erat revelatione, ut earum historia, ab apostolis tradita, pro indubitatâ haberetur. Itaque metuo ne homines suspicentur hoc argumentum potius quæsitum, quam è re natum.

II. Explicatio illius promissi Joan. xvi. 13. quam fusè tradit p. 256. nequaquam mihi videtur posse accommodari apostolo Paulo, si quis attentè legat illius historiam Act. ix. & seq. Unde enim ille evangelii hostis, &, ut ipse alicubi fatetur, ignarus, poterat tam cito devenire mysteriorum evangelii interpres & præco, sine inspiratione supernaturali & divinâ? V. Act. ix. 19, 20.

Hæc aliqua eorum, quæ mihi inter legendum parum satisfecerunt, alia fuerunt, quorum oblitus sum: sed quid ad hæc dicat author libenter scirem. Verum cum plurima alia sunt quæ videntur omnimodam s. scripturæ infallibilitatem & inspirationem in dubium vocare, quibus fateor me non posse respondere, enixè rogo ut quid ea de re sentias, mihi explicare non graveris: multa enim, quæ in libris canonicis occurrebant, jamdiu ante tractatûs hujus lectionem, dubium me & anxium, tenuerunt, & gratissimum mihi facies, si hunc mihi adimas scrupulum. Cum summâ, quæso, amicitiæ, gratitudinis & existimationis significatione hanc inclusam hospiti

meo optimo tradas. Illiusque & tuam & Guenellonis fœminam, meo nomine salutes, reliquosque nostros omnes. Vale, & longas epistolas scribenti ignoscas, nam tecum loqui haud facile desisto.

Cleve, 6 Oct. 1685. Tibi devotissimus,

J. LOCKE.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

QUANQUAM longo usu ad alia hujus vitæ incommoda occaluit aliquatenus mens mea, à consuetudine tamen tuâ, vir doctissime & amicorum optime, me divelli, sine magnâ animi ægritudine, pati non possum. Tu enim me eruditione tuâ instruere, judicio confirmare, consilio dirigere, & amicitiâ & comitate solari solebas, quotidianum curarum mearum perfugium: sed ita plerumque mecum agi solet, ut ubi & quibuscum esse maxime cupio, refragante fortunâ, rarò permissum sit. Devorandum igitur, ut potero, hujus absentiæ tædium, quod frequentibus tuis literis levare debes, jam præsertim dum tempus & otium tibi permittunt adversarii illi, qui domi suæ prælia tibi meditantur. Hoc te in quo jam sumus sæculo expectâsse non dubito. Si candidè, & ut veritatis amici argumentorum pondere tecum agant, tibi scio non displicebunt, qui veritatem amplecteris, undecunque venientem. Sin iracundè, veteratoriè, malignè, paucis placebunt, nisi sui similibus; quicquid demum acciderit, hoc certum est, quod tu illæsus, victorque abibis, quia veritatem, quæris, non victoriam. Sed ut verum fatear, ego à rixosis hujusmodi disputatoribus non multum expecto, qui in alienis convellendis, non suis adstruendis, quærunt gloriam. Artificis & laudem merentis est ædificare. Sed pugnaces hosce sibi & curis suis relinquamus. Si quid in B——— placidius & liberalius reperisti, gaudeo: pacificorum vellem quotidiè augeri numerum, præsertim inter reformatos, inter quos nimium quotidiè seruntur lites. Inimicus homo facit hoc. Alterius sunt indolis amici, quibus hic, te favente, familiaritèr utor. Uterque Grævius

salutem plurimam tibi dicit. Verrynium sæpius quæsitum nondum domi reperi; hujus septimanæ dies aliquot extra urbem transegit; cum domum redierit, non diu insalutatum permittam. Vale cum tuâ tuisque, & me ama

Utrecht, 11 Oct. 1686.

Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir reverendissime, amicissime, colendissime,

SINE fati & ineluctabili prædestinationis vi experior in me ipso, quomodo peccandi initia quandam sensim afferunt secum peccandi necessitatem. Literis tuis amicissimis 9, & 14. Febr. datis respondendi, quam primum eas acceperam, ansam mihi eripuit rei alicujus agendæ importuna tum festinatio. Sed cum, peracto cum eo quocum mihi res erat negotio, jam decessus illius in Angliam mihi fecerit otium, satis ad literas scribendas vacare mihi videor, nondum tamen nactus sum eam, quâ aliàs usus sum, scribendi libertatem. In hoc silentii crimen rebus aliis impeditus, quasi inscius incidi miser, quod jam tempore auctum penè confirmat pudor. Sic delicta delictis cumulamus semel irretiti, & modesti pariter & pervicaces in vitiis suis indurescunt. Vides quo in statu jam sum, & nisi credere me vis omnia certa & immutabili necessitate evenire, negligentiæ huic meæ ignoscere debes, ut redeat mihi antiqua mea apud te parrhesia. De Germanâ patrum theologiâ idem tecum planè sentio. Maxima semper fuit, semperque erit Germanorum natio, & pauci sunt in tantâ scriptorum multitudine, qui non videntur eo sub aëre nati. Sed me hâc de re à tuâ opinione non esse alienum, non multum miraberis. Aliquid amplius fateor est, quod ego numeros tuos secretos notaverim, & quod tu hoc observaveris. Cave tibi & ignosce quamprimum silentio meo, ne loquacitate tibi magis sim molestus, vides me in secretiora tua penetrare. 'Scire volunt secreta domus'— & nôsti quod sequitur,—'atque inde timeri.' Magicæ

hæ metuendæ sunt artes nimis perspicaces, quibus ego non parum mihi placeo, quandoquidem ex tam jucundo tam laudabili enascuntur fonte, & id mihi testatum faciunt, quod ante omnia cupio. Scio jam mentem meam à tuâ harmonicâ quadâm sympathiâ regi planè & gubernari. Sic me orthodoxum semper fore certum est. O! utinam eodem modo & sciens fieri possem. Ut enim verum fatear, inscius tuis numeris usus sum, sed gaudeo me prodiisse tenus: vellem & in aliis rebus hoc mihi acciderit. Agnosco genium tuum, cui me ducendum totum libentur traderem. Gratias ago quam maximas, pro omni tuâ curâ & operâ, in literis, in libris, & aliis meis rebus locatâ. Utinam daretur & vices rependere. Vale, & me ama

18 Tui amantissimum,

Rotterodami, Mar. 8. 16,) (87

5 J. LOCKE.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

QUID illo facies homine, qui nec cantare par est, nec respondere paratus? Quid juvat libertate à te ipso concessâ uti, sine viribus, ad ea quæ decent præstanda, necessariis? Jucundissima tua, & floribus undique referta, epistola ad ea, quæ scribis, iterum iterumque legenda maxime invitat; ut vero calamum sumam, & aliquid meo more rescribam valde dehortatur & deterret. Etsi enim grati sit animi, argutis & facetis amici sermonibus aliquid respondere, imprudentis tamen est & parum pudici, ornatis incondita, urbanis agrestia, pretiosis vilia, vel in ipso literarum commercio reponere. Frustra igitur à te libertate donatus sum, munus sane in specie magnificum, sed nisi aliquid de tuo etiam impertire possis ingenio, plane inutile; frustra enim accusabis me tanquam in libertate tardum, cui tam parata & justa sit defensio hebetem non debere esse loquacem, nec decere χάλκεα χρύσειων, ut ut enim eo modo liber sim, parum certe videbor liberalis. Novi animum tuum novi ingenium, & quam paratus sis omnia, ab amicâ voluntate profecta, in bonam partem interpretari; hoc boni omnia consulentis non parva laus est sed male in-

terim scribentis pessima excusatio. Ea tamen fiducia fretus, en te iterum compellare ausim, melioribus studiis vacantem; si qui in eo pecco, nolo incusare vim à fatis illatam, causam sane, si qua sit, omnium maxime improbam, sed te ipsum, qui ab omni vi & coactione longissime abes, tua humanitas, tua benevolentia, tui lepores cogunt ut agnoscam, & ut fatear me tibi gratias habere, etiamsi referre non possim. Si his conditionibus mecum agere velis, en tibi ad legendas tuas epistolas paratissimum & cupidissimum: ad meas rescribendas, etiamsi cupiam, tardum, & sane tam necessitate quam officio tardum. Tu cum ista excusatione uti non potes, & maturè scribas rogo, & abundè. Id ni facias, audies me graviter querentem, te non præstare & amico & egenti id quod potes, & id quod debes, quia potes. Si jam inciperem iniquo jure communem inter nos colere amicitiam, hæc jam proponere vix animum inducerem; sed cum hac lege à primordiis amicitiæ semper viximus, ut tu properè & cumulatè omnia officia benevolentiæ præstares, ego vel in agnoscendo parcus & lentus essem, pati jam debes mores meos quantumvis malos, vetustate jam confirmatos, in quibus nihil novum, nihil insolens reperies. Vides quocum tibi res est; in hâc tamen culpâ non prorsus ingratus videri vellem, si id in se aliquid gratitudinis habet, ut qui eam, quâ se destitutum fatetur, in te miratur & amplectitur virtutem: in ea quæro mihi patrocinium, quod mihimet præstare non possum. Sed de me satis, ad majora nunc venio tua, scil. typographo haud parum irascor quod tuum, tam utile, tam doctum opus adeo procrastinet, spero jam accedente sole operarum diligentia incalescit. De Episcopii etiam tractatu gaudeo: de alio quod postulas tecum coram agam, ut enim quod res est fatear, scripseram prius ad te, nisi speraveram antehac me Amstelodamum accessurum, ut jucundissimâ illic amicorum consuetudine fruerer, imprimis tuâ, sine quâ hi ipsi veris non amœnè transeunt dies. Vale, vir præstantissime, &, ut facis, me ama,

Rotterodami, 16 Maij, 1687.

Tui studiosissimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

NONNE satis tibi est, vir clarissime, Judæum vicisse*, nisi eodem opere inter Christianos, tui amantissimum tibi etiam prorsus subjuges? Diversis fateor armis nos aggrederis, illum argumentis, me beneficiis obstrictum tenes, è quibus ille se vix credo expediet; ego certo de me pronunciare possum, me tibi semper obnoxium futurum. Quid enim rependam viro, cui non sufficit me suis cumulare beneficiis, nisi insuper me dignum reddere conetur, dum suas sibi laudes ipse detrahit, quibus me ornatum velit; & in earum partem mihi non debitam venire? Tu fateor amicâ tuâ urbanitate facilius me, quocunque velis, circumducere possis, quam ille alter sua quemquam metaphysica. Sed ne expectes tamen, ut unquam eo usque me deducas, ut concedam istam festinationem, quâ exemplar ad me primum omnium misisti, mihi quovis jure deberi. Totum hoc beneficium & festinationis & muneris tuæ benevolentiæ & amicitiæ acceptum refero. Tu forsan, prout tua est humanitas, aliquo modo æquum putâsti ei primo omnium donere, quem noveras debere ex jam degustato opere vehementissimè omnium expetere hanc dissertationem, & desiderare redintegratam sibi denuò legendi voluptatem. Hujusmodi meritum facile agnosco, nec cuiquam donare poteras hoc volumen, cui aquæ exoptatum, æque acceptum esse potuit, ac mihi. Triduum illud & amplius, uti mones, nemo videbit. Laudo ego istam tuam erga Judæum comitatem; quanquam, ni fallor, quando perlegerit, vix credet ille, sibi hoc munere tantum factum esse beneficium, ut gaudeat tam maturè hunc librum in manus suas pervenisse. De eo, quod in calce epistolæ adjicis brevi plura. Dolui te per triduum mihi tam prope tam proculque fuisse. Sed patientius ferendum, quod amicum habeam, quem plures amant. Optimam tuam uxorem, collegas, reli-

* De veritate religionis Christianæ amica collatio cum erudito Judæo, (Is. Orobio.)

quosque amicos nostros, officiosissimè quæso meo nomine salutes. Vale, & me ama

Rotterod. 11 Sept. 1687.

Tui amantissimum,

JOHN LOCKE.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

NIMIS severus profectò es, vir clarissime, tuorum erga amicos officiorum exactor, alienæ vero negligentiæ valde immemor, dum te cunctationis insimulas, apud hominem uti nôsti omnium mortalium maxime cunctatorem. Nolo igitur apud te obtinere axioma illud, quo ultimas tuas male auspicatus es, "nihil deterius amico cunctatore," sive de te ipso cogites, sive (uti aliquando meliore jure evenire possit) de me. Ego enim lentus admodum, & tamen inter eos, qui amicitiam cum fide colunt, non ultimum mihi locum vendico. Si hoc aliquanto arrogantius dictum sit, tu ipse videas. Tu alienas laudes mihi tribuis, & si illis semel mihimet placeo, ubi tandem me sistam? Istud synagogæ decretum satis, ut mihi videtur, à Judæis astutè promulgatum, ut eorum hic hyperaspites aliquid habeat, quod aliis dicat, etiamsi nihil habeat quod tibi respondeat: è consulto hoc factum credo, ut salvo honore & quantum fieri possit causa, possit ex arenâ decedere; tua enim argumentandi methodus, an nasutulis quibusdam Christianis, & nihil nisi sua probantibus, placebit, nescio; vix credo placebit Judæis, qui ea se magis implicatos sentient, quam fieri solent ab iis, qui Christianam religionem ad suum modulum exigentes, vix in ea reperirent, quod solidè Judæis opponere possent. Ego à quo librum tuum primum accepi (nam ita me cumulas, ut distinctione opus sit) tam incommodâ usus sum valetudine, ut illius lectioni vacare adhuc non potuerim. Sed jam indies convalescens, spero me non diu cariturum eâ voluptate. Interim gratias tibi ago quam maximas, & jam spero credes mihi satisfactum duplici hoc tributo, quod illud Judæi scriptum, sive characteres respicias, sive latinitatem, plane barbarum, olim perlegerim; nam

de tuo si quid dicas, cogitare debes & profiteri, quantum ego per te profecerim. Ita enim, si verum dicere liceat, se res habet. Sed nolo ulterius ea de re tecum contendere, ne tertium mihi librum mittas. Literas D. Clerici, quas tuis inclusas memoras, nuspiam reperio; spero eas Amstelodami repertum iri & brevi me accepturum. Illum, tuam, tuos, nostros, quæso meo nomine salutes, & me ames, vir amplissime,

Rotterodami, 23 Sept. 1687.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

INTER cardiaca, & uti nostri vocant, restaurantia, nihil tam efficax reperio quam amicorum benevolentiam. Tuis ultimis literis me maximè recreatum sentio. Jam diu prioribus tuis humanitatis plenis respondissem, si quid certum de valetudine meâ pronunciare ausus fuissem; subinde enim, cum, me jam sanum salvumque credideram, recidivam passus, inter spem morbumque diu versatus, distuli ad te literas dare, donec certo aliquot dierum experimento me prorsus convaluisse confiderem. Hæc cunctatio ultimas tuas amicitiæ plenas tibi expressit literas, & mihi attulit remedium utilius eo & jucundius, quod mihi a D^no^ Veenio per Helmontium misisti, summa cum cura & festinatione: quanquam frustra, famula enim per negligentiam eversa phiola inclusum effudit liquorem. Sed jam spero non amplius opus erit remediis, quamvis subinde lævia quædam sentio symptomata, quæ spero non recrudescentis mali esse minas, sed abeuntis reliquias. Hæc ad te sigillatim scribere non vereor, quia de valetudine mea ita solicitus es, ut alio modo tuæ humanitati magis gratè respondere non possim. Gaudeo vehementer te pauco sanguine redemisse quod tibi impendebat malum. Spero te ea cautione & maturè semper

usurum: quamprimum aliquam sentis gravitatem corporis, præsertim capitis vel ventriculi, ad venæsectionem tibi statim confugiendum. Hoc ni facias, de te sano magis metuendum erit, quam de me ægroto. Nos valetudinarii quoddam genus sumus hypocritarum, qui eo non proficiscimur, quo sæpius videmur tendere. Multum tibi, collegis, cæterisque amicis Amstelodamensibus debeo, quibus mea sanitas ita cordi est; nec sperare possum vitam mihi satis diuturnam fore, ut tantam benevolentiam, tuam vero imprimis, prout res meretur, possim agnoscere; hoc velim tibi persuasum habeas me, quantulus quantulus sum, totum tuum esse. Salutes, quæso, quam humillimè, meo nomine, Veeniosque, Guenellosque, & collegas, omnes, illisque dicas mihi eos tam eximios esse medicos, ut magis mihi prosint illorum vota, quam aliorum remedia. Lectissimam tuam fœminam, quam officiosissime etiam salutes. Vale, & ego ut valeam, uti facis, me amando pergeface.

Rotterod. 20 Oct. 1687. Tui, cum amore, observantissimus,

J. LOCKE.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

CUM nihil adeo corporis sanitatem foveat & restauret, ac animi tranquillitas, non dubitare potes quin jucundissimæ tuæ literæ, amoris & benevolentiæ tuæ testes, in hac, in qua diu versatus sum, infirma mutabilique valetudine, mihi maximo fuerint solatio. Aliorum medicamentorum me sæpe pertæsum, reficiebant illa tua semper grata, semper suavissima, & cum alia nauseabundus respuerem, salutifera illa sale tuo Attico condita appetentius semper desideravi. Cave igitur ut credas te mihi epistolis tuis creâsse molestiam, nisi simul credere velis ingratam fore convalescentiam, cujus tu amore, cura, studio tuo maximus fuisti fautor, nec destiterunt tantæ amicitiæ indicia decumbentem me ali-

quando erigere. Si aliquanto tardius hæc cum gratiarum actione agnosco, nôsti hominem, nec expectare debes morbum me expeditiorem reddidisse. Quanquam, si hæc tibi justa satis videri possit causa, aliquantulum procrastinavi, ut confirmatæ sanitatis nuncium tibi possem mittere, & mihi tecum gratulari convalescentiam, quæ tibi adeo curæ & cordi fuit. Doleo Orobium nobis tam cito ereptum, non quod in eo amiseris triumphi ornamentum, scio enim te, modo veritas vincat, de vincendi gloria parum esse solicitum, quamvis in illo vivente aliqua veritatis confessio non displicuisset: sed destinaveram in proximis ad te literis petere exactum eorum quæ in inquisitione passus est historiam. Ad hoc me impulit narratio cujusdam Galli, quæ nuper prodiit de iis, quæ ipse, etsi Catholicus, passus est ab inquisitoribus Lusitanis, in Goâ Indiæ. Quæ à Judæo nostro confirmari omnia, vel superari posse, facile crediderim. Quandoquidem vero ille jam ad silentes migraverit, rogo ut tu quicquid istius rei tenes memoriâ, velis chartis consignare, ne intercidat quantum nobis restat methodi istius evangelicæ testimonium. Doleo me non interfuisse collegarum convivio, non quod ostreis caruerim, in hujusmodi enim conventibus nihil mihi minus placet quam pars taciturna, & ejusmodi convivarum sermo aliquid magis sapidum & jucundius salsum habet, quam ipsa ostrea Gaurana. Salutes eos, quæso, meo nomine, uti & optimam tuam fœminam, totamque Veenii & Guenellonis familiam. Ante duas vel tres septimanas ad D^m^ le Clerc scripsi, unaque chartas aliquas misi; an recte acceperit aveo scire, jam enim istis rebus vacare incipio: ipsum meo etiam nomine salutes.

Vale, & ut ipse valeam, amando & scribendo effice,

Rotterod. 30 Nov. 1617. Tui studiosissimus,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir spectatissime,

QUANTUMVIS obfirmato animo minas meas non expavescis, senties tamen aliquando, datâ occasione, quid sit irritâsse crabronem, in eo enim genere, merito numerari possit provocatusque iratusque amicus. Nondum vidi acta illa Lipsiensia, ubi tu coram sisteris, sed euge; jam salva res est, incepi, de istius operis merito pretioque aliquomodo dubitare, quod nemo ex systematicis illis reperiret in eo tractatu quod displiceret, nihil enim argumenti aut boni aut novi deberet continere, nec quod súpra vulgus saperet, si vulgo placeret. Sed jam vapulans laudo, nec vibices metuo. Benignior his pædagogis si non voluntas, saltem vis est, quam ut eorum virgæ vulnera vel cicatrices relinquant. Conditiones subscriptionum plus semel in Angliam misi, sed hactenus responsi nihil accepi: ego data occasione iterum & ad alios mittam, quo successu nescio: hæc enim & hujusmodi, nisi præsto adsis & hæsitantes impellas, immemores moneas, plerumque negliguntur. Quod de Judæo narras, valde placet: brevi habebitis, spero, quæ sufficient ad justum volumen, in quo sanctitas officii ad plenum depicta, omnium oculos animosque in sui admirationem arripiat Dolendum plane esset tot et tanta sanctitatis exempla in tenebris latere; prodeant tandem in lucem, ut quibus fundamentis stabilitur & propagatur fides, tandem innotescat. De MS. codice ego nihil dico, ante biduum ea de re scripsit ad te Furleius noster. Inde conjicio te aliquando Wetstenium convenire, eaque occasione has inclusas illi tradendas ad te mittere ausim. Scripsi ad illum ante quindecim dies, aliquosque misi ad illum libros, aliosque postulavi, & festinatò ad me mittendos, sed nihil audio, nihil respondet. Eoque magis silentium ejus me solicitum habet, quod simul miseram duo volumina Garcilassi de la Vega D° Veenio (cum epistola, quam ad eum scripsi) reddenda, quæ

olim ab eo mutuo acceperam. Salutes illum, rogo, meo nomine reliquosque collegas. Vale, vir amicissime, & me ama, ut facis,

Rotterod. 22 Jun. 1688.

Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir spectatissime,

SIVE iratum me sive gratum existimari vellem, sentio me jam nimis diu tacuisse. Amicum amico respondisse, crabronem irritanti vindictam retulisse citius opportuit. Sed ego nescio qua ingenii tarditate nec amici nec inimici partes recte ago. An tibi hoc modo placere possim nescio, me Slado nostro (si cum eo ita agerem) valde displiciturum sat scio, qui hujusmodi lentulos æquo animo ferre non potest. Editionem MS. [a] de quo cum Wetstenio transigebas, dolendum plane est non procedere, & metuo, si jam non procedat illius impressio, ne intereat tam luculentum historiæ monumentum; quod sane multis, quæ jam omnium manibus versantur, libris longe anteferendum existimo. Multa cum voluptate legi Clerici nostri Tentamen, ut ipse vocat, de antiqua Hebræorum poesi: non parum lucis inde affulsurum psalmis, reliquisque quæ in S. S. extant scriptis metricis, minime dubito. Totum psalmorum librum, sibi ita restitutum, edi optarem: incites illum rogo, ut quantum, per alia negotia liceat, hoc opus festinet. Cuidam meo amico in literis. Hebræis versatissimo cum hox dixissem, credere non potuit; exemplo persuasus jam credet. Plura habui dicenda, sed adventus amici ex Anglia hic me interpellat, adeo ut in aliud tempus sint rejicienda. Vale & me ama

Rotterod. 30 Julii. 1688.

Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.

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[a] Historia Inquisitionis.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

FAMULUS meus, Amstelodamum res suas agens profecturus, meam non prius rogavit veniam quam instaret decessus, adeo ut ad te scribendi tempus non dabatur. Doleo profecto adeo labefactatam in familia tua valetudinem. De morbo & curatione illius absens nihil audeo pronunciare, nec quidem opus est; cum tamen amicos doctosque paratos tibi habeas medicos. Unum tamen permitte ut moneam, si, uti sperare videris, erumpant tandem variolæ, velim ut in medicamentis assumendis & stragulorum operimentis caveatur regimen calidius, unde in sanguine excitatur fervor, non sine magno ægroti malo & discrimine. Hoc vel invito extorsit mihi meus in te tuosque amor, & expertus loquor. Tuorum valetudo eo spero in statu est, ut de aliis loqui liceat, præsertim tibi haud ingratis. Furleius noster principi ante decessum adfuit, & coram allocutus est, ut illius opem contra persecutionem hac in provincia, si unquam alias, certe jam intempestive cœptam, efflagitaret. Rem ita ursit, ut placuerit principi epistolam scribere Bailivio de Kenmerland, qui Foecke Floris ministrum ecclesiæ Mennonitarum jusserat ex autoritate synodi, intra octiduum solum vertere, & ea ex ditione exire, ni mallet carcere includi. Historiam istius Foecke Floris ex aliis, quam ex me, melius cognosces. Furleio enim nostro ante hanc causam ne de facie quidem notus. Sed communem christianorum rem in ejus libertate agi ratus, causam illius prono animo suscepit, & strenue egit; si enim abfuisset παῤῥησία, nihil promovisset. Hujus epistolæ sufflamine repressum audio in præsens persecutorum fervorem. Si quid de hac re amplius inter Mennonitas vestros tibi innotuerit, fac nos certiores. Vale, vir optime, cum integra tua familia: sic animitus opto,

Rotterod. 24 Nov. 1688.

Tui studiosissimus,

J. LOCKE.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

QUOD imprimis hinc decedens desideravi, ut scil. te, vir amplissime, reliquosque amicos Amstelodamenses amplecti daretur, in eo omnia quasi deditâ operâ mihi maxime adversari videntur. Primo glacies & festinatio, deinde in ipso, itinere pluvia intercepit. Die enim sabbati ultimo hinc Hagam profecturum, ut tibi nobilem fœminam ad Amstelodamum etiam cogitantem compellarem, imber satis violentus me Delphos transeuntem perfuit quod incommodum Hagæ etiam passus sum. Ita totus madidus accessi ad illam, quæ nocturnum illud iter, quo ad vos ea nocte perrecturus eram, tanquam sanitati meæ nimis periculosum non dissuasit solum sed & prohibuit. Sic pluvia illa quæ jam à duobus mensibus pene unica, quasi designato, unius dieculæ vobiscum spem, qua hinc gestiens decessi, prorsus abstulit. In aula omnia tam parata ad abitum, tam moræ impatientia inveni, ut primo favente vento principem classem conscensurum nemo dubitet. Istud destinatum iter ad vos incepi, non tam vento, quam principis religioni confisus, quam vix credidi die dominica velle iter ingredi, etiamsi ventus orientalis invitaret; sed jam nihil aliud expectatur, quam ventus navigationi idoneus, quo simul ad naves convolandum erit. Heri vesperi huc redii, & quamdiu hic languescendum set nescio; hoc certo scio, nihil molestius esse quam ad fastidium usque laborare otio, & tamen ad id, quod maxime velles, tempus non suppetere. Quam vellem mihi dare apud vos horam unam, vel alteram! Vultus, sermo, amplexus amicorum nescio quid habent, quo se explere anima mea anxie desiderat. Quo vos in me sitis animo, quo ego in vos nullum credo est dubium, nec augeri posset mutua nostrûm amicitia valedicentium alloquio; opto tamen videre, dextras jungere, ac me iterum vobis totum tradere, cujus totus sum. Hoc si mihi jam non concessum fuerit, alias spero futurum: non enim de me tam male ominor, ut nullam credam fore diem, quæ nos iterum conjungat. Multa sunt, quæ hanc navigandi occasionem non mihi omittendam suadent: amicorum expectatio, res meæ

privatæ jam per aliquot annos neglectæ, piratarum frequentia, & parum tutus alias transitus, & nobilissimæ fœminæ, sive cura, sive amicitia, qua cum iturus sum. Velim hoc tibi persuadeas, me hic aliam patriam reperisse & pene dixeram parentes. Quod enim in illo nomine carissimum est, benevolentiam, amorem, charitatem, quæ ad conciliandos homines conjungendosque fortiora sanguine habent vincula, apud vos abunde expertus sum. Habeo hic amicos semper mihi colendos, imo & invisendos, si res & dies patiatur. Hoc certò scio, quod decedo cum animo revertendi, ut cum illis solidum aliquando et illibatum capiam gaudium, quorum humanitate effectum est, ut à meis absens, & in communi omnium mœrore nullam sentirem animi ægritudinem. Te quod attinet (vir omnium optime, amicissime, dilectissime) cum tuam cogito doctrinam, animum, mores, candorem, suavitatem, amicitiam, satis in te uno reperi (ut cæteros taceam) quo mihi semper gratulari potero optime locatam & fructuosissimam aliquot annorum apud vos moram : nec scio an aliquod mea vita tempus æque jucundum habitura sit, certe magis proficuum nondum habuit. Deus O. M. te omni felicitatum genere cumulatum, familiam, patriam incolumes conservet & custodiat, ut diu sis ecclesiæ omnibus bonis utilis. De meo erga te animo qualis jam sit, qualis futurus sit, nihil addam, cum meum spero amorem non magis mihi notum & certum esse quam tibi, cujus in me amicitiam tot beneficiis testatam habeo, ut quicquid de ea literis tuis jucundissimis dicas, jam jam penitus persuaso facile persuadebis. Optimæ tuæ uxori liberisque, Veeniis, Guenellonisque omnibus plurimam salutem dicas ; te mihi apud illos advocatum & patronum relinquo, ne quid gravius statuant in hominem tot beneficiis, devinctum, si non fugientem, minus urbane certe, quam oportuit, valedicentem. Sed ita sunt fere res humanæ, ut nihil præter voluntatem in nostra sit potestate, ea totus ad eos feror, ea singulos amplector, quæ mihi nunquam ad beneficiorum memoriam, ad grati animi confessionem defutura est. Vale, vir colendissime, & me, ut facis, ama

Rotterod. 16 Feb. 1689. Tui in perpetuum amantissimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

VEREOR ne nomine negligentiæ tibi suspectus sim, quod tam diuturno utor silentio, quod nec tuis meritis, nec meæ voluntati nec nostræ denique amicitiæ omnino convenit. Scias velim me cum solo non animum mutâsse qui tibi idem qui olim est, & ubicunque terrarum fuero, idem futurus est amoris & reverentiæ plenus. Sed à meo in patriam reditu, amicorum vel invisentium, vel visendorum consuetudo, vel rerum mearum hinc inde dispersarum ad præsentem usum quærendi, & colligendi labor, vel aliqualis ad remp. (absit verbo invidia) si non accessio, saltem ne privatum otium publicis negotiis commutarem, cura & excusatio, & quod gravissimum omnium est, maligno hujus urbis fumo labefactata valetudo ita me occupatum tenuit, ut vix momentum mihi vacui temporis relictum fuerit, ex quo primum huc appulerim. Prima, qua in terram descendi, hora, ad D^{m} Guenellonem, festidante calamo & vernacula lingua, inter salutantium turbam scripsi, ut per eum te, cæterosque amicos meos Amstelodamenses, salutarem. Quicquid enim lætum jucundumque hic reperi me monuit aliquid illic relictum esse, quod non cum minore voluptate recordarer, quam quo hic oculis usurparem. Burnetus episcopus Salisburiensis designatur. In parliamento de tolerantia jam agi cœptum est sub duplice titulo, Comprehensio scil. & Indulgentia. Prima ecclesiæ promœria extendenda significat, ut ablata cæremoniarum parte plures comprehendat. Altera tolerantiam significat eorum qui, oblatis conditionibus ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, se unire vel nolunt vel non possunt. Quam laxa vel stricta hæc futura sint, vix dum scio, hoc saltem sentio, clerum episcopalem his aliisque rebus, quæ hic aguntur, non multum favere, an cum suo vel reip. commodo, ipsi videant. De solutione, de qua ad te ante discessum scripsi, expecto à te aliquid quotidie. Vale, & me, ut facis, ama

Lond. 12 March, 1689.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir doctissime,

TOLERANTIAM apud nos jam tandem lege stabilitam te ante hæc audiisse, nullus dubito. Non ea forsan latitudine, qua tu et tui similes, veri et sine ambitione vel invidia christiani, optarent. Sed aliquid est prodire tenus. His initiis jacta spero sunt libertatis & pacis fundamenta quibus stabilienda olim erit Christi ecclesia. Nulli à cultu suo penitus excluduntur, nec pœnis objiciuntur, nisi Romani, si modo juramentum fidelitatis præstare velint, & renunciare transubstantiationi & quibusdam dogmatibus ecclesiæ Romanæ. De juramento autem quakeris dispensatum est; nec illis obtrusa fuisset malo exemplo, illa quam in lege videbis confessio fidei, si aliqui eorum istam fidei confessionem non obtulissent, quod imprudens factum multi inter illos & cordatiores valde dolent. Gratias tibi ago pro exemplaribus tractatus de tolerantio, & pace ecclesiastica, quæ mihi misisti, compacta recte accepi, incompacta nondum ad manus meas pervenerunt. In vertendo de tolerantia libello aliquem Anglum jam jam occupatum intelligo. Opinionem illam pacis & probitatis fotricem ubique obtinere optarem. Acta inquisitionis jam pene descripta gaudeo, uti spero brevi proditura, opus utile & expectatum. Legem de tolerantia sancitam ad D^m le Clerc misi, quo interprete intelliges quousque extenditur hæc libertas. Vale & me ama

Lond. 6 Jun. 1689.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

PRIORES tuas intercidisse valde doleo, nihil enim à te proficisci potest quod mihi, uti convenit, non sit valde carum. Novissimas tuas 29 Maii datas, amore & bene-

volentia usitata plenas, accepisse lætor, quod tuæ tuorumque valetudinis me certiorem faciunt. S^cti^ Officii historiam oscitantia bibliopolæ in ipso partu ita hærere doleo. Prolegomena tua D^a^ Cudwortha & ego valde probamus, & capitum indicem, quem tam amice promittis, avide expectamus, ut ista sciagraphia operis tui structuram prælibemus, interim optantes, ut quam citissime integrum volumen Christiano orbi maxime proficuum, & pene dixeram hoc tempore necessarium, prodeat. Illic enim fons omnis persecutionis, sub prætextu religionis, illic fundamentum tyrannidis ecclesiasticæ, quam minores sectæ eo exemplo animatæ prædicant, affectantque. Sed quo tendat, quas tragœdias ubique quando parum adoleverit, editura sit, eo in speculo, qui sibi oculos non eruunt, facile videbunt. Eus lectionem sibi & utilissimam & jucundissimam fore spondet D^a^ Cudwortha, quæ paternæ benignitatis hæres omnem de rebus religionis persecutionem maximè aversatur. Gratulatur sibi se in partem amicitiæ, qua patrem amplexus es, successisse; te officiosissime salutat, plurimum æstimat & veneratur, unumque hoc dolet, quod non utatur lingua utrique communi, ut ex commercio literarum amicitiæ & eruditionis tuæ, quem optaret, fructum perciperet.

Historiam tuam de surda loquente duplici exemplo hic apud nos confirmare possum. Duo juvenes, utrique surdi, quorum alter à doctore Wallis, celebri illo Oxonii matheseos professore, alter à doctore Holder theologo edoctus, loquelæ usum didicit. Utrumque juvenem novi, & verba proferentem audivi, distincte satis & articulate, tonus solum vocis parum erat ingratus, & inharmonicus. De altero quid factum sit nescio, alter adhuc vivit, legendi scribendique peritus, & à quo illum primo loquentem audivi (viginti enim & plures sunt anni) uxorem duxit pater-familias. Vir est ex generosa prosapia nec diu est à quo illum viderim. Uxori liberisque tuis, Veeniis Guenellonisque & collegis nostris plurimam salutem meo nomine dicas. Vale, vir amplissime, & me, ut facis, ama

Oates, 18 Jun. 1691. Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

QUOD grandem tibi jamdiu destinaveram epistolam ideo accepisti nullam. Quæsivi vacuum aliquod mihi tempus dari, ut tecum liberius & fusius colloqui possem, & gratias agere pro ultima tua & amicissima epistola, cui jamdudum responsum oportuit. Sed nescio quam rerum etiam non mearum importunitate ita mihi omne otium sublatum est, ut ne propriis quidem & domesticis negotiis vacare licuerit. Cave autem credas me publicis negotiis implicitum; nec valetudo, nec vires, nec rerum agendarum imperitia id patiuntur. Et cum mecum repetam, quid à tribus jam mensibus adeo impeditus egerim, incantamenti instar videtur, ut quisque dies afferret negotiorum onus aliorum ex aliis nascentium, quæ nec sciens prævideram, nec cupiens evitare poteram.

Indicem librorum & capitum historiæ S^cti^ Officii, Domina Cudwortha & ego, legimus simul, magna cum voluptate. Hæc prælibatio magnum excitavit in utroque integri operis desiderium, quod jam sub prælo esse cum gaudio, à quodam Scoto, non ita pridem ex vestra Batavia redeunte, accepi. Bonis cum avibus procedat opus christiano orbi imprimis utile. Hospes mea, tyrannidi ecclesiasticæ inimicissima, sæpe mihi laudat ingenium & consilium tuum, laboremque huic operi tam opportune impensum; creditque frustra de religionis reformatione & evangelii propagatione tantum undique strepitum moveri, dum tyrannis in ecclesia, vis in rebus religionis (uti passim mos est) aliis sub nominibus, utcunque speciosis, obtinet & laudatur. Quid tandem factum est cum D^re^ isto theologo, qui tam mira docuit de angelis, in libro suo, de spirituum existentia[a]? an non expertus est fratrum suorum, pro religione, pro veritate, pro orthodoxia, zelum? mirum, si impune evadat. Apud nos prælum, quod video, nihil pene parturit, quod alieni cives scire, aut le-

[a] Balthasar Bekker.

gere multum desiderabunt. Ita obstrepunt undique arma, ut musarum voces vix audiantur. Imo lis ipsa theologica jam consopita magnam in partem conquiescit, utinam cum animarum & partium concordia. Sed ea spes vana est, nec tam facile componuntur theologorum controversiæ. Bene est, si incertas aliquando ferant inducias: ut mutua charitate sanentur penitus quis expectabit? Magna mihi apud te excusatione opus est, ut tam diuturno silentio ignoscas. Id tibi persuadeas velim, hoc non alicui voluntatis alienationi, non decrescenti & minus fervidæ amicitiæ tribuendum: te ut semper maxime æstimo, amo, amplector, semperque amabo. Fac itidem ut facis, & me ama.

Lond. 14 Nov. 1691. Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

SI ex literarum tarditate de amicitia mea judicaveris, metuo ne me suspiceris ad officia nimis ignavum, à quo me profiteor, cum res postulat, longè alienum. In hoc literarum commercio, si qua utor libertate, id plerumque evenit, cum ad eos scribendum sit, quibus benevolentiam amicitiamque meam, re potius quam verbis, testatam fore mihi in animo est. Hoc an tu probaveris nescio; ita ego tibi persuasum velim. Nemo enim omnium, qui te magis suspicit, æstimat, diligit, quam ego: id nunc facio & semper faciam.

Non placet Wetstenii in edenda Sancti Officii historia cunctatio; hoc unicum in ea mora placet, quod te identidem relegente & sub incudem sæpius revocante, limatiorem perfectioremque habebimus. Hoc unum ut te moneam, jam occurrit, scil. alterum hujusmodi volumen, duodecim circiter ab hinc annis, Monspessulis extitisse, ab hoc distinctum; duo enim illic tunc erant hujusmodi volumina.

Zelus theologicus, uti video, semper & ubique idem est, eodemque modo procedit: quid tandem devenit paradoxorum ille de angelis auctor, scire cupio; si evasit, mirum est, quanquam eò res inclinare videbatur, quo tempore scripsisti, favente etiam Amstelodamensium prædicatorum desidia, vix tamen veniam ei datam credo. Hujusmodi orthodoxiæ propugnatores non solent errantibus ignoscere. Presbyteriani in Scotia quid agant, mallem ex aliis quam ex me scires. Zelus illic in frigido isto aere per antiperistasin incalescere videtur. Satis fervide disciplinæ suæ operam dant, an satis prudenter, an satis modeste, ipsi videant. Sed ubi causa Dei agitur, ut nôsti, & ejus ecclesiæ, quid sibi theologi non putant licere, autoritatem suam soli Deo acceptam referentes. D^m le Cene semel vidi Londini, sed semel tantum, idque obiter, apud nobilissimum Boyleum, adeo ut sermocinandi locus non esset, de rebus illius, vel amicis Amstelodamensibus; ab eo tempore parum Londini commoratus sum, valetudini rure vacans, pulmones enim non ferunt fumum urbis. Episcopum illum, cui D^m le Cene commendasti, credo pacis ecclesiasticæ sincere studiosum. Solicitus sum de valetudine Veenii nostri, angusto est pectore, et metuo pulmonibus ejus, metuo etiam ne praxi continuæ jam à multis annis assuetus, rure otio intabescat. Opto illi diuturnam & validam, jucundamque senectam, multum illi debeo, quod semper gratus agnoscam. Recte facis quod persecutionem religionis ergo in pontificiis solum damnas. Si quam inter christianos sectam seligas, cujus crudelitatem insecteris, à reliquis laudaberis, quanquam persecutio ubique eadem est & plane pontificia. Quælibet enim ecclesia sibi verbis arrogat Orthodoxiam, re infallibilitatem. D^a Cudwortha te omni humanitate & æstimatione resalutat. Saluta quæso uxorem, familiamque tuam, Veenium, Guenellonem, omnemque istam stirpem officiosissime, meo nomine. Vale, Vir colendissime, & me, ut facis, ama,

Oates, 29 Feb. 1692.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

De miraculis post Apostolorum tempora certiorem fieri cupio. Non ego satis versatis in historia ecclesiastica, ut quid de iis statuam, nôrim. Rogo igitur obnixè, nam mea interest scire, an post apostolorum tempora edita fuerint, in ecclesia christiana, miracula, quibus auctoribus & qua fide memoriæ tradita, quam frequentia, & an ad Constantini imperium, vel diutius, duraverint, & quis fuit ille Thaumaturgus, et quid ab eo actum est, cujus tam speciosa appellatio ad nos pervenit. Non quæro miraculorum, quæ in scriptoribus ecclesiasticis memorantur, catalogum: sed an constat, ex fide dignis historicis, fuisse vera miracula, an raro vel sæpius edita, & quamdiu donum illud ecclesiæ concessum.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, s. p. d.

Vir amplissime,

AB acceptis tuis 27 Junii datis, ad urbem accedens hodie primum archiepiscopum conveni. Quamprimum tuum audivit nomen, agnovit acceptam à te contra Judæum disputationem, excusavit silentium, quod ob valetudinem, oculorum debilitatem, & alia quæ intervenerunt impedimenta, integram nondum perlegerat. Laudavit maxime illud opus, unà cum authore, & gratias, quas nondum egit, se habere agnovit. Historiam Sancti Officii jam valde opportunam judicavit. Capitum indicem summa cum voluptate & approbatione perlegit, & cum tuum de dedicatione consilium aperuissem, ea verborum urbanitate & honore, eo vultu accepit; ut, si adfuisses, hoc sibi non ingratum fore certus esses. Mitte igitur quamprimum dedicationem, novi viri modestiam, & laudo consilium tuum, quod prælectam ab eo prius velis quam editam. Illi monstrabo, quod scio honori ducet, & si quid mutandum videtur, indicabo. Interim dixit se habere librum, Lusitaniæ editum, de quodam actu Inquisitionis in Lusitania, in cujus exordio occurrunt paparum bullæ, aliaque diplomata, quibus potestas Sancti Officii concessa & stabilita est, accuratius collecta. Nomen authoris non retinebat memoria, & liber ipse,

illius bibliotheca nondum in ordinem redacta, ab ipso quæsitus, non repertus est. Volumen est, ut aiunt, in 8vo. Brevi ipsum iterum revisam, eam curam cuidam domesticorum mandabit, ut ante reditum meum præsto sit liber. Tunc tibi nomen authoris præscribam, & si nondum videris ipsum librum, tibi mutuo commodabit reverendissimus archiepiscopus. Grævium, Guenellonem, Veeniosque omnes meo nomine saluta. Clerico nostro, quem officiosissime saluto, ante aliquot septimanas, an menses dicam, scripsi; an pervenerint ad illum literæ meæ, ignoro; nam ab isto tempore nihil ab eo accepi. Hoc quæso illi indices, ne me tarditatis, si mea interciderit epistola, suspicetur. Fœminam tuam dilectissimam liberosque summo cum affectu saluto. Vale, vir dignissime, &, ut facis, me ama,

Lond. 30 Jun. 1692.

Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

DE adventu librorum tuorum certior factus, qua potui festinatione Londinum me contuli, ut quæ tu de iis jusseras præsens curarem. Archiepiscopus quamprimum accesseram, maximas se tibi gratias habere professus est, opus sibi perplacere, seque à libri tui lectione, hoc etiam tempore negotiis maximis occupatissimo, abstinere non posse: sed magnam ejus partem summa cum voluptate ex quo accepit, percurrisse. Verum quo animo accepit, legit, laudavit, tunc demum rectius intelliges ex ipsius verbis, cum ad te destinatas literas scribere vacaverit. Episcopus Salisburiensis multa & his similia mihi dixit, & se adeo detentum immersumque esse argumento libri tui (quo historiam inquisitionis, ultra quam expectari poterat, dilucidam accuratamque tradidisti) ut ad te scribere, donec totum pervolverit, non potuerit; se interim gratias tibi amplissimas red-

dere. Comes Pembrokiensis multa de te cum laude, & pro munere tuo per me gratias agi jussit, donec ipse sua manu agnoscet acceptissimum à te beneficium. Bathoniensem & Wellensem episcopum in domo procerum quæsivi, sed non aderat: cumque extra urbem habitet, hora una vel altera à meo hospitio, eum in tam brevi mora convenire non poteram. Tuum autem librum illi traditum, uti reliquis omnibus, certo scio. Cæterum curavi ut D^us^ Clarke communis noster amicus eum adeat, ut excuset librum incompactum à te missum, quod ego reliquis quibus opus fuit feci, quanquam non omnino opus fuit. Mireris jam merito cur ego, qui non minus meo, quam horum virorum, nomine, gratias agere deberem, tantus cessator essem, ubi festinandum potius esset, ut neglecta proprioris loci commoditate, rus huc commigrarem, antequam ad te darem literas. Dicam quod res est; sanus urbem adii, sed unius dieculæ mora adeo mihi mutata est valetudo, ut respirare vix potuerim. Ingravescebat quotidie malum, & tam cito me urbe expulit, ut neglecta maxima rerum illic agendarum parte aufugere necesse esset.

Librum tuum huc mecum attuli, ut tuo beneficio D^na^. Cudwortha & ego habeamus hac hyeme noctes Atticas, quas nihil tam augere poterat, quam authoris præsentia, & quos secum semper adfert, sales Attici. Ego huc die Saturni reversus sum; hodie libri tui lectionem inchoandam, qua spe, qua voluptate, facile dijudicare potes, sed credas velim quas tibi habeo gratias non esse minores. Ex tuis 10 Octob. datis, quamprimum mihi innotuit quot & quibus huc destinaveras exemplaria, egi cum hospite meo & bibliopola Smith ut singula singulis quam ocissime traderentur, antequam liber uspiam apud nos prostaret venalis, quod diligentissime factum est; nec ea in parte interiit aliqua tam eximii & tam opportuni operas gratia. Sed quid tandem statuendum est de MS. codice autographo, quod ego in tutissimo aliquo loco inter archiva reponendum suaderem, ut in perpetuum .... effrontes adversarios faciat fidem. Quinam vero is sit locus tutissimus libentur tecum inquirerem.

Episcopii vitam tua manu æternitati consecrandam

gaudeo: sed qua lingua? cum enim præfigendam eam concionibus illius Belgicis (ut reor) jam proditurís, metuo ne illius quoque historia prodeat, etiam in lingua mihi minus familiari. Gratulor tamen erudito orbi hæc tam docti tam eximii viri monumenta, cujus omnes lucubrationes ab interitu conservandæ.

Jam apud nos prodiit Joannes Malela Antiochenus, quem diu & anxie petivit amicus meus Toinardus. Rogo igitur ut cum Wetstenio agas, ut quamprimum aliqua illius libri exemplaria ad illius manus pervenerint (quod scio maturius futurum, quam si ego unum hinc ad eum Amstelodamum mittere vellem) unum ad Toinardum quam citissime transmittendum curabit, pretiumque meis rationibus adscribat, quod ego solvam. Malela author est nec magni nominis nec fidei. Sed in dubio aliquo chronologico se lucem inde mutuaturum speravit Toinardus, & cupio ego maxime illius inservire desiderio; igitur rogo ut hanc rem cures ut mihi gratissimam.

De Palinodia, quam scripsisti, in novissimis tuis 7 Nov. gratias ago maximas. Eodem tenore & ubique proceditur. Habeo enim de Gallis apud nos, quod possit ferre secundas, imo quod superat omnibus bene trutinatis. Sed de his alias si cupias, jam enim nimis turgescit pagina.

Clerico nostro ante 15, Guenelloni ante 10 dies scripsi. Spero jam omnia pacata & amice composita in ista familia, cui omnino omnia bona opto. Hos cæterosque meos omnes, imprimis optimam tuam uxorem liberosque, quæso, meo nomine officiosissime salutes, & me, ut facis, ama,

Oates, 28 Nov. 1692.

Tui amantissimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

QUAMPRIMUM ad urbém accessi nudiustertius, reverendissimus archiepiscopus me ad se vocari curavit, & ut conveni, de te & libro tuo multa cum laude præfatus, tandem dixit se ad te scripsisse negotiorum multitudine hactenus impeditus, paratamque epistolam sigillo muniens mihi in manus tradidit, ut inscriptione, illo dictante, mea manu exarata, tibi transmittendam curarem, quod libens suscepi. Insuper mihi tradidit libellum concionum nuper à se editarum, ut etiam ad te illum transmitterem, quod itidem diligenter curabo, & quamprimum hinc ad vos proficiscentem quempiam invenero ei tradam ad te perferendum. Hactenus de archiepiscopi mandatis. Ad me quod attinet multas tibi & habeo & refero gratias pro ea, quam ex historiæ tuæ lectione percepi voluptate. Illud credo exhausisti argumentum; certe illud mysterium iniquitatis mundo palam exposuisti, è tenebris in lucem protractum. Multarum rerum importuno impeditus interventu nondum integram perlegi, post brevem ac in urbe moram rus reversurus, pergam porro ut satisfaciam ei quod in me excitâsti desiderio. Novissimis tuis literis mihi pro more gratissimis responsum, hac in charta expectare non debes. Festinans ad urbem eas rure reliqui, illuc cum rediero, ad otii & quietis recessus, opportunior dabitur tecum colloquendi occasio, hic vix respirandi mihi conceditur facultas. Interim amicitiam humanitatemque tuam consuetam agnosco. Te maximo cum affectu saluto, tuosque omnes, imprimis dilectissimam conjugem, liberosque Veenios, Guenellonesque nostros, omniaque tibi prospera & felicia precor. Vale & me, ut facis, ama,

Lond. 10 Jan. 1692-3.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

JUSTE meum à te reprehendi silentium libens fateor nec si severiore manu delinquentem correxisses, queri possim. Etsi enim pudet me adeo tardum fuisse ad officia, ut non nisi bis monitus excitarer: gaudeo tamen me tanti apud te fuisse, ut me primis vocibus male respondentem, iterum tentandum arbitrareris: excusatione valetudinis, quam ipse tibi pro me suggessisti, uti non possum. Gratias enim Deo, ex quo ad te ultimas dedi, recte satis pro more meo valui, nec tamen sine omni causa à scribendo abstinui. Maximam partem libri tui summa cum voluptate perlegeram, progredi mihi in animo erat, et ad finem usque pervolvere, ut de toto opere, à capite ad calcem perspecto, eas quas possem gratias laudesque redderem. Non multum aberam à fine libri, & pauca illa capita, quæ mihi restabant legenda, spem quotidie fecerunt, intra paucos dies potuisse absolvi. Sed sic negotiorum & invisentium series, dum nova & inexpectata continuato ordine se invicem exciperent, me de die in diem protraxerunt & adhuc protraxissent, nisi novissimæ tuæ tam amica objurgatione, labentis temporis immemorem, primisque cogitationibus indormientem excitâssent. En habes fatentem reum, negligentem agnosco; sed eo consilio, eo animo negligentem, quem culpare vix possis: aut si qua fuerit culpa, ei spei toties deceptæ forte fuit (amicitiæ certe non fuit) quam eandem, quæ erga te semper fuit, nec minime, dum ego tacerem, siluisse profiteri gestio. Historia tua inquisitionis, ut de ea parte quam legi libri pronuntiem, mihi maxime placet: ordine, methodo, perspicuitate, testium fide mihi plane videtur opus absolutissimum, nec video, quid in eo desiderari possit. Et ab omnibus quotquot consulere contigit, maxime laudatur. Clericum nostrum nullas à me jam a pluribus hebdomadis (ut scribis) accepisse doleo; scripsi enim ad eum, ante duos circiter menses, iis inclusas à Comite Pembrokiensi ad illum misi literas, quas intercidisse vereor, quandoqui-

dem D^us^ Clericus in novissimis suis 11 Septemb. datis de iis ne verbum quidem. Me illum de Spenceri obitu monuisse recte memini, & credo ea in epistola, quandoquidem tu id hactenus ignorare videris. Bibliorum Castellionis editionem, qualem tu narras, apud vos designari valde lætor, & viris literatis apud nos gratum acceptumque fore opus, non dubito: Post diuturnam rusticationem nuperus meus in urbem reditus nondum mihi concessit plurimorum doctorum colloquia; prout datur occasio, alios consulam, quamvis vix credi potest elegantem editionem, tam elegantis versionis, notis etiam aliisque scriptis eo spectantibus tam docti viri ornatam, non omnibus non placituram. Filiam tuam dilectissimam, quam febre continua laborâsse scripseras, tibi suisque sanam salvamque restitutam spero, reliquos tuos nostrosque recte valere gaudeo. Eos omnes, quotquot sunt, meo nomine, rogo, quam officiosissime salutes, quibus diuturnam sanitatem & prospera omnia largiatur Deus optimus maximus; te imprimis sospiter. Vale, & ut facis perge me amare,

Lond. 10 Nov. 1693.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

QUALEM te, Vir spectatissime, semper crediderim, talem re ipsa experior, ad omnia infucatæ amicitiæ officia natum, qui non solum pronus in beneficia bene merendi, nullam prætermittis occasionem, sed, quod difficilius est, eadem facilitate ignoscis amicorum delictis, qua alii offensiones objurgant. Diuturnum meum silentium graviori reprehensione dignum, simulas tardas tandem à me literas acceperis, quasi prima vocula penitus deletum condonas. Agnosco beneficium candoremque illum tuum, quo tuis, quo omnibus gratus, in quo me tuto repono: dum non ex literis amicitiam meam æstimas, nec silentio imminutam suspectus fueris. Id enim tibi persuasum vellem, tempus mihi & verba

deesse posse, amicitiam, qua te amplector, quâ semper amplexurus sum, mihi deesse vel labefactari nunquam posse.

In historia tua inquisitionis, ex quo novissime ad te dedi literas, non magnos progressus feci, quotidianis negotiis hactenus impeditus. Quod si ex duobus primis libris, quos summa cum voluptate perlegi, de duobus reliquis judicare licet, nihil potest esse in eo genere perfectius, nec ad perfectum illius tribunalis cognitionem aliquid desiderari potest. Laudo studium tuum, quod plerisque in locis ipsa authorum verba citaveris, etsi nihil contineant quod tu breviore & elegantiore stylo exprimere non potuisses, si lectori placere unica esset cura. Sed cum quo genere hominum tibi res est, recte tecum reputâsti, & eorum crimina, fraudes & sævitia ex eorum ipsorum ore optime discenda; vix enim credi poterant, si ab extraneo vel adversario afferrentur. Quæ autem ex aliis hauseris authoribus tam sero, ut editioni inseri suis apte in locis non potuerint, tuique in marginibus libri adscripseris, ea si nimis longa non sint, ut tibi nimiam transcribendi creent molestiam, si mihi per otium excerpta transmittere velis, gratissimum mihi facies, ut meum etiam librum iis ornem, & suis omnibus numeris perfectum habeam, ut nihil desit huic mysterio iniquitatis revelando. Literas tuas, per Hibernum illum transmissas, ille suis manibus rus huc ad me profectus mihi tradidit. Talem illum reperio, qualem tu descripseris, nec desunt hic tantæ spei fautores. Editionem illam Castellionis, quam meditantur elegantem, libens viderem, & nostratibus gratam fore, nullus dubito. Quod de harmonia evangelica doctissimi mei Toinardi ad me scribis, de editione illius ego quidem nunquam cogitavi, nec quod amplius est, unquam cogitabo, nisi ut ipsum authorem ad opus suum luce dignissimum edendum, qua data occasione, & quantum possum, impellam & instigem. Non quod ego hunc thesaurum literaro orbi invideam; ego summa ope, donec commercio literarum uti licuit, editionem ejus semper efflagitavi. Sed non ea (ut mihi visum est) fide mihi concreditum est hoc exemplar, ut ego harmoniam hanc, illo inscio aut inconsulto, typis mandarem. Si mihi integrum esset,

statim sub prælo mitterem, sed dum ille vivit, aut aliunde à suis spes est proditurum, nulla quantivis pretii mercede è meis manibus in publicum elabi patiar. Nuper prodiit hic liber, quem Toinardo gratissimum fore scio. Si reperire possis viam, qua ad illum transmitti potest, mihi feceris acceptissimum beneficium. Liber quem ad illum mittere vellem, est Joannes Mallela Antiochenus, Oxonii non ita pridem editus. Si occasionem mittendi reperias, emptum apud vos librum, sive compactum, sive incompactum, prout commodissimum erit vecturæ, quæso ad illum mittas, à Monsieur Toinard à Orléans. Gaudio Veenium nostrum sanum salvumque in urbem & ad praxin rediisse. Vir, qui in artis suæ exercitatione à juventute usque consenuerat, continui tædio otii, credo, languesceret. Illum & Guenellonem nostrum uxoresque cum tota familia, quæso meo nomine officiocissime salutes. Pacem, concordiam, & amicitiam inter eos stabilitam spero, omnia fausta, uti par est, illis & tibi tuisque opto. Salutes etiam rogo optimam fœminam tuam, liberosque, quos sanos salvosque tibi Deus diu conservet. Vale, vir humanissime, &, ut facis, me ama,

Oates, 13 Jan. 1694.

Tui amantissimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, s. p. d.

Vir colendissime,

ETSI meam in scribendo tarditatem prorsus excusare nequeam, me tamen eo processisse negligentiæ, ut per totos novem menses te insalutatum præterirem nolim credas. Diuturnum nimis silentium haud invitus fateor, quod cum nec literarum tuarum satietas, nec imminuta erga te voluntas mea effecerit, facilem apud te veniam inventurum spero. Puduit sane ad te iterum scribere, antequam, opere tuo penitus perlecto, meam de eo sententiam sive potius gratulationem potuerim prescribere. Quantum voluptatis, quantum lucis ex accurata tua in-

quisitionis historia perceperim, vix dicere possum. Ita scripta est, ut decet historiam scribi, ubi non ad fastum aut delectationem inventa, vel ornata res est, quo facilius incautis lectoribus fucum faciat, sed omnia authorum fide & documentorum testimoniis rata & suffulta sunt: adeo ut quorum maxime interest redarguere, ne hiscere quidem audeant. Opus illud tenebrarum & occultas nefandæ crudelitatis artes in tam claram lucem ex latibulis suis protraxisti, ut si qua restarent in istis ecclesiæ, sive potius Antichristi, satellitibus, humanitatis vestigia, puderet illos tandem tam iniqui, tam horrendi tribunalis, ubi omne jus, fas, & justitia susque deque habetur. Verum si hæc opprobria, quæ refelli non possunt, nihil illos moveant, reformatis saltem & ex sævissimo hoc ergastulo ereptis, animos addet, contra tam inhumanam tyrannidem, quacunque specie sive religionis sive concordiæ, irrepere iterum conantem. Ea est disputantium sæpe contentio, ea argumentorum subtilitas & longa series, ut non sit uniuscujusque se argutis & fallaciis innodatum expedire, & de summa controversiæ judicare. Si quis vero è plebe indoctus tuam perlegat historiam, sentiat statim illic certe deesse religionem, charitatem, justitiam, ubi violata æquitatis regula, omnique juris dicendi per orbem terrarum methodo, tam inhumana, tam crudelia perpetrantur, & ab evangelii genio remotissima: ideoque dignum opus existimo, quod in cujusque gentis linguam vulgarem traducatur, tam distincta enim & exacta methodo omnia tradidisti, & testibus exceptione majoribus confirmâsti, ut nihil in eo desiderari videatur, quod vulgus erudiat, literatos instruat, omnesque stabiliat. Si quid forte tibi, uti mones, occurrat, ad hoc argumentum pertinens, ex libris ante editam historiam tuam non visis, rogo ut per otium, si non sit nimis operosum, ad me velis transmittere; omnia enim huc facentia in librum tuum ad marginem, aptis in locis adscripta, conjicere animus est, uti nuper ex itinerario in orientem hoc quod sequitur excerptum, paginæ 276. libri tui inserui:

Le St. Office, ce redoutable tribunal fameux par ses injustices, & ses cruautés, regne ici [à Malthe] plus tyranniquement qu'à Rome même, & on m'a fait cent fu-

nestes recits, donc je vous épargnerai la tristesse, seulement vous dirai-je, que les confesseurs, qui par tout ailleurs sont tenus de garder le secret sur peine de feu, sont ici dans l'obligation de les réveler toutes les fois qu'il s'agit d'un cas d'inquisition, quoiqu'ils ne l'avoïent pas, car ce seroit le moyen d'empêcher les gens de se confesser: mais c'est une chose qu'on sçait pourtant bien. Cependant pour en ôter tout soupçon, on demeure quelquefois un an ou deux sans dire mot après quoi l'Inquisiteur envoye prendre un homme, & lui demande s'il sçait bien pourquoi il l'a fait saisir, alors c'est à lui de se ressouvenir de tout ce qu'il jamais avoir dit; que si malheureusement la memoire ne lui fournit pas, ou que le délit, dont il est coupable, ait été si secret que le seul confesseur en ait eu connoissance, & que se reposant ladessus il ne veuille pas avoïer c'est fait de cet homme-là, on l'étrangle dans la prison, & puis quelque tems après on dit à ses parens qu'il n'est pas besoin de lui porter manger. Heureux sont ceux qui ne sont point assuejettis à ce joug. Du Mont nouveau voyage au Levant $\frac{155}{475}$. imprimé en 12° à la Haye, 1695.

QUAS minatus es prolixiores literas avide expecto, & si sic ulciscaris silentium meum, quomodo remuneraberis diligentiam? Theologiam tuam tam brevi iterum proditurum gaudeo, pauca in ea emendanda facile crediderim; quanta quanta addideris, ex eodem erunt fonte, & augebunt apud lectores pretium. In magna æstimatione apud ecclesiæ Anglicanæ theologos scio. Quid in posterum futurum sit, nescio, audio enim nonnullos Calvinismum amplexuros, & prædestinationem (sic inter illos convenit) palam scriptis propugnaturos. Quot & quales in partes suas pertrahet nova hæc paucorum & adhuc privata societas, nondum conjicere licet. Latent omnia & secreto peraguntur, & si ex auctoribus, quorum nomina mihi amicus quidam secreto in aurem dixit, rem metiri libeat, non credo longe evasurum, nisi aliunde oriatur hoc consilium, aliosque habeat fautores. Si quid ultra privata aliquot inter se colloquia producat, hoc nonnullorum molimen dies indicabit, & tunc quid velint, quo tendant, rectius judicabimus. Sed hæc hactenus. Dolet certe tantam inter nos loci esse intercapedinem: si vicinus

essem, haberes me consultorem quotidie ostia tua pulsantem. Pauci admodum sunt limati judicii homines, quibuscum poteris liberè de speculationibus quibuscunque, multo minus de rebus religionis disserere. Deest mutua charitas, deest candor, & ut suæ quisque ignorantiæ velum obtendat, non facile dat veniam alienæ. Nec dubia quæcunque licet proponere, nisi paratus venias te totum illis tradere, & in verba jurare, vel censuris onustus hæreticus abire. Non hoc de meipso queror, tanquam aliquid passus ab iniquo amicorum judicio; sed tamen jucundum est in proximo habere, quem de maximis minimisque aperte & audacter consulas. Libri mei de Intellectu Humano secunda editio distrahitur, celerius quam credere possem, nec adhuc invenit dissertatio illa, utcunque heterodoxa, oppugnatorem. Utinam eo esset sermone conscripta, ut tuo uti, de universis eo in opere contentis, judicio liceret. Urgent aliqui versionem, quærit traductorem bibliopola, & sperat brevi repertum iri, nam mihi non vacat. Vix per valetudinem & succrescentia quotidie negotia licuit mihi, nisi lento gradu & intercisis temporibus, tuam perlegere historiam, quanquam legendi voluptas me vix patiebatur ingressum avelli. Bibliopola efflagitat, tamen, ut versionem recensere velim, ut si qua à meo sensu aberraverit corrigam, quod sane vix recusare possum. Sed quid his te tædio prolixioris epistolæ jam fatigatum detineo? Vale, &, ut facis, me ama,

Oates, 26 Oct. 1694. Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

MAGNA cum voluptate tuas accepi & legi: etsi enim affectum erga me tuum nullatenus fuisse imminutum plene persuasus essem, nihilominus, post tam diuturnum silentium, literas tuas videre non potuit non esse gratissimum. Historiam meam inquisitionis calculo tuo probari, est quod mihi gratulor. Scio judicium tuum

esse candidum ac limatissimum. In præconiis vero quæ addis agnosco propensissimum tuum erga me affectum, qui omnia quæ probas vero majora tibi repræsentavit. Ego veritati litare studui, & tribunal illud ita exhibere, prout ipsi doctores pontificii, imo inquisitores id nobis depingunt. Scio quidem, quando sparsim in ipsorum libris procedendi modus describitur, & fucatis coloribus palliatur, non ita patere ejus injustitiam & fœditatem, quam quando omnia simul inter se connexa nude, sine fuco, omnium oculis exponuntur. Non crediderim quenquam, ne quidem ex acerrimis inquisitionis patronis, me malæ fidei insimilaturum; et si quis id ausit, statim autorum, quorum nomina margini passim adscripsi, testimoniis redargui poterit. Sed quam dispari fato libri prodeunt? Tu historiam meam dignam judicas, quæ in cujusque gentis linguam vernaculam traducatur. Romæ vero, 19 die Maii, hujus anni, edicto cardinalium, in tota rep. christiana inquisitorum generalium, condemnata est, ejusque lectio severissime prohibita, sub pœnis in indice librorum prohibitorum contentis. Decretum hoc, quo & alii libri condemnantur, triduo post, videl. 22 Maii, fuit publicatum & affixum ad valvas basilicæ principis apostolorum, palatii S. Officii, & in acie campi Floræ, ac aliis locis solitis & consuetis urbis. Sed mitiorem sententiam quis ab inquisitione expectet, contra historiam, quæ artes ac crudelitates ipsius, quas occultas omnibusque ignotas esse cupit, à tenebris erutas, palam totius mundi oculis exponit, tribunalque hoc non sanctitate venerandum, sed injustitia, crudelitate, fraudibus, & imposturis execrandum exhibet? Aliter enim, si vere describatur, exhiberi nequit. Quæ ego ex aliis autoribus, quos postmodum mihi videre contigit, annotavi, & quæ in posterum in aliis, qui forte mihi ostendentur, reperiam, libentissime ad te mittam. Vidi quæ ex itinerario Du Mont annotâsti, quæ optime illo quem designâsti loco margini historiæ meæ adscribi possunt. Sed, ut ingenue dicam, valde dubito, an narratio illius vera sit. Malæ fidei ipsum neutiquam accuso: sed fieri facile potest, ut peregrinatores, non diu in regione aliqua commorantes, incidant in homines legum & consuetudinum patriarum non admodum peritos, nonnunquam etiam mendaces, ex quorum ore quædam veritati minus

consentanea, sine accuratiore investigatione, annotant. Qualia multa in itinerariis eorum, qui patriæ nostræ mores & consuetudines describunt, observavi. Ratio dubitandi est: quia video omnes doctores pontificios, necnon omnia decreta ecclesiastica solicite admodum urgere, arcana confessionis non esse patefacienda; imo ne hæresin quidem sub sigillo confessionis revelatam; solummodo sacerdotibus injungunt, ne hæresin confesso absolutionem impertiantur, sed omnibus quas possunt rationibus hortentur, ut in judicio coram inquisitoribus juridice confiteatur. Scio quidem, non omnia quæ legibus præcipiuntur, exacte in praxi inquisitionis observari, & sub specioso confessionis non revelandæ prætextu, simpliciores inescari posse, ut ingenue, etiam quæ inquisitoribus ignota sunt, confiteantur, quæ à sacerdotibus porro inquisitoribus revelari possunt, neque à tali impostura tribunalis illius sanctitatem abhorrere credo; attamen, quia omnes ipsorum constitutiones, instructiones & leges, omnia illius ecclesiæ decreta contrarium præcipiunt, non id affirmare ausim, nisi autor sit probatus, cujus nec peritia nec fides in dubium vocari queat. Quare loco, quem mihi suggessisti, ex itinerario Du Mont, addi posset, si vera sit illius narratio, exinde evidenter liquere inquisitorum praxin sæpe adversari inquisitionis instructionibus & legibus: inquisitoresque unice tantum spectare, qua ratione miseros captivos per fas & nefas decipiant, atque ita, fraudibus irretitos, misera morte perdant. Post hasce scriptas, tristis me de subita optimi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis morte nuntius non leviter perculit. Destinaveram ipsi Theologiæ meæ Christianæ exemplar; pridie autem, antequam tradi potuerit, mortuus est. Ecclesiæ reformatæ tanto patrono, tam prudenti, perito, pacis amantissimo antistiti orbatæ, statum doleo. Utinam Deus, qui potens est etiam è lapidibus Abrahæ filios excitare, alium nobis substituat, illi si non parem, quod vix sperare ausim, tamen vestigia ejus, quantum fieri potest, proxime prementem! Ille tibi & dominæ Masham vitam ad seros usque annos producat. Vale, & me, ut facis, amare non desine,

Amstelod. 12 Dec. 1694.

Tui amantissimum,

P. à Limborch

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

LIBRUM tuum à bibliopola, & epistolam tuam 12 datam, recte accepi, utrumque gratissimum, & quia tuam, & quia à te. Epistolam tuam, à capite ad calcem, summa cum voluptate perlegi, gratulorque filiæ tuæ nuperæ talem illi obtigisse patrem, cui nec mens defuit, nec viscera. Qualis inde fuit nonnullorum animus christiano homini esset mirandum, nisi inter hujusmodi zelotas christianæ religionis diu versatus essem. Sed ubique ejusdem farinæ homines reperire est, qui an salutem quærant animarum, an evangelio quæstum faciant, judicent alii; ego quod doleam, quod indignor, hic, illic, undique video. Theologiam tuam Christianam, quamprimum otium nactus fuero, diligentius perscrutabor; his enim jam fere studiis mihi vacandum censeo, tantoque impensius me tibi vicinum jam opto, quod erepto nobis magno illo & candido veritatis indagatore (ut cæteras illius virtutes taceam) vix jam habeo, quem de dubiis theologicis libere possum consulere. Quantum virum respublica Anglicana, quantum columen ecclesia reformata amiserit, alii judicabunt. Ego certe à multis annis stabilem, candidum, sincerum, summo meo cum damno & desiderio, amisi amicum, *Tillotson*. V. *Birch's* Life of him, p. 364. 1. ed.

Addenda tua ad Historiam Inquisitionis, quamprimum rus rediero, locis suis inseram, novum amicitiæ tuæ monumentum. Recte mones de excerptis ex itinerario Du Mont. Nec enim ut reliqui tui scriptores (qua usus es cautione) pro teste citari potest, tum quia reformatus, tum quia peregrinus. Ego vero illius verba non inidonea judicabam, quæ fidem facerent isti, quæ ex tota pontificiorum œconomia enascitur; illos scil. quicquid præ se ferant, non omissuros tantam rei suæ bene gerendæ & hæreseos extirpandæ occasionem, quæ ex confessionibus possit oriri: nec aliter confessiones tacitas esse, si quid habeant momenti, quam ut laicis, & quibus non opus esset, non evulgarentur. Hæc ego raptim inter urbis negotia & laborantium pulmonum anhelitus, ut scires

tua munera, quibus me tam magnifice cumulâsti, ad me salva pervenisse. Si ita silentium meum ulciscaris, dubitari possit, an non commodum fuerit peccare: scias enim velim de tuis epistolis, quod de Ciceronis orationibus jure dici posse, optimam esse quæ longissima est. Die Veneris novissimo ad urbem appuli, in hospitio meo inveni literas Clerici nostri 7 datas, quibus brevi responsurus sum; interim rogo, ut illum Guenellonemque nostrum meo nomine salutes; utrique gratias agam pro epistolis mea manu, ubi otium & solatium ruris nactus fuero, hic enim laborant pulmones, nec longam in urbe patietur valetudo mea moram. Uxorem tuam dilectissimam liberosque, Veenium nostrum optimamque uxorem illius saluto & Grævium Ultrajectensem, cui ego debeo epistolam, & illius humanitati nondum respondisse pudet. Vale, & perge, ut facis, me amare,

Lond. 11 Dec. 1694.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

ULTIMAM meam epistolam recte ad manus tuas pervenisse gaudeo. Autographum sententiarum inquisitionis Tholosanæ Romani in manus meas incidisse mirantur: quod N. N. sacerdos quidam ab episcopo Hollandiæ ad ipsum missus, ut libri possessorem ex ipso resciscat, affirmavit. N. N. imprudenter me eum à Furlæo accepisse respondit; verum alium ejus esse possessorem, cujus nomen ignorabat; aiebatque librum à te olim visum Monspeliis. Ego dixi N. N. librum à te in Gallia visum alium esse ab hoc. Addit ille, sacerdotem, rogâsse, ut ex me nomen possessoris exquirat, Respondi ego, me nomen illius ignorare, illud semel me ex fratre ipsius audivisse, sed penitus illius oblitum esse: & licet scirem inconsultum esse illud sacerdoti indicare; quia hoc tam solicite inquiri judicem, ut possessore

detecto, ingenti pretio exemplar hoc sibi redimant, ac Romam mittant, ut ita occasionem habeant me falsi accusandi. Idem sibi videri aiebat. Addidi ego, optâsse me, ut nomen Furlæi non indicâsset: sed quoniam vox emissa reverti nequit, nihil, ulterius esse aperiendum: sed paucis tantum respondendum me possessoris nomen ignorare. Hoc in se suscepit, sed non recte servavit; nam ex fratre suo postea nomen hoc rescivit, & proculdubio sacerdoti indicavit. Nam à me rogatus, se nescire ait, an indicaverit; affirmare se non posse, nec quod indicaverit nec quod non indicaverit. Hoc certum est, nomen sacerdoti innotuisse, quia alius postea Furlæum, ad quem hæc scripseram, accessit, & possessorem nominavit, prout tibi Furlæus scripsit. Spero librum à te jam emptum, ac Furlæum illius esse possessorem. Ita omnes illorum conatus irriti erunt. Laudo ego Furlæi prudentiam, quod à sacerdote testimonium de libri authenteia exegerit, & sacerdotis candorem, qui id tamen luculenter dedit. Interim si forte exemplar ipsum nacti fuissent, & Roman misissent, non video quâ ratione volumen, quod edidi, supposititium dicere possent. Adeo enim ævum illud barbarum redolet, historiasque singulares illius temporis refert, ut tale quid à quoquam nunc temporis fingi minime queat. Præstat tamen id in manibus non esse illorum, quorum interest mysteria hæc iniquitatis tegi, & coram sole non propalari. Vides hic duo adhuc additamenta ad Historiam Inquisitionis epistolæ huic adscripta, quæ, si operæ pretium videatur, reliquis junges. Lutheranus quidam professor Kiloniensis, contra theologiam meam Christianam, exercitationes Anti-Limborchianas edidit. Ita Romæ & in Germania vapulo. Librum satis, ut audio, crassum nondum vidi: sed in Actis Lipsiensibus ejus compendium legi. Verum in ejusmodi antagonistam ego calamum non stringam. Non pugnant illi homines, quantum ex Actis illis mihi colligere licet, pro veritate; sed pro recepta opinione, decretis humanis, & autoritate ecclesiastica. Orthodoxiæ illis norma est consensus cum doctrina Lutherana. Contra tales frustra disputatur. Non enim operæ pretium est, ut inquiramus quid ecclesia Lutherana doceat, quod ex libris & decretis illius ecclesiæ satis notum est, sed, an illius doc-

trina vera sit, & à scriptoribus divinis dictata. Ita papatum ubique reperimus, & sub specioso orthodoxiæ conversandæ prætextu propria dominatio stabilitur. Sic orthodoxia semper penes potentiorem erit, veritasque alia erit Romæ, alia Genevæ, alia Wittenbergæ. Hæc incommoda vitari nequeunt, si humana placita orthodoxiæ κριτήριον sunt. Quæ in illis exercitationibus maxime odiosa occurrunt, Lipsienses accurate annotârunt. Observavi hanc in illis malignitatem dicam, an inconsultum zelum; quod si in autoribus, quos recenset, quædam reperiantur aut convitia aut inclementius in Remonstrantes dicta, ea solicite indicare soleant, verbisque odiosissimis exprimere. Nescio quo suo facto Remonstrantes inimicitiam eorum in se provocaverint, nisi forsan liberiore veritatis inquisitione, & dissentientium fraterna tolerantia. In ipsos enim calamum nunquam strinximus, neque ego in eos scribam, aut me à criminationibus eorum purgabo; non enim me illis purgatum dabo, nisi me aliis, quibus jam placeo, ingratum reddam. Itaque silentio & contemptu illos ulciscar. Sed aliud quid est quod te velim. Marcus Teuto in gratiam reverendissimi Bathoniensis ac Wellensis in se suscepit versionem vitæ Episcopii, à me conscriptæ, in linguam Latinam. Varia ego citavi ex epistolis ecclesiasticis præstantium ac eruditorum virorum, & ex actis Remonstrantium synodalibus, quæ cum à me è Latino in Belgicum sermonem translata sint, ipse è Belgico in Latinum vertere non debet, sed prout in ipsis libris Latine leguntur, exhibere. Destitutum autem se illis queritur, nec usquam se eos reperire posse. Non dubito quin in multorum Anglorum bibliothecis reperiantur. Si tua opera eos habere possit à quopiam, magnum illi non tantum facies laboris compendium, sed & versionem efficies & meliorem & gratiorem. Ego, si quid hac in parte illi prodesse queas, mihi prestitum agnoscam. Vale, vir amplissime, mihique dilectissime,

Amstelod. 26 Apr. 1695.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

QUAMPRIMUM ego novissimas tuas 26 Aprilis datas acceperam, statim Londinum scripsi, & quantum in me est curavi, ut libri, quos ad opus suum desiderat Marcus ille noster, sicubi reperiri possint, ei suppeditentur. Eo diutius responsum distuli, ut quid in hoc & altero illo negotio Tholosano factum sit, certiorem te facerem; sed nec D'Aranda, nec alter, cujus curæ librorum perquisitionem commisi, hactenus quicquam rescripserant, sed ex eorum silentio nolim ego male ominari.

De autographo, an Furleii jam sit, rectius ex ipso quam ex me cognosces: non quod ego negligens ea in re vel otiosus fuerim procurator: sed cum per valetudinem Londinum ea tempestate adire non auderem, totum negotium amico nostrûm communi commisi, viro prudenti & sedulo, cui scirem rem cordi fore; & ne mora circuitu literarum per manus meas transeuntium officeret, post primum quod ab amico Londinensi accepi responsum, quo intellexi illum omnem navaturum operam, ut rem transigeret, monui ut recte ad Furleium scriberet, ut ex illo resciret quod scitu ad rem recte perficiendam adhuc opus esset. Hoc ab eo factum nullus dubito: si quid amplius à me præstari possit, omnem operam, curam, industriam me in eo locaturum pro certo habeas.

Quod de Oxoniensibus nostris dicis, quanquam nihil fando audiverim, facile crediderim: quod Kiloniensem adversarium negligis, laudo; quodque ab aliis inter se dissentientibus vapulas tanto magis æstimo, veritatis enim sinceris, & incorruptis authoribus sic fieri solet. Pro Theologia tua Christiana jam denuo à me tibi reddendæ sunt gratiæ, non quod bibliothecam volumine, sed me scientia auxerit. Hac enim hyeme, in quo consisteret fides christiana, diligenter apud me cogitando, ex ipsis scripturæ s. fontibus hauriendum duxi, semotis quibuscunque sectarum & systematum opinionibus, & orthodoxiis. Ex intenta & accurata N. Testamenti lectione novi fœderis status & evangelii doctrina mihi ap-

paruit, ut mihi videbatur meridiana luce clarior, nec quid & fides christiana dubitari posse, sincero evangelii lectori, mihi persuasissimum est. Ideoque cogitata mea in chartam conjeci, ut ea melius partium inter se convenientiam, & harmoniam, & fundamenta, quibus inniterentur, sedate & per otium contemplarer. Cum omnia in hoc meo symbolo sana, & verbo divino ubique conformia videbantur, theologos consulendos duxi (reformatos videlicet) ut quid illi de fide senserint, viderem. Calvinum adii, Turretinum, aliosque, quos ita id argumentum tractâsse fateri cogor, ut quid dicant, quid velint, capere nequaquam possim; adeo dissona mihi in illis omnia videntur à sensu & simplicitate evangelica, ut illorum scripta intelligere, nedum cum sacro codice reconciliare, non valeam. Tandem spe meliore tuam in manus cepi theologiam, nec sine summo gaudio legi, cap. viii. lib. v. quo intellexi aliquem reperiri theologum, cui ego non plane essem hæreticus. Ut in libro tuo legendo ultra pergerem, nondum satis vacui temporis nactus sum. Nihil mihi optatius esse possit, quam te videre, & te coram, quæ commentatus sum, legere & explicare, ut limato & incorrupto judicio subjicerentur. Hæc tibi in aurem dicta sunto, nam me hoc trâctasse argumentum tibi soli communicatum volo. Saluto Veenios, Guenellones tuamque imprimis familiam. Vale, &, ut facis, me ama,

Oates, 10 Maii, 1695.

Tui amantissimum,

J LOCKE.

Joanni Locke, Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

UTRI nostrum diuturnum ac pertinax illud silentium imputandum sit, ignoro. Importunus sim, si à te, negotiis publicis occupatissimo, ad singulas meas responsum efflagitem, aut silentium tuum silentio ulciscar. Amicitia sincera rigorem illum adversatur, neque epistolarum æquali numero, sed fide ac charitate mutua

constat. Interim dulcissimo consuetudinis nostræ fructu jam ultra annum carui. Ultimæ enim tuæ, quibus me respondisse memini, decimo Maii die anni præcedentis scriptæ sunt. Salutem mihi à te aliquoties dixerunt D. D. Clericus & Guenellonus, & literas mihi à te brevi scribendas nuntiârunt, quas tamen hactenus frustra expectavi; hoc autem negotiorum tuorum, quibus obrutus es, frequentiæ unice adscribendum duco. Aliquoties tibi scribere gestii; sed veritus sum, ne importunior scriptio ab amico occupatissimo responsum minus tempestivum extorquere videretur. Nunc vero, cum munus tibi honoratissimum, à primoribus Angliæ demandatum esse, constans ad nos fama pertulit: silentium abrumpendum censui, ut dignitatem hanc non tam tibi, quam Angliæ, gratuler, quæ in collegio amplissimo, una cum summis regni proceribus, te assessorem habet, cujus consilia omnia prudentia, fide, candore ac sinceritate diriguntur, & communi civium saluti unice destinantur. Deus vitam tibi largiatur longævam, consiliisque tuis successum, quem merentur, concedat. Ego hic occupatus vivo; & tamen vix quicquam promoveo, non aliter ac si otio desidioso torperem. Arminii scripta inedita me occupatum tenent: promisi ego bibliopolæ Germano, me ea paraturum ad editionem; sed in scriptis ejus relegendis, ob characterum exilitatem & ductum lectu neutiquam commodum, tantam reperio difficultatem, ut nisi tanti viri memoria, & non exigua, quam inde ad publicum rediturum video utilitas, ingrati laboris molestiam levaret, jam operæ promissæ pœnituisset. Hoc opus ubi edidero, nullis amplius posthumis aliorum operibus edendis me fatigabo. Oculorum acies sæpissime intendenda est, ut characteres exiles, & vetustate multis in locis ferme evanescentes legantur. Ita multum temporis impendo, non tamen eo cum fructu, qui temporis diuturnitatem compensare possit. Sed quoniam alea jacta est, pergendum est. Prodibunt de novo prælectiones in Jonam & Malachiam, quibus annectitur disputatio contra Judæos, in posteriorem ad Thessalonicenses, in secundum & tertium caput Apocalypseos; & disputatio contra cardinalem Perronium: quæ cum opusculis antehac editis justum conficient volumen. Præmiset D. Casper Brantius pro-

lixiorem vitæ Arminii historiam, quæ multa hactenus exteris ignota continebit. Prodiit nuper apud nos tractatus Anglici, "quod Religio Christiana, qualis nobis est "repræsentata in scriptura sacra, sit summe rationalis," versio Gallica. Illius autorem volunt multi esse amicum meum. Ego respondeo, mihi nihil de eo constare; & cum autor, quisquis ille sit, latere vult, nostrum non esse conjecturis, ut plurimum fallacibus, indulgere. Ego summa cum voluptate lectioni illius incumbo, & in præcipuo (quod toto libro, de fidei christianæ objecto tractat) argumento illi prorsus assentior. Hoc recte precepto, gravissimas ac acerbissimas in ecclesia christiana disputationes feliciter componi posse puto; saltem ecclesiæ, non obstante opinionum diversitate, pacem facili negotio posse restitui: ea enim quæ nunc à plerisque ut unicum ferme christianismi fundamentum urgentur, objecto fidei non comprehendi planum fiet. Quod unicum anathematismis, schismatibus, & odiis tollendis remedium est. Ego, ut videas me attente tractatum hunc legere, omniaque argumenta exacte ponderare, non possum, quin tibi observationem quandam indicem, quæ licet forte non magni videri posset esse momenti, tamen argumento autoris, quo utitur, pondus aliquod afferre potest. Cap. iv, autor ad suæ sententiæ stabilimentum adducit locum ex 2 epist. Joan. ver. 7, quem optime ab ipso allegatum judicio: verum versio Gallica ita eum exhibet, ut, me judice, non exacte exprimat sensum, qui in Græco extat, quique sententiam autoris validius confirmat. Qua ratione eum Anglice expresserit autor, ignoro. Gallice autem ita extat: "Que plusieurs imposteurs se "sont élevez dans la monde, lesquels ne confessent "point, que Jesus, le Messie, soit venu en chair:" quæ sensum hunc continere videntur, quod impostores hi non confessi sunt, quod Jesus, qui est Messias, venerit in carne, Græcus autem textus ita habet: Ὅτι πολλοὶ πλάνοι εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, οἱ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί. Quæ posteriora verba ego verto, non, qui non confitentur Jesum, qui est Christus seu Messias, in carne venisse; sed, qui non confitentur Jesum Messiam, qui in carne venit: non enim est infinitivus in Græco, sed participium. Hic sensus est longe alius,

& autoris hujus scopo multo accommodatior. Priore enim sensu hæc esse impostorum falsa doctrina arguitur, quod non confiteantur Jesum, qui est Messias, in carne venisse. Inde sequeretur quod qui confitetur Jesum, de quo Joannes affirmat quod sit Messias (vox enim Χριστὸς, per appositionem, hoc sensu est legenda) in carne venisse, maneat in doctrina Christi, ut est ver. 9. Atqui multi, qui non credebant Jesum esse Messiam, credebant tamen Jesum, qui Messias est, in carne venisse. Si posteriore sensu vertantur, tum sensus est, impostores non confiteri Jesum Christum, qui in carne venit; hoc est, non confiteri, quod ille Jesus, qui in carne venit, sit Messias. Confiteri enim Jesum Messiam, est, confiteri quod Jesus sit Messias, seque illius discipulum profiteri; juxta Matth. x. 32. Illum autem Jesum, quem confiteri oportet, describit Joannes, quod sit ille qui in carne venit, & inter Judæos versatus est. Inde sequitur, quod ille in doctrina Christi maneat, qui confitetur quod Jesus, qui in carne venit, sit Messias. Et hæc est sincera fidei in Christum confessio. Eundem esse sensum puto, 1 Joan. iv. 2, 3. ubi similiter non reperitur infinitivus, sed participium ἐληλυθότα. Non est quidem hæc observatio tanti in hoc negotio, facit tamen ad genuinam textus Græci intelligentiam, & autoris instituto favet. In aliis autem disputationibus, quæ cum Mennonitis nostratibus instituuntur, maximi est usus. Sed tempus est ut abrumpam. Vides tibi cum homine loquace rem esse, qui cum literis suis te compellat, calamo imperare non potest. Vale, vir amplissime, & feliciter age.

Amstelod. . . . . Tui observantissimus,
1696. P. à LIMBORCH.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

SI omnes in religione eo uterentur candore, quo tu usus es in amicitia, non majorem offensionem inter dissentientes parerent argumenta, quam inter nos nuper

peperit diuturnum nimis silentium. Si epistolarum reciprocationem æstimem, an tua major taciturnitas, an mea, dicere non ausim, credo me ea ex parte peccâsse. Ea vero utcunque se res habeat, tu certe humanitate tua & ignoscendo prior effecisti, ut culpa omnino mea sit, eoque magis probrosam mihi sentio, quod tu & levissima quidem reprehensione abstinuisti; negotiorum excusatione, qua pro me apud te usus es, aliquid momenti erga alium habere potuisset, certe tibi me eo nomine excusatum nolim, addere etiam poteram valetudinem, tota præterita hyeme valde incommodam. Sed nec hoc quidem, quo minus tam charo, tam fido amico scriberem, impedimento esse non debuit. Vis rem ipsam ut tibi scriberem, semper quæro tempus omnino vacuum, animumque ab aliis curis & cogitationibus liberum; hoc cum raro accidit ita ad voluntatem, ut non ad aliud & magis opportunum tempus rejiciam, de die in diem differendo annus elabitur, & tandem pudor culpæ superveniens tardiorem reddit. Si hoc ignaviæ latebram dicas, non recuso; hoc certo scio imminutæ amicitiæ, vel mutatæ voluntatis non esse crimen; & forsan ut omnia fatear, non expeditus linguæ Latinæ usus fastidium menti non bene se explicanti oggerit. Sed tua amicitia & benevolentia, vir amplissime, omnia superat. Gratulationem tuam, eo, quo tu scripsisti animo, id est, amicissimo, accipio: sed quid tandem mihi, senectutis & valetudinis onere succumbenti, cum negotiorum publicorum tumultu? Secessus mihi jam quærendus esset, & vel annis vel studiis meis quies. Hoc, si mihi credas, & magis aveo, & mihi magis accommodatum credo, sed nescio quo fato, quod alius ambitiose & frustra quærit, alii vel inscio, vel etiam detrectanti tribuitur. Viri istius magni scripta inedita, tua opera proditura, gratulor reipub. christianæ. De libro Anglicano in linguam Gallicam verso, cujus lectioni, cum ad me scripseras, incubuisti, idem tecum sentio, contentionum & schismatum radices evellit, quantum id potest religionis christianæ veritas & fundamentum, si id auctor recte explicuerit, ut mihi videtur; cum vero totum perlegeris, & tuam & aliorum de tractatu illo sententiam scire vellem. Theologis nostris tam confirmistis, quam non-conformistis, displicere audio; reliqui (ut fit) probant, improbantve, prout suo vel alieno innituntur ju-

dicio. Quod monuisti de loco Joannis tecum sentio: idem est in versione nostra, quem in Gallica observâsti, error; sed ad rem facit, verum appositè magis textus Græcus, quem tu rectissime, ut mihi videtur, interpretaris. Vale, vir amplissime, & me ama,

Lond. 3 Sept. 1696.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

CITIUS tuis, decimo quinto demum Octobris die mihi redditis, respondissem, verum quoniam judicium meum de tractatu Anglicano in linguam Gallicam verso petiisti, tempus à reliquis curis vacuum quæsivi, ut tractatum illum elegantissimum uno tenore perlegere, omniaque illo contenta considerare & expendere possem. Maxime mihi opportunum videbatur tempus hoc hibernum, quo ab exercitiis academicis feriari solemus; sed & illud frigore suo acutissimo non leviter impetum scribendi remoratum est. Legi totum tractatum à capite ad calcem: nec unicâ lectione contentus, eum relegi. Interim huc perlatus est actorum Lipsiensium mensis October, quo compendium tractatus illius, pro doctorum illorum more, nobis exhibetur. Primo aiunt autoris illius Pockii nomen esse dici (credo eos incerto rumori temere fidem adhibuisse, & in nomine una aberrâsse litera) tum compendio quod confecere, omnia, quibus aliquam autori invidiam conflari posse putant, sedulo enumerant, ut systematum theologicorum contemptum ulcisci velle videantur. Extollunt magnifice Joannem Edvardum, quod præclare hactenus in Anglia contra Socinianam hæresin variis scriptis militaverit, librumque ediderit meditationum quarundam de causis & occasione atheismi, hodierni præsertim sæculi; in quo passim autoris hujus anonymi sententias, ut periculosas & à socinianismo ac atheismo non alienas, perstrinxit. Subjungunt hisce compendium duorum scriptorum, quorum alterum brevis pro tractatu illo est apologia: alterum Jo-

annis Edvardi, titulo, "Socinianism unmasked." Tu illos tractatus rectius me nôsti. Videntur dolere, quod meditationes Edvardi ipsis ad manum non fuerint; alias & illarum compendium habuissemus. Systemo theologiæ me scripsisse nôsti: non tamen eo in pretio apud me systemata sunt, ut non hunc exiguum tractatum multis systematibus præferam; imo plus veræ theologiæ ex illo, quam ex operosis multorum systematibus hausisse me ingenue profiteor. Sed vero theologiam autor ille tradit nimis facilem, nimis laxam, quæ salutem angustis humanorum decretorum vinculis alligatam minime cupit; nec orthodoxiam ex sectarum confessionibus, sed solo verbo divino arcessit. Hoc crimen est, quod socinianismi & atheismi infami convitio à doctoribus systematicis traduci meretur: non aliter ac si, qui humana placita religiose adorare recusant, eo ipso omnem religionem ejurare censendi essent. Ego autoris in hoc tractatu scopum summopere laudo; scopum suum feliciter assecutum esse, solideque ipsum, quod intendit, probâsse judico. Imprimis placent miho duo: methodus accurata historiæ evangelicæ, quam cap. ix. tradit, & per quam varia loca in evangeliis, in speciem obscura, feliciter admodum interpretatur: & perspicua illa deductio argumentorum, quibus ostendit, cur D. Jesus Christus, in terris degens, non expressis verbis docuerit se esse Messiam. Hæc autori huic peculiaria sunt, ipsiusque judicium ingeniique perspicaciam clarè demonstrant. In iis autem plurima sunt, quibus præcipium libri sui argumentum, quod est, fidem, quod Jesus sit Christus, eam esse, per quam justificamur, luculenter confirmat. Habes hic judicium meum de tractatu hoc, quem & tertio relegere statui. Petis autem ut, si quædam in illius lectione observarem, tibi scriberem. Ego in tractatu adeo eximio vix quicquam, quod tibi proponi meretur, observavi: ita sibi penitus me habet assentientem, ut exigua sint, quæ observaverim, quæque principali ipsius scopo nihil officiunt, & quæ forsitan à me non plene intellecta sunt. Quia vero judicium meum requiris, ego hæc, qualiacunque, tibi expendenda propono; non quia alicujus pretii sunt, sed ut morem geram tuæ voluntati. Statim in initio autor dicit, super lapsu Adami fundatam esse doctrinam de

redemptione. Equidem certum est, lapsum Adami à doctrinâ de redemptione non excludi; attamen & propria cujusque nostrûm peccata ab ea secludenda non sunt. Plurimorum doctorum sententia est, Dominum Jesum nos liberâsse è miseria, in quam per Adami peccatum incidimus, & in eundem felicitatis statum, quem in Adamo amissimus, restituisse. Ego puto illos exiliter nimium de immenso Christi beneficio sentire, ipsumque ex multis peccatis, ut Apostolus, Rom. v, loquitur, nos liberâsse, & ad statum multo feliciorem, vitam nempe æternam in cœlis perduxisse. Huic addo: quod ibidem dicatur, Adamum per peccatum amisisse immortalitem, & factum esse mortalem. Si immortalitas autori huic significet, quod Adamus si non peccâsset, moriturus non fuisset, & mortalitas, quod per peccatum necessitatem moriendi contraxerit; verissimam ejus sententiam judico. Si vero immortalitas, ut vox illa proprie sonat, illi significet moriendi impossibilitatem, non recte dici puto Adamum fuisse creatum immortalem. Ego sententiam meam plenius explicui in theologia mea Christiana, lib. ii. cap 24. Verum hæc immortalitas, hoc est, immunitas à morte, alterius plane est generis quam immortalitas Dei: sicut & mortalitas, seu moriendi potentia, multum differt à morte, seu moriendi necessitate. Quare etiam minus commode mihi dictum videtur, p. 230, quod Adami immortalitas sit imago Dei, ad quam conditus est: & licet concederetur, alibi immortalitatem vocari imaginem Dei; non tamen exinde sequeretur, quando Adamus ad imaginem Dei conditus dicitur, illam imaginem esse immortalitatem; non enim necesse est, omnia quæ alibi scriptura imagine Dei designat, ea comprehensa esse, quando hominem ad imaginem Dei conditum dicit: sufficit eximiam quandum in homine esse qualitatem, respectu cujus imaginem Dei referre dici possit. Inter alia loca video, p. 232, citari ad Rom. cap. viii. 29, ubi dicimur, à Deo præcogniti & prædestinati "ut simus conformes "imagini filii ejus, ut ipse sit primogenitus inter mul- "tos fratres." Putat autor illa imagine, cui conformes esse debemus, designari immortalitatem & vitam æternam. Ego autem non tam vitam æternam, quam modum ad vitam æternam perveniendi, quo fideles Christi

similes esse debent, hic significari credo, nimirum per crucem & afflictiones: quam imaginem Dominus discipulis indicat, Luc. xxiv. 26. "nonne oportuit Christum "ista pati atque intrare in gloriam suam?" Hanc explicationem totius capitis series evincit: jam enim, v. 17, dixerat "hæredes sumus Dei, cohæredes autem "Christi, siquidem cum ipso patimur, ut una cum ipso "glorificemur." Eaque occasione multus est, ut fideles hortetur ad crucem & afflictiones evangelii causa sustinendas, inter alia, argumento à voluntate divina petito, quod per crucem nos ad salutem velit perducere: & ne id ipsis absonum videatur, Deum, quos diligit, tot dura in hoc mundo immittere, exemplum illis Christi proponit, cujus imagini ut sint conformes. Deus eos prædestinavit, & consequenter ad crucem ferendam vocavit: & in sequentibus porro ostendit, illas afflictiones non posse ipsos separare ab amore Dei, quo ipsos in Christo complectitur. Hinc & scriptura passim aliis inculcat, nos gloriæ Christi fore consortes, si & cum ipso crucem sustinuerimus, 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12. & præsertim. Heb. ii. 10. "Decebat ut ipse, propter quem "sunt omnia, & per quem sunt omnia, multos filios "in gloriam adducendo, principem salutis ipsorum "per afflictiones consecraret." Et hoc potissimum argumento fideles ad constantem persecutionum tolerantiam horatur, 1 Pet. iv. 12, 13. Heb. xii. 1, 2, 3. Hanc credo esse imaginem Christi, cui ut conformes simus Deum nos prædestinâsse ait apostolus, Rom. viii. 29. consentaneè iis quæ leguntur, Act. xiv. 22. 2 Tim. iii. 12. Page 246, ait autor sibi non occurrere, quod D. Jesus ipse sibi tribuat titulum sacerdotis, aut mentionem faciat ullius rei, quæ ad sacerdotium refertur. Munus Christi sacerdotale in apostolorum epistolis, & præcipue in epistola ad Hebræos nobis plenius esse descriptum, manifestum est; nec negari potest D. Jesum nusquam in evangeliis sibi sacerdotis titulum tribuere. Attamen negandum non videtur, quod sibi alicubi actionem sacerdotalem tribuat: diserte enim ait, se "animam suam λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν daturum," Matth. xx. 28. Sanguinem suum vocat sanguinem novi "fœderis, qui pro multis effunditur, in remissionem pec"catorum." Matth. xxvi. 28. Negare non possumus hunc *esse actum, qui* ad sacerdotium respectum habet.

Quare fortasse præstitisset id præteriisse, neque hominibus calumniandi occasionem quærentibus quicquam suppeditâsse, quod cum specie aliqua carpere posse videatur. Præter hæc, in tractatu hoc, quædam mihi occurrere videntur, quæ vix inter se conciliari possunt, nisi forte autor mentem suam plenius explicet. Pag. 13, ait, Dum Adam pulsus sit è paradiso terestri, omnisque ejus posteritas ea propter nascatur extra hunc deliciarum locum; inde naturaliter sequi debet, omnes homines morituros, & in æternum sub potentia mortis mansuros, atque ita penitus fore perditos; ex eo statu autem omnes per Christum liberatos docet, & quidem per legem fidei, quam postea fuse ostendit evangelio contineri. Hæc meo judicio vere dicuntur: verum non satis capio, quomodo cum his bene concilientur, quæ leguntur, pag. 250 & 266, quod qui justi sunt non indigent gratia, sed jus habent ad arborem vitæ. Illi enim quatenus Adami posteri, etiam sub potentia mortis æternum manere debent: quomodo ergo per suam justitiam jus possunt acquirere ad arborem vitæ, ita ut nulla gratia indigeant? cum antea docuerat, omnes ex illo statu necessariæ mortis liberatos, & quidem per legem fidei: unde sequi videtur, liberationem illam non posse fieri, nisi per legem fidei. Ergo non per perfectam legis operum obedientiam: nam è miseria liberare gratiæ est, quam lex operum excludit. Tum nec cum principio isto commode satis conciliare possum, quod autor dicit, qua ratione illi, qui de Christo nihil quicquam inaudiverunt, salvari possint. Si enim per Adamum necessariæ ac æternæ morti sunt obnoxii, è qua per solam legem fidei beneficio Christi liberentur, non videtur illis sufficere posse, quod lumine naturæ aliquas fidei illius, quod Deus sit misericors, scintillas habeant; sed per illam fidei legem, quam Deus salutis obtinendæ conditionem statuit, servari debere videntur. Video doctores systematicos hic multum offendi: atque ideo neque acquiescere illis quinque fructibus, quos D. Jesum adventu suo in mundum hominibus contulisse docet autor. Ego in doctorum systematicorum gratiam nihil in veritatis præjudicium docendum judico; & si quid illi præter rationem carpant, indignationem eorum spernendam censeo: sed considerandum, an non majus quid dici

possit & oporteat, quod ipsis licet non satisfaciat, minus tamen forsan offendet, & meo judicio plenius rei veritatem exhibet. Video fructus quidem indicari prophetici ac regii muneris Christi, nullos vero sacerdotalis. Quid si ergo hic addatur muneris sacerdotalis fructus; quod mundus Deo sit reconciliatus, adeo ut nunc per Christum omnibus omnino hominibus remedium paratum sit è miseria sua in quam occasione peccati Adami, propriisque peccatis inciderunt, emergendi & salutem æternam consequendi? Hoc posito, puto explicari posse, qua ratione, salvis principiis ante positis, ii, qui de Christo nihil no fando quidem audiverunt, per Christum salvari possint. Nempe quod Deus illis qui (ut autor hic ait, pag. 292) instinctu luminis naturæ ad gratiam & misericordiam ejus confugiunt, delictorumque resipiscentiam agunt, eorumque veniam supplices petunt, gratiam per Christum impetratam applicet, ipsisque propter Christum remissionem peccatorum & justitiam imputet. Atque ita beneficium, quod ubi Christus prædicatus est, non nisi per directam in Christum fidem, obtineri potest, illi sine directa in Christum, ipsis non prædicatum, fide consequantur per gratiosam imputationem divinam; qui favores & beneficia sua latius extendere potest, quam promissorum verba ferunt. Ut ita omnium salus in sacrificio Christi propitiatorio fundetur. Puto hæc non multum à sententia hujus autoris differre, & iis, quæ evangelio continentur, consentanea esse. Ultimum caput per omnia amplector: omnia credenda & observanda ut salutem consequamur evangeliis & actiis contineri, credo; nullumque novum articulum in epistolis apostolicis superaddi; quæ alii novos fidei articulos urgent, non novi articuli sunt, sed aut magis dilucidæ articulorum jam antea traditorum explanationes; aut doctrinæ antea traditæ ab objectionibus præcipue Judæorum vindicationes, cujus illustre nobis documentum præbet epistola ad Romanos. Hæc sunt paucula illa, quæ mihi inter legendum occurrerunt, quæque tibi expendenda propono. Fortasse autoris mentem per omnia non plene assecutus sum. Verum exigua hæc sunt, & extra principalem autoris scopum, quem argumentis omni exceptione majoribus eum probâsse judico, adeo ut me sibi habeat penitus asseo-

tientem. Imprimis laudo, quod tam candide & ingenue, nec minus solide, demonstret recipiscentiæ & bonorum operum necessitatem, & per legem fidei non penitus esse abolitam legem operum, sed mitigatam. Ego illorum hominum theologiam non capio, qui fidem, quo nobis merita Christi applicamus, etiam ante ullum resipiscentiæ actum, nos coram Deo justificare docent. Hac enim persuasione imbuti, facile, mediis in sceleribus, homines incauti sibi justitiam & salutem adscribunt, modo in se fiduciam minime vacillantem deprehendant. Et doctores improvidi hanc temerariam confidentiam alunt, dum hominibus impiis & sceleratis, modo circa vitæ finem fiduciam in Christi meritis firmam profiteantur, salutem sine ulla hæsitatione addicere non verentur. Hujus generis exemplum in nostra civitate recens, quod oblivione obliterari non debet, commemorabo. Præterita æstate ancilla quædam, ut heri sui ædes spoliare posset, noctu eas incendit. Mortis damnata fidem suam in Christi meritis verbis emphaticis, coram ministro verbi divini, qui morituræ adfuit, prolixe professa est: Ille sceleratæ non tantum indubiam salutis spem fecit, sed & postridie pro concione illius fidem prolixe populo commendavit, adeo quidem, ut dicere non veritus sit, se, sola ignominia excepta, talem sibi vitæ exitum optare; multis applaudentibus, aliis vero (non Remonstrantibus modo, sed & contra-Remonstrantibus) non sine indignatione talem Encomiasten cum suo encomio reprehendentibus. Verum tandem mutum de tabula. Tu pro solita tua benevolentia prolixitati meæ ignosces. Vale, vir amplissime, mihique semper venerande.

Amstelod. 26 Martii, 1697.

Tui amantissimus,
P. à LIMBORCH.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

INTER negotia publica & privatam valetudinem tam parum mihi conceditur otii literarii, ut sperem diuturnum meum silentium, non ex imminuta omnino in te

voluntate aut amicitia ortum, tibi, quæ tua est in amicos lenitas, excusatum fore. An tu mihi egove tibi novissime literas dederim, quærere nolo. Satis egomet mihi culpandus videor, quod tam diu careo fructu suavissimæ tuæ consuetudinis, & magnus mihi dolendusque in curriculo vitæ meæ hiatus apparet, qui destitutus literarum inter nos commercio, vacuus ea voluptate fuit, quæ maxima cum sit, ex benevolentia solum mutuisque amicorum sermonibus percipitur. Præteritam hyemem cura infirmæ sanitatis rure totam absumpsit. Nisi quod negotia nonnulla importuna subinde irrepentia totum, id, quicquid erat temporis, quod amicis destinaveram invito abriperent. Adeo ut non in tuo solum, sed & multorum mihi amicissimorum ære alieno sim, nec quomodo me redimam scio, si taciturnitas mea nomine negligentiæ suspecta sit. Tu, scio, humanior es quam ut eo me condemnari velis crimine. Quanquam enim tardior aliquando mihi in respondendo calamus, animus tamen nunquam deficit, & si quando hac utor libertate, erga eos solum utor, quibuscum non solummodo vitam civilem, sed intimam solidamque amicitiam mihi colendam propono, quibus multum me scio debere, & quibus insuper cupio me plurimum debere. Ego nuper Londinum profectus post octidui incommodam & anhelosam moram præpropero reditu huc me recipere coactus sum. Hæc pulmonum imbecillitas me brevi spero restituet pristino otio. Valetudinario seni quid restat præter vota pro patria? Naturæ & imbecillitati cedendum est. Hoc mihi si concedatur, libri & literæ, amicorumque interrupta vel impedita commercia, optima illa senectutis oblectamenta, redibunt. Quid enim in republica literaria agatur, civili implicato vix scire vacat. Apud nos sane disceptationibus & rixis maximam partem impenditur scripturientium atramentum. Si disputantium fervor solo veritatis amore accenderetur, laudanda esset litigantium industria & contentio; sed non ita semper tractantur argumenta, ut ea ad veritatem stabiliendam elucidandamve quæsita, credere possis. In mea de Intellectu Humano dissertatione jam tandem aliquid repertum est non ita sanum, idque à viris haud infimi subsellii reprehensum. Si quid ego eorum argumentis edoctus reprehensione dignum

reperirem, gratus agnoscerem, & haud invitus corrigerem. Id cum non sit, rationem mihi reddendam censeo, cur non mutaverim sententiam, cum nihil reperiam in ea à veritate alienum. Hæc mea defensio aliquam partem præteritæ hyemis, prout tulit valetudo, occupatam habuit. Sed quid ego te moror nostris nugis? Quid tu illic, vosque alii, studiis utilioribus intenti agatis, aveo scire. Næ ego iniquus officiorum exactor, si à te festinatas postulem literas in scribendo ipse tantus cessator. Verum tu scio id facies ne nimis serio mihi irasci videaris. Vale, vir optime, &, ut facis, me ama,

Oates, 4 Mar. 1696-7.

Tui studiosissimum,

J LOCKE.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

MENSE Martio scripsi tibi epistolam satis prolixam. Hâc æstate cum viris aliquot primariis sermonem de variis habui: inter alia incidit sermo de tractatu, de quo, in superioribus meis, judicium meum scripsi. Omnes eum summopere laudabant. Unus vero titulum sibi non satis placere affirmabat; tanquam nimis exilem pro dignitate materiæ, quæ toto libro tractatur. Autoris hujus longe diversum aiebat fuisse institutum à plerorumque scriptorum consuetudine, qui exigui pretii libris titulos magnificos præfigere solent: hunc autem libro magnifico exilem præfixisse titulum. Oportuisse titulum aliquatenus respondisse dignitati operis, ut & ille posset lectores allicere. Alius vir (idem qui tibi antehac Sladum nostrum commendatum esse voluit, quod tibi soli dictum velim) se bis tractatum illum perlegisse aiebat: laudabat illum summopere, autoremque fidei christianæ objectum, quod præcipuum totius libri argumentum est, solidissime probâsse affirmabat; unum desiderabat; nim. quod autor am statim ab initio vulgarem de peccato originis sententiam rejecerit ac refutaverit, potuisse autorem, intacta illa sententia, nihilomi-

nus præcipuum tractatus sui argumentum adstruere: nunc multos, quorum mentibus alte sententia illa incedit, lecto libri initio, antequam ad principale ejus argumentum accedant offendi, atque ita præjudicium contra autorem concipere, ut sequentia non ea animi serenitate quæ requiritur, legant, sicque alieniores reddi: cum potius ipsorum benevolentia captanda fuisset, ut judicio integro expendant sententiam, veram quidem, sed communi theologorum appetitui minus consentaneam; qui omnes ferme fidei christianæ aliquid de suo admixtum cupiunt; quasi ea suo cœtui peculiaris sit, & alii ab illa excludantur. Qui error ut ipsorum animis eruatur, alliciendi potius sunt, quam assertione alicujus dogmatis sibi minus probati alienandi. Candide tibi scribo quid viri hi desideraverint. Hac occasione, ut fieri solet, sermo ad alia deflexit, & quidem quibus argumentis solidissime unitas Dei probetur. Idem ille vir primarius affirmabat, se argumenta quædam irrefragabilia requirere, quibus probetur ens æternum, seu per se existens, seu undiquaque perfectum, esse tantum unum. Desiderabat quædam in argumentis Hugonis Grotii, libro primo de Veritate Religionis Christianæ. Addebat, audivisse se tractatum tuum de Intellectu Humano in linguam Gallicam verti; multum se tribuere judicio tuo, ac summopere versionem illam desiderare. Quæsivit ex me, num in illo tractatu etiam unitatem entis à se existentis adstruxisses? Ego me ignorare respondi, qui tractatum, utpote lingua mihi ignota conscriptum, nunquam legerim. Voluit itaque tibi serio per me commendari, ut si in tractatu quo quæstionem hanc intactam reliqueris, illius adstructione tractatum augere velis, unitatemque entis independentis solide adstruere. Manifestum videtur ens independens, quod omnem in se complectitur perfectionem, unicum tantum esse: ille tamen hoc ita probari cupiebat, ut argumentum nulla parte laboraret. Ante triduum aurem mihi vellicari jussit, & à me quæri, an jam ad te scripsissem, & aliquod à te responsum accepissem. Non crediderام ipsum id tam enixe voluisse; sed quia video rem hanc ipsi cordi esse, scriptionem meam ulterius differendam minime statui. Rogo, si id negotia tua permittant ut mihi responsum scribas, quod

ipsi prælegere possim, ita tamen temperara tua scriptione, ut minime subolere ipsi possit, me tibi ipsum aliquatenus indicâsse; posses ita respondere, quasi ego tibi scripserim, viros quosdam eruditos de hac materia disserentes, ex ipsis aliquem, qui te magni æstimat, de ea tuum voluisse audire judicium, & ut quæstionem hanc in tuo de Intellectu Humano tractatu expenderes desiderâsse. Vides quam aperte tecum agam, & quid ab amicitia tua expectare ausim. Hagam Comitis nuper excurri; salutavi honoratissimum Comitem Pembrokiensem, & per integram horam varios cum ipso, etiam de rebus theologicis, sermones habui. Virum in tam excelsa dignitate constitutum tantum in rebus sacris studium posuisse summopere miror. Ita sermonibus ejus afficiebar, ut vix per semihoram ipsi adfuisse mihi visus sim, cum tamen ab eo digressus integram horam esse elapsam deprehenderim. Ego viro illi excellentissimo longævam vitam precor, ut regni Anglicani negotia ipsius auspiciis feliciter administrentur: tibi vero valetudinem prosperam, ut cogitata tua orbi erudito communicare possis. Vale, amplissime vir, & salveat plurimum Domina Masham. Salutant te uxor mea & filia.

Amstelod. 8 Oct. 1697. Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH

Lettre de Mr. Locke à Mr. Limborch.

Monsieur,

SI mon nom est venu à la connoissance de ces habiles gens avec qui vous entretenez quelquefois, & s'ils daignent parler de mes écrits dans les conversations que vous avez avec eux, c'est une faveur dont je vous suis entierement redevable. La bonne opinion que vous avez d'une personne que vous voulez bien honorer de votre amitié les a prévenüe en ma faveur. Je souhaiterois que mon Essai concernant l'Entendement fut écrit dans une langue que ces excellens hommes pûs-

sent entendre, car par le jugement éxact & sincere qu'ils porteroient de mon ouvrage, je pourrois compter surement sur ce qu'il y a de vrai ou de faux, & sur qu'il peut y avoir de tolerable. Il y a sept ans que ce livre a été publié. La premiere & la seconde édition ont eû le bonheur d'être generalement bien réçuës: mais la dernier n'a pas eû le même advantage. Après un silence de cinq ou six années on commence d'y découvrir je ne sçai quelles fautes dont on ne s'étoit point apperçu auparavant; & ce qu'il y a de singulier, on prétend trouver matiere à des controverses de religion dans cet ouvrage, ou je n'ai eû dessein de traiter que des questions de pure spéculation philosophique. J'avois resolu de faire quelques additions, dont j'ai déja composé quelques-unes qui sont assez amples, & qui auroient pû paroître en leur place dans la quatrième édition que le libraire se dispose à faire. Et j'aurois volontiers satisfait à votre desir, ou au desir d'aucun de vos amis en y inferant les preuves de l'unité de Dieu qui se presentent à mon esprit. Car je suis enclin à croire que l'unité de Dieu peut être aussi évidemment démontrée que son existence; & qu'elle peut être établie sur des preuves qui ne laisseront aucun sujet d'en douter. Mais j'aime la paix, & il y a des gens dans le monde qui aiment si fort les criailleries & les vaines contestations, que je doute si je dois leur fournir de nouveaux sujets de dispute.

Les remarques que vous me dites que d'habiles gens on fait sur le "Reasonableness of Christianity, &c." sont sans doute fort justes, & il est vrai que plusieurs lecteurs ont été choquez de certaines pensées qu'on voit au commencement de ce livre, lesquelles ne s'accordent pas tout-a-fait avec des doctrines communément reçuës. Mais sur cela je suis obligé de renvoyer ces messieurs aux deux défenses que l'auteur a fait de son ouvrage. Car ayant publié ce petit livre, comme il le dit lui-même, principalement afin de convaincre ceux qui doutent de la religion chrêtienne, il semble qu'il a été conduit à traiter ces matieres malgré lui; car pour rendre son livre utile aux déïstes, il ne pouvoit point se taire entierement sur ces articles, aux-

quels ils s'aheurtent des qu'ils veulent entrer dans l'éxamen de la religion chrêtienne. Je suis,

Londres, 29 Oct. 1697. Monsieur,

Vôtre très-humble

& très-obéïssant serviteur,

J. Locke.

Vir amplissime,

Ne mireris quod lingua Gallica responsum à me sit acceptissimis tuis Latinis 8. hujus mensis mihi scriptis, liceat mihi me tibi excusare & negotiorum multitudine, quæ otium negat, & linguæ Latinæ dissuetudine, quæ expedite scribere prohibet. Hanc meam epistolam aliis vel prælegendam vel monstrandam ex tuis colligo: virorum præcellentium censuræ styli negligentia me objicere minime decorum judicavi. Quicquid enim tua vel humanitas vel amicitia in me excusare solet, aliis vel nauseam vel certe non condonandam molestiam creare potest. Scripsi igitur quod dicendum habui lingua vernacula festinatim, Galloque in suam linguam vertendam tradidi. Ex quo exorta est inter episcopum Wigorniensem (qui me quæsita causa aggressus est) & me disputatio: gens theologorum togata in librum meum mire excitatur, laudataque hactenus dissertatio illa tota jam scatet erroribus (vel saltem continui latentia errorum vel scepseos fundamenta) pia doctorum virorum cura nunc demum detegendis. Ad unitatem Dei quod attinet, Grotii, fateor, in loco à te citato argumenta non abunde satisfaciunt. Putasne tamen quempiam, qui Deum agnoscit, posse dubitare numen illud esse unicum? Ego sane nunquam dubitavi; etiamsi, fateor, mihi ex hac occasione cogitandi videtur altius aliquanto elevandam esse mentem, & à communi philosophandi ratione segregandam, si quis id philosophice, vel, si ita dicam, physice probare velit; sed hoc tibi soli dictum sit. Uxorem tuam dilectissimam liberosque officiosissime saluto.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

GRATISSIMAS tuas 29 Octobris scriptas recte accepi, viroque magnifico, cujus potissimum rogatu ad te scripsi, prælegi. Res ipsa, de qua quæritur, à nemine sano in dubium vocari posse videtur; ipsa enim deitatis notio unitatem involvit, nec permittit, ut illa pluribus communis credi possit. Quare, me judice, nemo, qui attente secum considerat, quid voce Dei intelligamus, pluritatem Deorum asserere potest. Quia tamen eam ab ethnicis asseri videmus, and contra eos scripturæ autoritate pugnari non potest, rationibus è natura petitis convincendi sunt. Quare ejusmodi requirit argumenta vir magnificus, quibus solide demonstretur ens independens & perfectum unicum tantum esse posse. Ex solide adstructa essentiæ divinæ unitate porro facili negotio omnia attributa divina, nostrumque tam erga Deum, quam proximum officium deduci posse certissimus est. Cartesium dicit unitatem illam non probâsse, sed præsuppo suisse. Ipse sibi demonstrationem scripsit, sed eam aiebat subtiliorem esse. Et quia multum tuo tribuit judicio, tua argumenta avidissime videre desiderat. Prælegi illi epistolam tuam: gaudebat, quod in ea affirmes te id præstare posse: tanto enixius jam argumenta tua desiderat. Dolebat tibi litem temere motam: quoniam autem, ne fortasse novis litibus & suspicionibus præter tuam intentionem vel minimam præbeas ansam, publico scripto argumenta tua proferre gravaris, rogat ut ea privatim ad me scribas, sub promisso silentii: ille hæc evulgare minime intendit, sed ad propriam suam instructionem, & in veritate confirmationem requirit. Duobus præter illum viris, intima mihi amicitia conjunctis, qui priori nostræ conversationi interfuerunt, D. de Hartoge Fisci Hollandici advocato, & D. advocato Van den Ende, & præter illos, nulli omnino mortalium ea communicabuntur, nisi fortasse & D. Clerico ea prælegi permittas, quod tui arbitrii est, ipso enim ignaro hæc omnia ad te scribo. Rem facturus es & viro magnifico maximopere gratam: &

quod fidis solummodo amicis, & quidem paucis adeo, concreditur, cujusque nullum à me cuiquam apographum dabitur, id dispalescere non potest. Quinimo, ut tanto honestius apographum denegare queam, suaserim ut id in epistola tua enixe à me stipuleris. Nolim ego te genti togatæ, tanquam scepseos fundamenta jacientem, magis suspectum fieri: plerosque illorum alieno judicio, tanquam nervis alienis mobile lignum, præcipites in laudem ac vituperium immerentium rapi certus sum. Cum tuas legerem, lepida mihi incidit Thomæ Mori in sua Utopia fabella. Refert is, cum Raphael Hythlodæus, coram Cardinale Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi doctissime de republica disseruisset, legis quendam peritum commoto capite, & labiis distortis quicquid dixerat improbâsse; ac statim omnes, qui aderant, pedibus in jurisperiti illius ivisse sententiam. Cum vero Cardinalis Hythlodæi sententiam probabat, mox quæ ipso narrante contempserant omnes, eadem neminem non certatim laudibus esse prosecutum. Simile quid tractatui tuo evenit, qui antea integro sexennio communi applauso acceptus fuit, nunc insurgente contra te magni nominis episcopo totus erroribus scatet & latentia continet scepseos fundamenta. Ita solet theologorum vulgus non ex suo sed alieno sapere cerebro. Verum talium judicio epistola tua nequam exponetur. Quod vero linguæ Latinæ dissuetudinem prætexis, quæ expedite scribere prohibet, plane me in ruborem dedit. Quale itaque tuum de me judicium esse censebo, cujus stylus cum tuo comparatus plane sordet? Epistolæ tuæ omnes, etiam veloci calamo scriptæ, sunt non tantum puræ & tersæ, sed & vividæ ac elegantes: quæ si tibi displiceant, quid de meis judices non difficile mihi est colligere. Nihilominus amicitia tua fretus, confidenter quicquid in calamum venit tibi scribo, benignitatis tuæ, quæ defectus meos boni consulere novit, plane securus: in posterum vero, si ea excusatione uti pergas, timidiorem me in scribendo facies. Excusationem itaque hanc minime admitti posse facile vides. Si vero negotia tua tardius nobis concedant responsum, nolim nimia festinatione graviora negligas, sed tempus ad scribendum eligas minus occupatum. Quicquid & quan-

docunque scripseris, gratissimum erit: interim si cito des, his te dedisse gratus agnoscam. Dedit mihi hebdomade proxime elapsa D. Clericus tuum, de Educatione liberorum, tractatum, in linguam Belgicam versum; pro quo dono magnifico summas tibi ago gratias. Uxor & filia eum attente legunt: ego, ubi illæ satiatæ fuerint, integrum quod & ipsis commendo, à capite ad calcem perlegam. Salutari te quam officiosissime jussit vir magnificus. Vale, vir amplissime.

Tui amantissimum,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

HAC occasione mitto tibi quædam ex Paulo Servita excerpta, quæ Historiæ Inquisitionis inseri possunt. Ego autores, quos nunc evolvo, majore cum applicatione ad materiam inquisitionis lego, quam antehac, & si quid, quod ad majorem illius illustrationem facere possit, occurrat, illud excerpere soleo, & historiam meam locupletiorem reddere. Tu, si velis, aliis à me antehac ad te missis & hæc adjungere poteris. Quæ mihi ante triennium ex itinerario Du Mont suppeditâsti, ea quanto magis considero, tanto magis historiæ meæ inserenda judico. Licet enim leges pontificiæ secretum confessionis revelari vetent, multa tamen in favorem fidei funt legibus prohibita; quas sancivisse videntur eum tantum in finem, ut simpliciores iis irretiti facilius caperentur. Itaque non tantum inquisitionis leges, sed præcipue gesta acta illius, quæ cum legibus sæpissime adversa fronte pugnant, consideranda censeo. Unum hoc expendi meretur, quod du Mont ait, confessarios Melitenses obligatos esse inquisitoribus revelare quicquid ipsis in secreta confessione negotium fidei spectans confitentur homines. Secretas illas confessiones inquisitoribus revelari nullus dubito; legem de ea revelanda extare credere vix pos-

sum: fortasse confessariis hoc viva voce mandatur, licet nulla hujusmodi lex extet. Quibus accedit, quod sit homo reformatus, & peregrinus, qui inter peregrinandum hoc ex quorundum incolarum sermonibus hausit; quorum relationes quandoque valde esse incertas, imo falsas, ex itinerariis, quibus Belgium describitur, sæpius ipse deprehendi. Quare considerandum, quomodo ejusmodi cavillationes pontificiorum solide retundi possint. Quicquid vero hujus sit, digna mihi hæc narratio videtur, quæ historiæ meæ inseratur, si scriptoris alicujus pontificiis non suspecti autoritate confirmari posset. Si quæ talia tibi inter legendum plura occurrunt, rogo ut & mihi ea impertiri velis.

Scripsi, ante duos aut tres menses, virum quendam eximium argumenta tua de unitate divina videndi desiderio teneri. Ego aperte & rotunde tecum agere volui, & quod mihi in mandatis datum erat celare non potui. Nolui ego graviora tua negotia interturbare, aut aliquid tibi molestiæ creare. Scio, si ab animo ac negotiis tuis impetrare possis, argumenta tua viro magnifico fore gratissima, maximi enim & acumen & judicium tuum facit. Si vero negotia tua tempus attentæ ejusmodi meditationi, & diffusiori paulum scriptioni requisitum, tibi non concedant, aut aliquam inde tibi forte creandam molestiam verearis (de quo tamen te securum esse jubeo) ego à te monitus viro magnifico, prout potero, te excusatum reddam: velim tamen eo in casu excusationis rationes à te mihi suppeditari; malim autem, ut, si sine incommodo, aut incommodi metu possis, te viro magnifico gratiam hanc facere, ut materiam hanc, quam jamdiu animo volvit, tua opera explanatiorem habeat. Vale, vir amplissime.

Tui amantissimus,

Amstelod. 11 Martii, 16$\frac{9}{3}$)(98 P. à LIMBORCH.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

DOCTISSIMAS tuas literas 21 Februarii datas Martii 21 die recte accepi. Paucis id eadem die literis per filium meum tibi tradendis significavi. Attente tuas cum D. Clerico relegi. Ita judicamus argumentis invictis te unitatem essentiæ divinæ adstruxisse, nihilque in argumentatione tua desiderari. Verum nondum viro magnifico eas ostendendas censuimus, nisi sententia tua proprius explorata. Est enim aliquid quod mihi imputandum credo, qui viri magnifici mentem non plene tibi aperuerim. Quantum ex ipsius sermonibus percepi, agnoscit ille quidem evidens satis esse, unum tantum hujus universi esse rectorem: sed argumentum desiderat, quo probetur ens, cujus existentia est necessaria, tantum posse esse unum; & quidem ut id argumentum à necessitate existentiæ desumatur, & à priori (ut in scholis loquuntur) non à posteriori concludat, hoc est, ex natura necessariæ existentiæ probetur eam pluribus non posse esse communem. Narrabat enim, se cum aliis de materia hac disserentem, dixisse, quod si tale ens existat, præter Deum unicum à quo nos dependemus; illud ens minime nos spectare, quia ab eo non dependemus; atque hoc nobis sufficere, ut Deum unum toto corde amemus & colamus. Sed tum disquirendum, an tale ens necessario existens possit esse, præter Deum necessario existentem, à quo nos dependemus. Si quid itaque ut viri magnifici curiositati plene satisfiat addendum putes, illud expectabo: interim literas tuas solicite asservabo, ac nulli ostendam. Vale, vir amplissime, & si quid in toto hoc negotio à me per imprudentiam forte peccatum sit, benignus ignosce.

Tui amantissimus,

Amstelod. Kal. Apr. 16)(98 1/19 P. à LIMBORCH.

Lettre de Mr. Locke à Mr. Limborch.

Monsieur,

LA question que vous m'avez proposée, vient de la part d'une personne d'un genie si vaste, & d'un si profonde capacité, que je suis confus de l'honneur qu'il me fait de deferer si fort à mon jugement dans une occasion, où il lui seroit plus avantageux & plus sure de s'en rapporter à lui-même. Je ne sçai quelle opinion vous avez pû lui donner de moi, séduit par l'amitié que vous me portez; mais une chose dont je suis fort assûré, c'est que, si je ne consultois que ma propre reputation, j'eviterois d'exposer mes foibles pensées devant une personne d'un si grand jugement, & que je ne me hazarderois pas à regarder cet article comme une question à prouver: bien des gens étant peut être d'avis qu'il vaut mieux le recevoir en qualité de maxime, parce que, selon eux, il est mieux établi sur les fondemens ordinaires que si l'on tâchoit de l'expliquer par des spéculations & des raisonnemens auxquels tout le monde n'est par accoutumé. Mais je sçais que la personne, par qui je crois que cette question vous a été proposée, a l'esprit autrement tourné. Sa candeur & sa probité égalent sa science & ses autres grandes qualitez. S'il ne trouve pas mes raisons assez claires ou assez convainçantes, il ne sera pour cela porté à condamner aussitôt mon intention, ni à mal juger de moi sous prétexte que mes preuves ne sont pas aussi bonnes qu'il l'auroit souhaité. Enfin, moins il trouvera de satisfaction des mes raisonnemens, plus il sera obligé de me pardonner, parce que, quelque convaincu que je sois de ma foiblesse, je n'ai pas laisse d'obéïr à ses ordres. J'écris donc simplement parce que vous le voulez l'un & l'autre; & je veux bien, Monsieur, que vous fassiez voir s'il vous plâit ma lettre à cette excellent homme, & aux autres personnes, qui se trouverent dans vôtre conference. Mais c'est aux conditions suivantes: La premiere, que ces Messieurs me promettront de m'apprendre librement & sincerement leur pensées sur ce qui je dis; la seconde, que vous ne donnerez au-

cune copie de ce que je vous écris à qui que ce soit, mais que vous me promettrez de jetter cette lettre au feu quand je vous prierai de la faire. A quoi je serois bien aise que vous eussiez la bonté d'ajouter une troisième condition, c'est, que ces Messieurs me feront l'honneur de me communiquer les raisons sur lesquelles ils établissent eux-mêmes l'unité de Dieu.

La question dont vous me parlez, se réduit à ceci, " Comment l'unité de Dieu peut être prouvée ? " ou en d'autres termes, " Comment on peut prouver qu'il n'y " a qu'un Dieu."

Pour resoudre cette question il est nécessaire de sçavoir, avant que de venir aux preuves de l'unité de Dieu, ce qu'on entend par le mot de Dieu. L'idée ordinaire, & à ce que je crois, la véritable idée qu'ont de Dieu, ceux qui reconnoissent son existence, c'est, qu'il est " un " Etre infini, éternel, incorporel & tout parfait." Or cette idée une fois reconnüe, il me semble fort aisé d'en déduire l'unité de Dieu. En effet un être qui est tout parfait, ou pour ainsi dire, parfaitement parfait, ne peut être qu'unique, parce qu'un être tout parfait ne sçauroit manquer d'aucun des attributs, perfections, ou dégrez des perfections, qu'il lui importe plus de posséder, que d'en être privé. Car autrement il s'en faudroit d'autant qu'il ne fut entierement parfait. Par éxemple, avoir du pouvoir est une plus grande perfection, que de n'en avoir point; avoir plus de pouvoir est une plus grande perfection, que d'en avoir moins; & avoir tout pouvoir (ce qui est être tout puissant) c'est une plus grande perfection que de ne l'avoir pas tout. Cela posé; deux êtres tout puissans sont incompatibles; parce qu'on est obligé de supposer que l'un doit vouloir necessairement ce que l'autre veut; & en ce cas-là, l'un des deux, dont la volonté est necessairement déterminée par la volonté de l'autre, n'est pas libre, & n'a pas, par conséquent, cette perfection-là: car il est mieux d'être libre, que d'être soumis à la détermination de la volonté d'un autre. Que s'ils ne sont pas tous deux réduits à la necessité de vouloir toûjours la même chose, alors l'un peut vouloir faire ce que l'autre ne voudroit pas qui fut fait, auquel cas la volonté de l'un prévaudra sur la volonté de l'autre, & ain

celui des deux, dont la puissance ne sauroit seconder la volonté, n'est pas tout-puissant; car il ne peut pas faire autant que l'autre. Donc l'un des deux n'est pas tout-puissant. Donc il n'y a, ni ne sauroit y avoir deux tout-puissans, ni par conséquent deux Dieux.

Par la même idée de perfection nous venons à connoître, que Dieu est omniscient. Or dans la supposition de deux êtres distincts, qui ont un pouvoir & une volonté distincte, c'est une imperfection de ne pouvoir pas cacher ces pensées à l'autre. Mais si l'un des deux cache ses pensées à l'autre, cet autre n'est pas omniscient, car non seulement il ne connoit pas tout ce qui peut être connu, mais il ne connoit pas même ce qu'un autre connoit.

On peut dire la même chose de la toute-presence de Dieu: il vaut mieux qu'il soit par tout dans l'étenduë infinie de l'espace, que d'être exclus de quelque partie de cet espace, car s'il est exclu de quelque endroit, il ne peut pas y operer, ni savoir ce qu'on y fait, & par conséquent il n'est ni tout-puissant ni omniscient.

Que si pour anéantir les raisonnemens que je viens de faire, on dit que les deux Dieux qu'on suppose; ou les deux cent mille (car par la même raison qu'il peut y en avoir deux il y en peut avoir deux millions, parce qu'on n'a plus aucun moyen d'en limiter le nombre) si l'on oppose, dis-je, que plusieurs Dieux ont une parfaite toute-puissance qui soit éxactement la même, qu'ils ont aussi la même connoissance, la même volonté, & qu'ils existent également dans le même lieu, c'est seulement multiplier le même être, mais dans le fonds & dans la verité de la chose on ne fait que réduire une pluralité supposée à une véritable unité. Car de supposer deux êtres intelligens, qui connoissent, veulent & font incessamment la même chose, & qui n'ont pas une existence separée, c'est supposer en paroles une pluralité, mais poser effectivement une simple unité. Car être inséparablement uni par l'entendement, par la volonté, par l'action, & par le lieu; c'est être autant uni qu'un être intelligent peut-être uni à lui-même, & par conséquent, supposer que là, où il y a une telle union, il peut y avoir deux êtres, c'est supposer une division sans division, & une chose divisée d'avec elle-même.

Je me suis hazardé à vous écrire mes réflexions sur ce sujet, comme elles se sont presentées à mon esprit, sans les ranger dans un certain ordre qui pourroit servir peut-être à les mettre dans un plus grand jour, si on leur donnoit un peu plus d'étenduë. Mais ceci doit paroître devant des personnes d'une si grand pénétration, que ce seroit les amuser inutilement que développer davantage mes pénsées. Telles qu'elles sont je vous prie de m'en écrire votre opinion & celle de ces Messieurs, afin que celon le jugement que vous en ferez, je puisse, pour ma propre satisfaction, les éxaminer de nouveau, & leur donner plus de force (ce que ma mauvaise santé & le peu de loisir qui me reste, ne me permettent pas de faire presentement) ou bien les abandonner tout-à-fait comme ne pouvant être d'aucun usage. Je suis,

Oates, 2 Avril, 1698.

Monsieur,

Vôtre très-humble

& très-obéïssant serviteur,

JOHN LOCKE.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

LITERAS tuas postremas recte mihi fuisse traditas jam intellexeris. Statim eas viro magnifico prælegi: verum quia tunc occupatior erat, aliud designavit tempus magis opportunum prolixiori colloquio, quod materiæ gravitas mereri videtur. Paucis itaque abhinc diebus me denuo ad se vocavit; iterumque epistolam tuam legimus. Probat argumenta tua, supposita illa, quam adhibes, Dei definitione; ens enim undiquaque perfectum, seu, quod eodem redit, omnes in se complectens perfectiones, non nisi unum esse posse manifestum est. Verum ille quærit argumentum, non ex definitione Dei desumptum, sed ex ipsa ratione naturali, & per quod deduca-

mur in definitionem Dei. Hac nempe methodo instituit demonstrationem suam. I. Datur ens æternum, independens, necessitate naturæ suæ existens, & sibi ipsi sufficiens. II. Ens tale est tantum unum, & plura istiusmodi entia esse nequeunt. III. Illud ens, quia est unicum, omnes in se complectitur perfectiones; atque hoc ens est Deus. Primam propositionem ait vir magnificus te in tractatu tuo de intellectu Humano egregie abstruxisse, iisdem plane argumentis, quibus ipse in demonstratione sua usus est, adeo ut suas cogitationes in argumentatione tua expressas viderit. Tanto enixius secundam propositionem à te probatam videre desiderat: qua solide probata, tertia nullo negotio ex duabus prioribus deduci potest. Secundam ait, omnes theologos ac philosophos, quin & ipsum Cartesium, non probare, sed præsupponere. Non dubito, quin mihi omnem suam argumentationem communicaturus sit; credo autem non id facturum, antequam tua argumenta viderit; ut tuas cogitationes, quas ipse es meditatus cum suis conferre possit. Verum hic ambigere quis possit, an non propositionum harum ordo mutari, & quæ nunc secunda est, tertia, & quæ nunc tertia est, secunda esse debeat: hoc est, an non, quando probatum est, dari ens æternum, independens, sibi ipsi sufficiens, exinde possit porro probari, illud in se omnes complecti perfectiones; quia fieri nequit, ut enti æterno, independenti, sibique sufficienti ulla perfectio desit: atque ita probato, ens illud omnes in se complecti perfectiones, porro inferatur illud ens tantum esse unum. Verum huic methodo hæc objicitur difficultas, quod deprehendamus esse duas naturas tota essentia diversas (loquor terminis eorum, qui hanc movent difficultatem) cogitationem, & extensionem: supposito dari cogitationem æternam, & independentem, à qua ego dependeo, statuere-quis possit etiam esse extensionem seu materiam æternam sibi ipsi sufficientem, & à cogitatione æterna minime dependentem? sic statuerentur duo entia æterna: & tamen ex positione materiæ æternæ & independentis minime sequeretur, eam in se complecti omnes perfectiones. Quare primo probandum videtur, ens æternum & independens esse tantum unum, antequam omnes in se complecti perfectiones probari possit.

Quod si secunda propositio, ens independens esse tantum unum, non possit probari, nihil religioni, seu necessitati ens illud unice colendi, decedere videtur: quia ego totus ab illo uno ente, quod me produxit, dependeo: illi ergo soli sum obligatus, illud ex toto corde, tota anima diligere, illiusque præceptis per omnia obedire debeo. Si præter illud ens aliud forte existat, quia ab eo non dependeo, illud neutiquam me spectat, neque ego ullam ad id relationem habeo, neque id ullam in me operationem exserere potest. Imo neutrum horum entium de altero ullam notitiam habere, aut ullam in alterum operationem edere posset. Quoniam enim sibi ipsi est sufficiens, ergo nec per alterius positionem, aut remotionem, ullam acquirere potest majorem perfectionem, aut de sua perfectione quicquam amittere; alias sibi non esset sufficiens. Licet itaque veritatis scrutatori summopere gratum sit, evidenter demonstrare posse, ens independens esse tantum unum: si tamen forte contingat, illud evidenter demonstrari non posse, nihil tamen religionis necessitati & perfectioni propterea decessurum videtur, quoniam ens, à quo ego dependeo, est tantum unum. Hæc fuit sermonum viri magnifici summa, quantum ego mentem ejus percepi.

Ego argumentationis tuæ filum, in tractatu tuo de Intellectu Humano, non legi. Probâsse te, ens aliquod esse à quo dependes, illudque ens esse æternum & sibi ipsi sufficiens, nullus dubito. Argumentum, quo id probatur, evidens est & clarum. Verum, an ibidem probaveris, te ab uno ente tantum dependere, neque fieri posse ut à pluribus dependeas, ignoro. Argumentatio viri magnifici quidem infert, me ab ente æterno dependere: sed nondum vidi ab ipso probatum ab uno tantum ente me dependere: quod tamen spectat primam propositionem. Nam in secunda ponitur, præter illud ens æternum à quo ego dependeo, aliud nullum esse ens æternum. Itaque similiter hic præsupponi videtur, me ab uno tantum ente dependere, saltem id nondum distincte probatum audivi: quod tamen primo probandum videtur, antequam ad probationem propositionis secundæ procedatur. Tum & dispiciendum, an quidem ratio permittat, supponi materiam æternam ac sibi sufficientem; si enim ens sibi sufficiens & æternum, necessario sit omni modo

perfectum; sequitur, materiam, quæ iners est substantia, omni motu ac vita destituta, non posse concipi æternam ac sibi sufficientem.

Voluit vir magnificus, ut tibi distinctius, qualem desideret probationem, præscriberem: verbis suis te quam officiosissime salutari jussit; pro suscepto in sui gratiam labore gratias agit: dolet valetudinem tuam afflictam; & si ea minus permittat subtilioribus indulgere cogitationibus, minime cupit ut te fatiges meditationibus, tibi ob valetudinem afflictiorem molestis, aut valetudini noxiis. Precatur interim tibi valetudinem firmam ac vegetam; & si ea permittat, ut de propositionis secundæ, prout nunc à me ex mente illius proposita est, judicium tuum scribas, rem facies ipsi gratissimam. Tu ipse judicabis de illius methodo, & quid rescribendum sit. Hoc unum addo, ipsum, lecta tua epistola, nullum illius apographum petiisse; sed conditionibus, quas stipularis, acquievisse: & si petiisset, ego modeste negâssem; verum ea est humanitate, ut hoc à me flagitare noluerit. Verum tandem tempus est manum de tabula tollere. Vale, vir amplissime.

Amstelod. 16 Maii. 1698. Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Lettre de Mr. Locke à Mr. Limborch.

Monsieur,

SI ma santé ne me permettoit pas de satisfaire commodément l'envie que j'ai d'éxécuter les ordres de ce grand homme qui reçoit si favorablement mes réflections, toutes médiocres qu'elles sont, il est pourtant vrai que je ne saurois la sacrifier pour une meilleure occasion que celle qui me porte à examiner le sujet où il m'a engagé, & qui me fournit le moyen de lui faire voir combien je suis prêt à lui obêïr. Mais je ne prétens pas qu'en cette rencontre il me soit obligé d'un tel sacrifice; car si je ne hazarde point ma réputation auprès de lui, je suis fort assuré que ma santé ne sera point *intéressée* par ce que je vais écrire. Ayant à faire à

un homme qui raisonne si nettement, & qui a si bien approfondi cette matiere, je n'aurai pas besoin de parler beaucoup pour me faire entendre. Son extreme penetration lui fera sentir d'abord le fondement de la preuve que je vais proposer, de sorte que, sans qu'il soit nécessaire que je m'engage dans de longues déductions, il pourra juger si elle est bien ou mal fondée.

Je ne puis m'empêcher de remarquer l'exactitude de son jugement par rapport à l'ordre qu'il a donné à ses propositions, & il est vrai comme il l'a fort bien remarqué qu'en mettant la troisième à la place de la seconde, les Théologiens, les Philosophes, & Descartes lui-même, supposent l'unité de Dieu, sans la prouver.

Si par la question qui me fuit d'abord proposée, j'eusse compris comme je fais présentement, quel étoit le but de cet habile homme, je n'aurois pas envoyé la réponse que je vous ai envoyé, mais une beaucoup plus courte & plus conforme à l'ordre de la nature & de la raison, où chaque chose paroit dans son meilleur jour.

Je crois que quicunque réfléchira sur soi-même, connoîtra évidemment sans en pouvoir douter le moins du monde, qu'il y a eu de toute éternité un être intelligent. Je crois encore qu'il est évident à tout homme qui pense, qu'il y a aussi un être infini. Or je dis qu'il ne peut y avoir qu'un être infini, & que cet être infini doit être aussi l'être éternel ; parce que, ce qui est infini doit avoir été infini de toute éternité, car aucuns additions faites dans le tems, ne sauroient rendre une chose infinie, si elle ne l'est pas en elle-même, & par elle-même, de toute éternité. Telle étant la nature de l'infini qu'on n'en peut rien ôter, & qu'on n'y peut rien ajouter. D'où il s'ensuit, que l'infini ne sauroit être séparé en plus d'un, ni être qu'un.

C'est-là, selon moi, une preuve à priori, que l'être éternel independent n'est qu'un : & si nous y joignons l'idée de toutes les perfections possibles, nous avons alors l'idée d'un Dieu éternel, infini, omniscient, & tout-puissant, &c.

Si ce raisonnement s'accorde avec les notions de l'excellent homme, qui doit le voir, j'en serai extrêmement satisfait. Et s'il ne s'en accommode pas, je regarderai comme une grande faveur s'il veut bien me com-

muniquer sa preuve, que je tiendrai secrete, ou que je communiquerai comme venant de sa part, selon qu'il le jugera à propos. Je vous prie de l'assurer de mes très-humbles respects. Je suis, &c.

Oates, 21 Mai, 1698. J. LOCKE.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir amicissime,

VIRO magnifico postremas tuas ostendi; illo pro labore rogatu suo à te suscepto maximas agit gratias: non tamen in tua argumentatione acquiescit. Methodus illius primo loco probat, dari ens aliquod per se existens ac sibi sufficiens: deinde, illud ens esse tantum unum: tertio, illud ens in se complecti omnes perfectiones, ac proinde esse Deum. Tu vero in tua argumentatione præsupponis, omni homini attente meditanti, evidens esse dari ens infinitum, cui nihil addi aut demi potest, atque id idem ipsi est ac supponere, dari ens undiquaque perfectum: quæ est tertia ipsius thesis; adeo ut ex præsupposita illius thesi tertia probes secundam: cum secunda prius probari debeat antiquam ex illa possit concludi tertii. Hæc fuit causa cur ego tibi considerandum dederim, an non ordo illius mutari debeat, & quæ illius tertia est non debeat esse secunda thesis: verum ut argumentatio procedat, non deberet ea thesis præsupponi, sed ex prima thesi probari: aut si illius methodus placeat, deberet prius ex eo, quod sit ens æternum ac sibi sufficiens, probari illud esse unum; & hoc probato porro exinde deduci illud esse infinitum, seu undiquaque perfectum. Argumentationem suam mihi nondum communicavit: an communicaturus sit, valde dubito. Idem ipsum qui te scrupulus retinet: metuit iniquas theologorum censuras, qui omnia è schola sua non hausta, atro carbone notare, ac infami exosissimarum hæresium nomenclatura traducere solent. Tentabo tamen, an prolixiore colloquio, quod mecum instituere velle dixit, aliquatenus elicere possim, quod scripto tradere gravatur. Vale, vir amplissime,

Amstelod. Cal. Jul.
1698. Tui amantissimus,
P. à LIMBORCH.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

POST ultimum meum cum viro magnifico colloquium nulla ipsum conveniendi occasio fuit: aliquandiu febricula laboravit. Colloquium habui cum quodam illius amico, qui inter alia dixit, minime sibi probari viri magnifici argumentationem, qua contendit, si supponamus dari cogitationem, per se existentem, & præterea extensionem, seu materiam, quod neutra ullam alterius possit habere cognitionem: extensionem quidem (aiebat) nullam habituram cognitionem cogitationis; fieri autem non posse, quin cogitatio cognitionem sit habitura extensionis: quia cum cogitatio per se existat, sibique sit sufficiens, etiam est infinita; ac proinde vi infinitæ suæ cogitationis necessario cognoscit extensionem existentem. Sed cum regererem, virum magnificum improbare methodum, qua enti per se existenti sibique sufficienti probantur inesse alia attributa, antequam probatum sit illud esse tantum unicum; respondebat necessario de tali ente debere affirmari illud esse infinitum, sed in sua natura; cogitationem quidem esse infinitæ scientiæ; materiam infinitæ extensionis, si quidem per se existat. Sed inde sequi colligebam, etiam alia attributa posse probari: probata enim infinitate etiam probari posse alia illi inesse, sine quibus infinitas concipi nequit. Quod non negavit. Atque ita mecum sentire videbatur unitatem ejusmodi entis tali methodo frustra quæri, sed oportere thesin secundam esse tertiam. Crediderim ego virum magnificum hanc sibi investigandæ veritati præscripsisse methodum, & cum ipse, quæ sibi satisfaciant, argumenta invenire nequeat, ea apud alios quærere. Difficile mihi videtur probatu, ens necessitate naturæ suæ existens esse tantum unum, antequam ex necessaria existentia, alia, quæ eam necessario comitantur, attributa deduxeris. Si vir magnificus ea habeat, operæ pretium foret ea erudito orbi communicare.

Nuper professor Vander Weeyen tractatulum quendam Rittangeliæ edidit, illique prolixam ac virulentam contra D. Clericum præfixit præfationem, qua explicationem initii evangelii Joannis à D. Clerico editam, refutare conatur. Ego æquitatem & judicium in illo

scripto desidero. In fine etiam contra me insurgit, verum paucis, quia in Theologia mea Christiana scripsi Burmanum pleraque, quæ in sua Synopsi Theologiæ habet de omnipotentia divina, descripsisse ex Spinosæ Cogitatis Metaphysicis. Ille non negat, sed contendit Burmannum propterea non esse Spinosistam, quod ego nusquam scripsi. Neuter nostrûm tam inepto scriptori quicquam reponet. Dediante paucas hebdomadas N. N. literas ad te perferendas; verum ille adhuc Roterodami commoratur: vir est eruditus, & moribus probatis. Non tu ex eorum es genere, qui viri, non per omnia tecum in religione sentientis alloquium horreas. Ille quando advenerit, de statu nostro plura dicere poterit. Hac hebdomade D. Guenellonus me tuis verbis salutavit, quodque postremis meis literis nondum responderis excusavit. Gratissimæ mihi semper sunt literæ tuæ, & quanto crebriores tanto gratiores; sed non sum importunus adeo exactor, ut cum meliorum laborum dispendio eas à te flagitem. Scio responsi tarditatem non oblivioni mei, sed negotiis, quibus obrueris, adscribendam. Spem fecit Guenellonus nonnullam profectionis tuæ instante hyeme in Galliam, & reditus tui in Angliam per Hollandiam nostram. Si id confirmandæ valetudini inservire queat, opto summis votis, ut iter hoc perficias, ut tui post tam diuturnam absentiam videndi & amplectendi, & fortasse ultimum valedicendi occasio detur. Vale.

Amstelod. 12 Sept. 1698.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime, Lond. 4 Octob. 1698.

ROGO ut magnificum virum meo nomine adeas, dicasque me magnopere rogare ut suam methodum, qua unitatem entis per se existentis sibique sufficientis adstruit, mihi indicare velit: quandoquidem mea ea de re argumentandi ratio ipsi non penitus satisfaciat. Nollem ego in re tanti momenti, falso vel fallaci innixus fundamento, mihimet imponere. Si quid stabilius, si quid rectius noverit, ut candidus impertiri velit, enixè rogito. Si tectum, si tacitum

velit, pro me meoque silentio spondeas. Sin tantum beneficium orbi non invideat, in proxima, quæ jam instat, libri mei editione palam faciam, agnito, si libet, vel velato auctore.

Cartesianorum, quam in epistola tua reperio loquendi formulam, nullatenus capio. Quid enim sibi velit cogitatio infinita, plane me fugit. Nullo enim modo mihi in animum inducere possum cogitationem per se existere, sed rem, vel substantiam, cogitantem, eamque esse, de qua affirmari possit esse vel finitam vel infinitam. Qui aliter loqui amant, nescio quid obscuri vel fraudulenti sub tam dubia locutione continere mihi videntur, & omnia tenebris involvere: vel saltem quod sentiant clare & dilucide enuntiare non audere, faventes nimium hypothesi non undique sanæ. Sed de hoc forsan alias, quando majus suppetet otium.

Quod de professore Vauder Weeyen scribis non miror. Istius farinæ homines sic solent, nec aliter possunt; recte facitis quod negligitis.

Literas tuas, quæ Roterodami hærent, avide expecto, & virum illum cui eas ad me perferendas tradidisti. Ex tua commendatione mihi erit gratissimus. Viros probos fovendos colendosque semper existimavi. Ignoscant alii meis erroribus; nemini propter opinionum diversitatem bellum indico, ignarus ego & fallibilis homuncio. Evangelicus sum ego christianus, non papista.

Hucusque scripseram die supra notato, quo autem die epistolam hanc finiri permissum est, infra videbis.

Quod velim cum me christianum Evangelicum, vel si mavis orthodoxum, non papistam dico, paucis accipe. Inter christiani nominis professores duos ego tantum agnosco classes, evangelicos & papistas. Hos, qui tanquam infallibiles dominium sibi arrogant id aliorum conscientias: illos, qui quærentes unice veritatem, illam & sibi & aliis, argumentis solum rationibusque persuasam volunt; aliorum erroribus faciles, suæ imbecillitatis haud immemores: veniam fragilitati & ignorantiæ humanæ dantes petentesque vicissim.

Hyens jam ingravescens & pulmonibus meis infesta me brevi urbe expellet; & abitum suadet invalescens tussis & anhelitus. Iter in Galliam dudum propositum

languescere videtur: quid fiet nescio, ubicunque fuero totus ubique tuus sum. Saluto uxorem tuam optimam liberosque amicosque nostros communes, Veenios, Guenellones, Clericos. Accepi nuper à D° Guenellone epistolam, 3 Octobris datam, pro qua nunc per te gratias reddere cupio, ipsi prima data occasione responsurus. Vale, vir amicissime, & me ama

18 Octob. Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Amplissime Vir,

QUOD literis tuis hactenus non responderim valetudo minus prospera in causa fuit. Aliquot hebdomadibus febricula laboravi, accessere dolores colici acres admodum ac vehementes. Tandem benignitate divina convalui & ad intermissa studia reversus sum.

Cartesianam illam loquendi formulam ego tecum non capio; cogitationem enim per se existentem non percipio, sed quidem substantiam cogitantem: verum ne sententiam suam minus candide proponi querantur, iisdem, quibus illi eam explicant, verbis uti, necesse habui: ego autem quando me explico, ita loqui non soleo.

Quæ de christianis evangelicis & papistis disseris, optima sunt & verissima. Ego utramque classem in omnibus christianorum sectis reperiri credo. Nullum enim cœtum ita prorsus corruptum mihi persuadeo, ut nemo in tanto numero sit evangelicus; licet enim cœtus ipse professionem edat papismi, nonnullos tamen in eo latere credo evangelicos, quibus dominatus ille in aliorum conscientias displicet, ac dissentientibus salutem abjudicare religio est. Rursus licet cœtus evangelicam charitatem profiteatur, non adeo in omnibus & per omnia purgatum, sperare ausim, quin & degeneres aliquot in eo reperiantur, qui professionis suæ obliti, tyrannidem animo fovent, libertatemque sentiendi, quam sibi cupiunt, aliis invident. Ita ubique zizania tritico permix

ta in hoc sæculo habebimus. Evangelicos ego, quocunque in cœtu sunt, amo ac fraterna charitate complector. Papistas, licet ejusdem mecum cœtus membra, tanquam spurios Christianos considero, nec genuina esse corporis Christi membra agnosco, utpote charitate, ex qua discipulos suos agnosci vult Christus, destitutos.

Bibliopolæ Churchill tradetur fasciculus, quem ad te mittet, complectens Historiam Inquisitionis, quam cum epistola addita Francisco Cudworth Masham tradi velim: addidi tria defensionis meæ contra Joannem Vander Weeyen exemplaria, quorum unum tibi, alterum Francisco, tertium D° Coste destinavi. Adversarius meus se reformatum vocat: an evangelicus, an vero papista sit, tu dijudicabis. Amicorum hortatui obsecutus sum; verum bonas meas horas melioribus studiis destinavi, nec facile me istiusmodi scriptis inde denuo avelli patiar. Ut scias quo respiciam, quando de spatiis imaginariis ultra polos loquor, adscribam lineas aliquot ex tractatu quodam Weeyeni contra Spanhemium, quibus Spanhemio geographiæ ignorantiam objicit, ipseo adeo rudis, ut discrimen inter gradus longitudinis & latitudinis prorsus ignoret. Hæc sunt ejus verba: [a] "Ridere in calce si "lubeat, lege quæso Dissertat. Histor. p. 298. Ame-"ricæ longitudinem protendit [Spanhemius] ultra 180 "gradus. Forte pars ejus in spatiis imaginariis collo-"canda erit! cum hactenus ab uno polo ad alium non "ultra 180 gradus ponant geographi. Arcticæ & ant-"arcticæ terræ partibus nullus jam locus erit, ubi Ame-"rica ultra polos ignorantissime protenditur. Cave cre-"das [Spanhemio] adeo crasse philosophanti, cum ad "mathesin ventum est." Monitus ab amico, rescisso hoc folio, aliud substituit: sed libellus jam toto Belgio dispersus erat, & in omnium officinis prostabat. Vide cum quali heroë mihi res sit. Hyemem hanc sine gravi incommodo ruri ut transigas voveo. Domino ac Dominæ Masham, totique familiæ officiosissimam à nobis dicas salutem. Uxor ac filia te plurimum salutant, imprimis ego.

Amstelod. 9 Dec. 1698.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

[a] Spanhemii epist. ad amicum, & necess. animadvers. p. 72, & seq.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Amplissime Vir,

LITERAS tuas vir eruditissimus fideliter mihi ante duos circiter menses tradidit. Edidit Weeyenus dissolutionem defensionis meæ, verum adeo dissolutam, maledicam, & nihil an principale argumentum facientem, ut sponte evanitura sit. Ego nolo mihi cum tam impotenti adversatio quicquam negotii esse. Ut exiguum aliquod specimen tibi referam, carpit quod dixi indolem, qua à litibus abhorreo, mihi esse innatam ; atque propterea me criminatur, quod glorier de propriis meis viribus, se vero omnia gratiæ divinæ adscribere jactat, idque duabus aut tribus primis foliis plus sexies repetit: talis farinæ totus est liber. Si dixissem me natura esse propensum ad odium Dei & proximi, fuissem illi orthodoxus. Hanc sibi indolem naturalem agnoscit: actiones vero ejus ostendunt, regenerationem (quam sibi tribuit) admodum esse imperfectam, partemque irregenitam multum prædominari regenitæ. D. Clericus edidit Gallice sua Parrhasiana, in quibus de variis disserit, & paucis etiam hunc hominem perstringit: verum accuratiorem illius refutationem Latinam brevi editurus est. Prodiit etiam alterius docti viri tractatus, quem tibi in Anglia ostendit. Quænam de illo aliorum futura sint judicia brevi audiemus. Multa supponit tanquam certa, quæ mihi incertissima sunt, aliis falsa habebuntur.

Legi nuper Camdeni Historiam Angliæ sub Elizabetha, in cujus parte II. anno 1579, hæc verba reperi: "Execranda Matthæi Hammonti impietas, quæ in "Deum Christumque ejus, Norwici, hoc tempore de-"bacchata est, & cum illius vivicomburio, ut spero, ex-"tincta, oblivione potius est obruenda, quam memo-"randa." Velim Camdenus paulo distinctius impietatem illam indicâsset, ut de criminis, quod tam horrendo supplicio vindicatum fuit, atrocitate constare possit. Scimus innoxios quandoque errores à theologis blasphemias & impietates execrandas vocari, ut crudelitati, qua in dissentientes sæviunt, prætextum quærant. Frustra ego hactenus in autoribus, qui mihi ad manum sunt, exactiorem hujus Hammonti historiam quæsivi: non dubito

tamen, quin ea in scriptoribus Anglis reperiri possit. Si sine tuo incommodo explicatiorem illius narrationem mihi suppeditare queas, rem feceris mihi longè gratissimam. Plura illius generis collegi, quæ in ordinem redigere statui, non ut alios traducam, sed ut omnes à sævitia in dissentientes, quantum in me, deterream. Guenellonus noster plurimam tibi salutem scribi jussit. Literas traditurus est nobili Muscovitæ ad te perferendas, qui propediem hinc in Anglicam trajiciet, quod tibi significari voluit. Salutant te ac Dominum & Dominam Masham totamque familiam uxor ac liberi: Francisci Masham epistola mihi perplacet, sed jam non est respondendi otium: à tali indole egregia quævis expecto. Nominatim illi, ut & D° Coste salutem dices à me

Amstelod. 23 Junii, 1699.

Tui amantissimo,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

LITERAS meas, circa mensis Junii finem scriptas, fideliter tibi esse traditas nullus dubito. Indicavit mihi D. Clericus sibi à te missum D. Allix tractatum Anglicum, quo probare contendit, Paraphrastas Judæos æternam filii Dei generationem agnovisse. Nuperrime hic prodiit tractatus ante plures annos, ut præfatio habet, & argumentum libri clare ostendit, ab autore ignoto scriptus, qui duos scriptores Rittangelium & Voisinum, idem quod de Allix asserentes, impugnat. Commodâ mihi, per nautam mihi notum oblata occasione exemplar illius ad bibliopolam Churchill tibi porro tradendum mitto, ut hujus cum tractatu D. Allix collatione instituta, de tota controversia judices. Ego non video causæ principali aliquod creari periculum, etiamsi argumento hoc, ex Judæorum scriptis deprompto, propugnari non posset; nec ego tali argumento, in disputatione contra Judæos, multum tribuere ausim. Alia sunt majoris momenti, & quæ fortius stringunt: verum hoc sine occultæ

eum fidei hostibus conspirationis suspicione affirmari non patiuntur orthodoxiæ, semel decretis humanis definitæ, jurati vindices, quibus piaculum est vel unum argumentum, licet elumbe ac stramineum, modo à zelotis adhiberi solitum, omittere, aut de illius evidentia ac robore vel minimum dubitare.

Adfuere mihi nuper aliquot præstantissimi Angli, de quibus, an tibi noti sint, ignoro. Omnes mihi narraverunt T—— quendam, juvenem Hibernum, & ut audio, non magnifice de s. scripturæ divinitate sentientem, aliquoties gloriatum de honore, sibi ab aliquot viris eruditis in patria nostra exhibito: inter alia etiam amicitiam ac familiaritatem mecum contractam jactare. Miror quid hominem, nunquam mihi visum, quique ater an albus sit ignoro, moveat, falso jactare familiaria mecum habita colloquia. Quoniam autem justam mihi causam præbet suspicandi, similia eum de nostra amicitia in Anglia disseminaturum, hac occasione, id scribere tibi consultum duxi: ut si quid simile jactet rumorem illum falsi coarguere queas. Antehac de D. Clerici amicitia multum gloriatus est: ipsum hunc bis convenit, sed semel in alienis ædibus: verum ita à Clerico exceptus est, ut de consensu illius secum minime gloriari queat. Sub prælo jam habet D. Clericus aliquot epistolas, quibus se contra criminationes Cavei, Weeyeni, aliorumque defendit. Semel hoc labore defungi cupit, ideoque pluribus simul respondet. Vitam Episcopii à Marco Teute in Latinum sermonem versam relegi: quædam emendavi: omnia autem si emendare cupiam, res magni esset laboris: addidi etiam quædam, quibus Historia nostra exteris plenius paulo explicatur: verum quoniam non Remonstrantismi, sed solummodo vitæ Episcopii Historiam conscripsi, intra cancellos rerum ab ipso Episcopio gestarum continere me debui. Fortasse versio illa, qualiscunque sit, brevi prælo subjicietur. Vale, vir amplissime: salutem dices Dominæ Masham totique familiæ, à me, uxore, & filia, qui omnes tibi salutem precantur.

Amstelod. 3 August. 1699.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Philippo à Limborch, Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

NUDIUSTERTIUS tractatum contra Rittangelium, quem mihi misisti, accepi. Benigne mecum actum erit, si hoc nomine mihi ignoscas tarditatem responsi ad literas tuas, tertio Augusti datas. Nondum mihi vacui temporis satis datum est, ut Allixi librum hoc de argumento aggrederer, qui mirus plerisque primo auditu visus est, quod trinitatis doctrinam è synagoga haurire præ se fert. Accingam me quamprimum jam per otium liceat ad utriusque lectionem; multi enim, ut audio, apud nos dictitant quæstionem hanc, prius non intellectam, jam primum in lucem produxisse Allixium, & suis fundamentis innixam mundo obtulisse. Quas partes hac in controversia habent Judæi, perpensis utrinque argumentis jam videbimus.

Hibernum quem nominas, vanæ hujusmodi gloriolæ avidum, ex aliis audivi: si de te tuaque amicitia aliquid jactitet apud communes amicos familiaresque meos, quam omnino tibi ignotus sit, ex me scient.

Criminationes hujusmodi adversariorum, quibuscum res est Domino Clerico, an negligendæ, an refutandæ, haud facile est statuere. Quidam enim non aliud quærunt nisi calumniandi rixandique ansam. Non dubito quin amicus noster satis habet quod respondeat. Ego sane laudo tuum consilium, qui placide juxta ac solide refutaveris quæ contra te maligne scripserat Weeyenus. De controversiarum, quæ me aliquamdiu exercuerunt, eventu, etiamsi non multum habeam quod querar, piget tamen pœnitetque tantum temporis mihi suffuratum, quod aliis studiis majore cum fructu poterat impendi. Si quæ novæ oriantur vellicationes, eas in posterum mihi negligendas censeo.

Vitam Episcopii latinitate donatam lubens viderim; Belgica enim lingua non satis mihi nota, ut quam tu edideris legere possim. Non dubito quin multa contineat scitu & jucunda & utilia, sive mores privatos respicias, sive rerum eo tempore gestarum historiam.

Hactenus ad tuas 3 Augusti datas, sed qua excusatione

utar, cum respicio ad antiquiores, scilicet mense Junio scriptas? Si delictum consuetudine delinquendi defendi possit, habeo quod dicam: nôsti tarditatem meam hoc in genere. Fac ut soles, & inveterascentem in me delinquendi morem tu consuetudine ignoscendi vincas.

Cum in novissimis tuis de viro magnifico ne verbum quidem, amici tui opinionem pronus amplector. Operose ab aliis quærit, non quod domi habet, sed quod nusquam adhuc reperire potuit, & quod forsan reperiri possit *.

Tractatus viri docti, quem in Angliæ videram, apud vos editus, nondum ad manus meas pervenit: de fundamentis quibus tanquam certissimis superstructum censuit, minime mihi satisfecit, cum de iis coram disceptavimus.

Exactiorem Hammonti historiam quæsivi, nondum autem reperi quenquam, qui eam mihi explicatius tradere possit, vel scriptorem aliquem indicare in quo eam reperire licet. Non tamen desistam. Laudo enim consilium tuum in colligendis hujusmodi exemplis.

Guenelloni nostri literas, quas me expectare jusseras, nondum vidi, nec nobilem Muscovitam, cui tradendæ erant ad me perferendæ. Quo infortunio hoc acciderit, nondum scio. Doleo interim mihi ablatam occasionem testandi, quam paratus essem inservire peregrino, à tam caro amico adventanti. Illum uxoremque ipsius, socerumque ejus Veenium nostrum, officiosissime meo nomine quæso salutes: imprimis autem uxorem liberosque tuos. Vale, & me, ut facis, ama

Lond. 5 Sept. 1699.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

LICET nihil mihi literis tuis gratius sit, absit tamen, ut amicum plurimis ac gravissimis distractum negotiis, ad singulis meis respondendum constringi cupiam.

* Miurm viro clariss. latuisse quæ super hac quæstione meditatus est B. Spinosa. Vide epist. 39, 40, 41, & oper. posthum.

Amicitia arithmeticam illam scribendi & respondendi proportionem non requirit, sed in prompto ac benevolo amici animo acquiescit, & bene secum actum credit, quotiescunque amicus aliquam à gravioribus curis respirationem nactus, vel tantillum temporis, epistolio, licet breviori, impendit. Ego ex tuis te recte valere lætus intellexi: Deus hanc tibi diu continuet valetudinem. Anonymi librum contra Rittangelium recte ad manus tuas pervenisse gaudeo. Ubi eum legeris & cum Allixii libro contuleris, rem mihi facies maximopere gratam, si vel tribus lineis judicium tuum de utroque ad me scribas.

D. Clerici epistolæ criticæ, quibus pluribus qui calamum in ipsum strinxerunt, simul respondet, brevi lucem videbunt. Adversarios habet parum candidos, & eorum quosdam imperitos admodum ac indoctos; præsertim illum qui ipsum & me non provocatus invasit. Homo ille omnium imperitus de omnibus judicium pronuntiat, quæque minime intelligit magno cum supercilio carpit. Contra Clericum scribit, Philonem à Spencero vocari fabularum sterquilinium: verum quod Spencerus scribit de fictitio antiquitatum biblicarum libro, Philoni falsò tributo, quique nusquam in Philonis operibus exstat, ille de genuino Philone dicta putat. Et hic heros, adeo in Philone hospes, Clericum malæ fidei in Philone citando accusare audet. Me sibi seditionem objicere putat, quando triumphum in spatiis imaginariis agere jubeo, innumerabili ex fœcunda gente Meneni turba currum faustis acclamationibus prosequente: ignarus fœcundam gentem Meneni non seditiosos, sed stolidos, quorum magna ubique copia est, designare. Clerico contra talem adversarium similem, quanquam non adeo gloriosum, propter adversarii exiguam eruditionem, eventum, qualem tu nuper omnium judicio consecutus es, prævideo. Scripsit de eo nuperrime ad me doctus quidem Anglus, qui me præterito anno vidit, his verbis: " Non dubito quin jamdudum " audivisti de indubitata victoria, quam amicus tuus D. " Locke retulit de episcopo Vigorniensi, in ejus respon- " sione ultima ad objectiones episcopi, contra librum de " intellectu Humano. Episcopus eam vidit, nec multo " post mortuus est. Sed etiamsi diutius vixisset, vix " credo eum responsurum fuisse: omnia enim istic adeo

" ad vivum demonstrantur, ut nullus locus contradic-
" tioni relinquatur."

Exactiorem Hammonti historiam quærendo nolo multum te fatiges: si absque tuo incommodo eam mihi suppeditare potuisses, gratum fuisset. Credidi ego lingua Anglica exstare historias ecclesiasticas, in quibus hoc hæretici adeo horrendi exemplum prætermissum neutiquam est. Ejusmodi enim orthodoxiæ de hæresibus triumphos zelotæ, in suis historiis, magnifice deprædicare solent. Sed quoniam illud exemplum tibi obvium non est, ego brevi illa Camdeni narratione contentus ero. Episcopii vitam jam paucas intra hebdomadas prælo subjiciendam credo, quoniam ingens, quod sub prælo habebat typographus, opus jam jam in lucem proditurum est, ut jam illius præla hujus opusculi editione occupari possint.

De magnifico viro nihil jam audio, nihil etiam ab ipso responsi expecto. Videtur aliquatenus congressum meum vitare, fortasse quia me responsum flagitaturum credit: verum ego statui eum amplius non urgere, ne responsum, quod declinet, flagitando importunus videar.

Me Guenelloni, quæ de eo scripsisti, prælegisse testes sunt literæ ipsius, quibus has inclusas voluit. Ipse de nobili illo Muscovita pluribus ad te scribit. Salutem quam officiosissime à nobis dices Dominæ Masham totique familiæ. Salutant te uxor & liberi, imprimis ego.

Amstelod. 2 Oct. 1699.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

QUOD à me petiisti, quærendo apud veterem historicum tandem inveni. En tibi igitur Hammonti crimen & vivicomburium.

Matthæus Hammont aratrorum faber ex vico Hetharset, tribus milliaribus à Norwico distante, reus factus coram episcopo Norwicensi accusatus, quod negaverat Christum salvatorem nostrum. Comparenti in judicio

objectum est, quod sequentes propositiones hæreticas publicasset, nempe quod Novum Testamentum & evangelium Christi pura stultitia erat, inventum humanum, & mera fabula. Quod homo in gratiam restituitur solà misericordia divina, sine ope sanguinis, mortis, & passionis Christi. Insuper, quod Christus non est Deus, nec salvator mundi, sed merus homo, peccator, & idolum abominandum; & quod omnes, qui illum colunt, sunt idololatræ abominandi. Item, quod Christus non resurrexit à morte ad vitam, potestate suæ divinitatis, neque in cœlum ascendit. Item, quod Spiritus sanctus non est Deus, nec quidem omnino est. Item, quod baptismus in ecclesia Dei non est necessarius, nec usus sacramenti corporis & sanguinis Christi. Propter quas hæreses condemnatus est in consistorio, episcopo sententiam pronunciante, 13 die Aprilis 1579, & deinde traditus vicecomiti Norwicensi. Et quia verba blasphemiæ (non recitanda) locutus fuerat contra reginam aliosque è concilio reginæ sanctiore, condemnatus est à judice Norwicensi Windamo, & prætore Norwicensi Roberto Wood, ut ei amputarentur auriculæ, quod factum est in foro Norwicensi 13 Maii, & postea 12 ejusdem mensis vivicomburium passus est, in fossa castelli Norwicensis.

Hactenus Hollinshead ad annum 21 Elizabethæ. Huic simile exemplum reperio in eodem historico, ad annum Elizabethæ 25. Verba authoris hæc sunt:

18 Die Septembris anno 1583, Johannes Lewes, hæreticus obstinatus, qui negavit deitatem Christi, & professus plures alias detestandas hæreses, quales fere erant prædecessoris sui Hammonti, combustus est Norwici.

Lubet etiam duo alia exempla ejusmodi ex alio autore suggerere, quæ tibi etiam forte usui esse possunt in eo, quod præ manibus habes, argumento. Primum est vivicomburium Bartholomæi Legatt Londinensis, anno 1611, & Jacobi primi 9, ob varios errores, hæreses, & blasphema dogmata asserta & publicata, præcipue in his tredecim positionibus sequentibus. Nempe quod symbolum dictum Nicænum, illudque alterum Athanasii, non continent veram professionem fidei christianæ: vel quod ille ipse non vult profiteri suam fidem secundum illa symbola. Quod Christus non est de Deo Deus genitus, non factus: sed & genitus & factus. Quod nullæ sunt in Deitate per-

sonæ. Quod Christus non fuit Deus ab æterno, sed incipit esse Deus, quando carnem assumpsit ex virgine Maria. Quod Mundus non fuit factus per Christum. Quod apostoli docent Christum esse merum hominem. Quod in Deo nulla sit generatio nisi creaturarum. Quod hæc assertio, Deus factus est homo, contraria est fidei regulæ & blasphemia enormis. Quod Christus non fuit ante plenitudinem temporis, nisi promissione. Quod Christus non fuit aliter Deus quam unctus Deus. Quod Christus non fuit in forma Die æqualis Deo, i. e. in substantia Dei, sed in justitia & dando salutem. Quod Christus deitate sua nulla operatus est miracula. Quod preces Christo non sunt offerendæ.

Hic Bartholomæus Legatt ab episcopo Londinensi, assistentibus consentientibusque aliis reverendis episcopis, doctisque clericis, hæreseos condemnatus est, & brachio sæculari traditus, & deinde igni commissus & combustus in West-Smithfield Londini.

Eodem supplicio affectus est Edvardus Wightman, in civitate Lichfield, anno 1611, ab episcopo Coventriæ & Lichfield, hæreseos damnatus, ob has sequentes opiniones:

1. Quod non est trinitas personarum, patris, filii, & spiritûs sancti, in unitate Deitatis.

2. Quod Jesus Christus non est verus, naturalis filius Dei, Deus perfectus, & ejusdem substantiæ, æternitatis, & majestatis cum patre, respectu deitatis suæ.

3. Quod Jesus Christus est homo solummodo, & mera creatura, & non Deus simul & homo in una persona.

4. Quod salvator noster Christus non sibi sumpsit carnem humanam ex substantia virginis Mariæ matris suæ; & quod promissio illa, "Semen mulieris conteret caput serpentis," non adimpleta erat in Christo.

5. Quod persona spiritus sancti non est Deus, coæqualis, coessentialis cum patre & filio.

6. Quod tria symbola, sc. Apostolorum, Nicænum, & Athanasii, continent hæresin Nicolaïtarum.

7. Quod ille, nempe Eduardus Wightman, est propheta ille, cujus mentio facta est xviii. Deuteron. his verbis: "Suscitabo illis prophetam," &c. Et quod verba Isaiæ, "Ego solus torcular calcavi," & Lucæ, "Cujus ventila-"brum in manu ejus," pertinent proprie & personaliter eidem dicto Eduardo Wightman.

8. Quod ille, nempe Wightman, est persona illa spiritus sancti, cujus mentio facta est in scriptura, & paracletus ille, de quo loquitur Joannes, c. xvi. evangelii sui.

9. Quod verba salvatoris nostri Christi, de peccato blasphemiæ contra spiritum sanctum, de sua persona intelligenda sunt.

10. Quod Elias ille venturus, de quo loquitur Malach. c. iv. suam personam designat.

11. Quod anima æque ac corpus dormit in somno primæ mortis, & est mortalis, respectu somni primæ mortis, uti corpus; & quod anima servatoris nostri Jesu Christi in illo somno mortis dormivit, æque ac corpus ejus.

12. Quod animæ sanctorum defunctorum non sunt membra, quæ possident ecclesiam triumphantem in cœlo.

13. Quod Pædobaptismus est ritus abominandus.

14. Quod celebratio cœnæ dominicæ in elementis panis & vini in ecclesia esse non debet; neque baptismi in elemento aquæ, uti nunc in ecclesia Anglicana usus obtinet. Sed baptismus in aqua administrari debet solis adultis à paganismo ad fidem conversis.

15. Quod Deus ordinavit & misit illum, scil. Eduardum Wightman ad exequendum suam partem operis salutis mundi, ut sua doctrina suisque monitis mundum liberaret ab hæresi Nicolaïtarum, ut Christus ordinatus fuit & missus ad mundum servandum, & à peccato liberandum morte sua, & Deo reconciliandum.

16. Quod Christiana religio non integra, sed pars solum illius prædicatur & admittitur in ecclesia Anglicana.

Hæc ex lingua Anglicana nimis fidus interpres, verbatim pene, neglecta latinitatis elegantia & sermonis proprietate, transtuli, ut dogmata illa hæretica & capitalia, quæ supplicium illud meruerunt, tibi, ut apud nos memoriæ mandantur, perfecte innotescerent. Si qua alia hujus generis exempla apud nos extant, si cupias, ex nostra historia eruam & ad te mittam.

Dum hæc præ manibus haberem, allata mihi est gratissima tua 2. hujus mensis scripta epistola, adjunctis duabus aliis. Sentio te eundem semper quem fueras, facilem, dulcemque amicis.

Quamprimum per otium licebit Allixii & Anonymi libros mihi perlegendos proponam, nec oscitanter. Quandoquidem in eo cardine summan quæstionis versari cre-

ditum est. Gaudeo D. Clerici Epistolas Criticas propediem proditurus; ut brevi confossis adversariis in pace vacet studiis melioribus. Controversiarum enim tædium ingens, fructus exiguus. De magnifico viro idem quod tu plane sentio, nec ultra fatigandum censeo. Guenellonis epistolæ amicæ brevi respondebo. Hos ambos interim rogo officiosissime meo nomine salutes, ut et uxorem tuam et filiam; Dominam Guenellonem, Veeneumque, reliquosque amicos nostros communes. Vale, &, ut facis, me ama

Lond. 7 Octob. 1699. Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Amplissime vir,

PRO labore, quem meo rogatu suscepisti, maximas tibi habeo gratias. Gaudeo me ex literis tuis didicisse, quæ episcoporum illius temporis judicio horrenda illa crimina fuerint, non nisi atrocissimo ignis supplicio luenda. Video quandoque unum idemque dogma diversis verbis enuntiari, atque ita, quod uno comprehendi poterat articulo, in plures distendi, proculdubio ut plurium hæresium reatus tam atroci supplicio prætexi possit. Malim dogmata ipsis eorum, qui ea professi fuerint, verbis legere expressa; sic certus forem, me non legere consequentias, sed ipsa dogmata, eaque non terminis odiosis concepta, forte in alienum sensum detorta, sed ipsis autorum verbis nude & candide enuntiata, nihilque continentia, nisi quod ipse, cujus causa agitur, pro suo agnoscit. Quando autem procedendi modum video, ad sancti tribunalis instar omnia exacte esse conformata, non sine dolore, agnosco. Bartholomæi Legatt, supplicium, verum suppresso illius nomine, laudat Casaubonus, in epistola dedicatoria in Exercit. ad Baronium. Wightmani supplicium paucis narrat Gilbertus Clerke, in Antinicænismo contra Bullum, p. 30. Utriusque autem latius describit Gerardus Croesius Historiæ Quakerianæ, lib. iii. p. 479. Verum licet non penitus illorum

suppliciorum ignarus sim, rem mihi fecisti longe gratissimam, quod pleniorem hæresium ipsis attributarum historiam miseris: multa hactenus mihi ignorata, & scopo meo apprime inservientia, me docuisti. Verum unum est quod desidero, nomen autoris ex quo historiam Legatti & Wightmani habes; illud enim in epistola tua non reperio. Tum & leviculum erratum, fortasse calami festinatione, commissum est. Ais Hammonto auriculas amputatas in foro Norwicensi, 13 Maii, & postea 19 ejusdem mensis illum vivicomburium passum. Atqui dies duodecimus antecedit decimum tertium. Præter hæc supplicia legi in Burneti Historia Reform. Eccl. Engl. ad annum 1549, sub Eduardo VI. vivicomburium Johannæ Bocheræ, seu Johannæ de Kent, & Georgii Van Pare, utrumque satis distincte descriptum: itaque nihil est quod hic desidero.

Verum in Mennonitarum scriptis, ad annum 1575, reperio sub Elizabetha, sævam, contra Mennonitas è Belgio profugos, excitatam persecutionem. Narrant nimirum, cœtus suos in Anglia fuisse disturbatos, aliquot suorum in carcerem conjectos, quorum quinque, post varias disputationes & comminationes mortis, ad professionem religionis reformatæ adacti sunt: qui nihilominus in cœmeterio Divi Pauli publico spectaculo fuere expositi, singulorumque humero rogus fuit impositus, quod designabatur ignis supplicium fuisse meritos. Quatuordecim mulieres navibus sunt impositæ, juvenis quidam currui alligatus flagris cæsus, unaque cum mulieribus regno exire jussus, intentata pœna mortis si redirent. Quinque viri in squalido ac profundo carcere detenti sunt, quorum unus in carcere diem suum obiit. Ministri Belgicarum & Gallicarum ecclesiarum Londini reliquos quatuor in suam sententiam pellicere conabantur. Tandem Julii die 22, duo maximi natu, Johannes Petri & Henricus Terwoord, eodem in loco, in quo antehac reformatis ignis supplicium irrogatum fuit, vivi combusti & in cineres redacti sunt, &c. Historiam hanc satis distincte, multisque circumstantiis vestitam narrant Mennonitæ. De hisce nihil prorsus scribit Camdenus: solummodo ad annum 1560, refert Elizabetham anabaptistas & id genus hæreticos, qui in maritima Angliæ oppida ex transmarinis

regionibus, specie declinandæ persecutionis, convolârant, & sectarum virus in Anglia sparserant, è regno intra viginti dies excedere imperâsse, sive illi indigenæ sive exteri, sub pœna incarcerationis & bonorum amissionis. Velim scire, si levi labore fieri possit, an quæ de supplicio hoc narrant scriptores Angli consentanea sint illis, quæ hic ex Mennonitarum scriptis excerpsi. Talia in reformationis opprobrium cedunt. Mihi enim perinde christianæ charitati adversari videtur tribunal de fide, sive id prope Tiberim, sive Lemanum, sive Thamesin constituatur: eadem quippe exercetur crudelitas, licet alio in loco & ab aliis hominibus. Et ut nostrate proverbio dicitur, "Idem est monachus, sed alio indutus cucullo." Judicium tuum de Allixii & Anonymi libro audire gestio. In hoc argumento quæstionis cardinem verti a vestratibus credi miror. Ego nihil causæ principali contra Judæos deesse credo, etiamsi hoc argumento destituatur. D. Clerici Epistolæ Criticæ nondum prodeunt; propediem vero eas expectamus. Vale, vir amplissime,

Amstelod. 6 Nov. 1699.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

RECTE quidem mones, vir amplissime, errore festinantis calami transpositi sunt characteres numerales, & 12 scriptum pro 21: nam 21 Maii Hammontus passus est vivicomburium. Quereris insuper, idque non sine causa, quod nomen auctoris, ex quo historiam Legatti & Wightmani hausi, omiserim. Id autem negligentia non factum mea est. Libellus prostat Anglicè, cui titulus, "The history of the first fourteen years of king "James;" i. e. Historia quatuordecim primorum annorum Jacobi regis. Autor nomen suum tacuit. Huic libello annectitur ad finem tractatulus, cui titulus, "A true "relation of the commissions and warrants for the con-"demnation and burning of Bartholomew Legatt and "Edward Wightman, the one in West-Smithfield, the "other in Litchfield, in the year 1611, signed with king "James's own hand."

De Mennonitis quod quæris, nondum aliquid ex nostris historicis eruere mihi contigit, quod tibi satisfaciat, vel lucem afferat: forsan quia idonei hic rure non ad manus sint scriptores, quos consulam. Ne tamen tibi in tam desiderato opere quicquam, quod in me est, opis tibi desit, id negotii dedi ingenuo doctoque amico, ut si qua opera reperire possit, inter autores nostros, illius rei monumenta, id totum quicquid est, excerptum ad me transmittere velit. Quamprimum aliqua testimonia, ad rem tuam facientia, mihi oblata fuerint, tibi confestim transmittenda curabo.

Allixii librum, quamprimum proditt, coëmi, animo legendi, sed otiose hactenus præ manibus jacuit, nec dum, sive per valetudinem, sive per alias avocationes, legere licuit; spero propediem pinguius & fructuosius otium. Quid de eo audias interim mihi dicas. Quidam apud nos valde paradoxam credunt, doctrinam trinitatis Judæis tribuere, & stabilimentum istius dogmatis è synagoga petere. Alii è contra dictitant, hoc jugulum causæ esse; & hoc fundamento stabiliri orthodoxiam & everti omnia unitariorum argumenta. Quid ipsa res doceat, aveo videre, opem enim in hac causa à Judæis & Rabbinis olim non expectavi. Sed lux semper gratissima, undecunque affulgeat.

Domina Masham reliquique ex hac familia te plurimum salvere jubent. Nosque omnes tibi tuisque omnibus felicem annum exoptamus. Vale, vir optime, &, ut facis, me ama

Oates, 6 Jan. 1700. Tui amantissimum,

J. Locke.

Veenium, Guenellonem, Clericum, reliquosque nostros, quæso meo nomine officiosissime salutes, quibus omnibus felicem hujus sæculi exitum & futuri introitum opto.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

QUOD hactenus ad amicissimas tuas siluerim, ulla tui oblivione factum credas nolim. Multa responsum distulere; præcipue quidem tristis ille casus tibi satis notus, & mœror inde contractus. Ego ad studia, hoc infelici casu multum languentia, reversus sum; recuperata jam sanitate, quæ valde afflicta fuit. Relegi epistolam tuam; video nihil eam continere quod promptum responsum flagitet; attamen benevolus tuus affectus, quo propositum meum promovere contendis, citius merebatur responsum: tu autem tarditatem facile condonabis mœrori meo.

De Bilibra hic apud nos altum est silentium. Verum vidi reverendissimum episcopum Bathoniensem & Wellensem, in præfatione tertiæ partis contra Judæos, eam breviter & generatim oppugnâsse. Ego velim genuinum statum controversiæ ingenue ac terminis minime ambiguis proponi, & argumenta candide ac solide in utramque partem expendi, quod prolixiorem tractatum & animum non studio partium abreptum, sed veritatis sincere studiosum, requirit. Prodiit hac hyeme liber Gallice scriptus, cui autor titulum præfixit, "Le Platonisme dévoilé." Autorem jam obiisse præfatio docet. Dicitur in Anglia scriptus, indeque huc missus, ut in lucem edatur. Quamvis eruditus sit tractatus, multis displiciturum credo: & licet ego discrepantes de religione sententias, sine ulla erga autores indignatione, investigare soleo, non possum tamen dissimulare, aculeatos ipsius sarcasmos in materia sacra mihi quam maxime displicere: licet enim credere posset, adversarios, quos oppugnat, illos meruisse; materiæ tamen quam tractat majestas cohibere eum debuisset, ne hic quicquam gravitati christianæ adversum immisceret. Tum & prudentiæ fuit, mordacibus ejusmodi sarcasmis adversariorum contra se ac suos indignationem, alias satis acrem, non magis exacerbare. Audio plura illius exemplaria in Angliam esse missa; quare à te visum esse nullus dubito.

Burmanni filios, dehortantibus nequicquam amicis, *contra* me tractatum scripsisse aiunt, eumque jam sub

prælo esse, ac brevi proditurum. Weeyenum habuere continuum instigatorem, qui cum Burmannum purgare non potuit, illius filios in me concitavit, ut ipsi, sub specioso defendendi patris prætextu, inanem in se ac inglorium laborem susciperent: non enim verba parentis sui, nec Spinosæ, è libris editis eradere possunt; neque inficiari eadem esse quæ in Spinosa, & parentis sui synopsi Theologiæ leguntur verba. Quæstio facti est, quæ, prolatis ex utroque autore testimoniis, in dubium vocari nequit. Ego talia scripta maxima animi serenitate contemnere possum. Vale, vir amplissime. Salveat Domina Masham cum tota familia. Omnes mei te salutant.

Amstelod. 11 Maii, 1700.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Amplissime vir,

ANTE hebdomadas aliquot, tuo nomine, mihi datus est præstantissimus tuus de Intellectu Humano liber, in linguam Gallicam versus. Pro eximio illo dono grates tibi, quas possum maximas, ago. Nondum eum legere potui; verum nunc instant feriæ meæ, quibus ejus lectionem destinavi. Materiæ enim, quæ in illo tractatur, gravitas ac varietas, quam ex capitum indice, didici, summam animi attentionem, & continuatam minimeque interruptam lectionem requirit. Itaque tempus, quo à quotidianis negotiis immunitatem habeo, illi impendam, ut tanto majore meo cum fructu eum evolvam.

Legi in novellis nostratibus, quod & D. Clericus literis tuis confirmavit, te ob ætatem ingravescentem & valetudinem minus firmam, honoratissimi muneris, ante aliquot annos tibi demandati, dimissionem obtinuisse. Equidem institutum tuum minime improbare possum, quinimo laude dignum censeo, quod extremos vitæ tuæ dies, procul à strepitu politico, quieti, studiis ac meditationibus sacris consecrare quam negotiis honestis quidem, attamen nihil ultra vitæ hujus tranquillitatem spectantibus, implicatos habere malueris. Hanc tibi quietem ex animo gratulor, Deumque precor, ut senectutem

tuam eximiis, quibus vera paratur felicitas, donis magis magisque exornet, ac quicquid corpusculi viribus decedit, vivaciore mentis acie & spiritus robore compenset.

Tandem prodiit contra me Burmannorum Pietas, is libri titulus est, mole ingens, verbosus, contumeliosis plurimis declamationibus & invectivis refertus. Illi per D. Crucium, fratrem suum uterinum, à civitate Leidensi in collegium rerum maritimarum deputatum, mihi pietatis suæ exemplar tradi voluerunt. Legi illam, sed cum nausea; & nisi in me scriptus fuisset liber, lectionem absolvere non potuissem. Illi in eo summis verbis probare nituntur, parentem suum à me Spinosismi accusatum; & eum prolixe excusare contendunt. Ægerrime ferunt, parenti suo à me ascribi imprudentiam, & quod sine judicio. Spinosam secutus sit. Aiunt parentem suum hæc ex Spinosa cum judicio exscripsisse, ut mere Cartesiana; Spinosam enim in eo libro suam doctrinam nec aperte inculcâsse, nec tecte insinuâsse, sed sola Cartesii dogmata tradidisse. Verum ego non credo Cartesianos hæc quatuor pro suis agnituros. 1. Tota natura naturata non est, nisi unicum ens. 2. Possibilitas & contingentia non sunt affectiones rerum, sed intellectus nostri defectus. 3. Si homines clarè totum ordinem naturæ intelligerent, omnia æque necessaria reperirent, ac omnia illa, quæ in mathesi tractantur. 4. De extraordinaria Dei potentia, qua miracula facit, non immerito valde dubitari posse: quæ tamen omnia in illo Spinosæ libro disertis verbis reperiuntur. Sarcasmis plurimis in parallelismum inter Spinosæ & Burmanni verba ludunt; verum nihil in eo reprehendere, aut falsi arguere possunt. Ego illi libro nihil reponam, præsertim cum ob molem suam non distrahatur & à nemine legatur:

"Versiculos in me narratur scribere Cinna:
"Non scribit, cujus carmina nemo legit."

Idem mihi cum Martiale dicere licet. Addo, quod quicunque meam contra Weeyenum defensionem legerit, nova defensione non indigebit: qui eam legere non vult, illi nec decem apologis satisfecero. Vale, vir amplissime,

Amstelod. 20 Julii, 1700.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Amplissime Vir,

HAC æstate binas ad te literas dedi, quas ad manus tuas pervenisse spero. Dolerem si aberrâssent. Nunc ad te mitto vitam Episcopii, ante plures annos, uti nôsti, à me lingua Belgica scriptam, & præfixam concionibus aliquot Episcopii, quarum exemplar illo tempore ad te misi. Quoniam nunc Latino sermone prodit, à nostro Marco Teute, cum in Anglia esset versa, illius ad te duo mitto exemplaria, quorum alterum filio Dominæ Masham trades, alterum ut benigno à me recipias vultu, rogo. Videbis ibi specimen aliquod persecutionis in patria nostra, libertatis asylo institutæ; unde quomodo erga integras ecclesias, & ingenuos veritatis confessores, passim sævitum fuerit, facile colliges. Utinam & hodie omnes hanc sævitiam detestentur! verum qua nunc fruimur, quietem, non moderatioribus ecclesiastarum consiliis, sed magistratûs prudentiæ & benignitati debemus; quæ nisi igneum illorum zelum compesceret, eadem hodie, nos quæ olim majores nostros procella obrueret. Jam magnam libri tui eruditissimi partem maxima cum voluptate legi. Omnia mihi mirifice placent. Verum quoniam non tantam linguæ Gallicæ quam Latinæ cognitionem habeo, aliquando ut vim phrasium Gallicarum intelligam, atque mentem tuam distincte percipiam, bis terve quædam mihi relegenda sunt; quod lectionem mihi aliquanto tardiorem reddit; verum molestiam hanc dilucida veritatis explicatione, argumentorumque quibus eam abstruis pondere, abunde compensas. Quando ad finem pervenero, caput xxi. de la puissance, ubi prolixe de voluntate ac hominis libertate in volendo disseris, relegam: quædam enim ibi habeas nova, quæ attentum requirunt lectorem. Ego totum ubi perlegero, candide meum tibi judicium scribam. Verum vix credo in quoquam à te dissensurum, adeo omnia, quæ legi, mihi probantur. Vale, vir amplissime, & salve à me ac meis: salutem etiam officiosissimam dices D. Masham totique familiæ.

Amstelod. 30 Octob. 1700.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Amplissime Vir,

PRÆLEGIT mihi hisce diebus Guenellonus noster epistolam tuam, quæ te cum asthmate graviter conflictari nuntiabat. Equidem valetudinem tuam afflictam ex animo doleo, eamque tibi firmiorem precor. Sed non sine admiratione ex literis tuis intellexi, te binas tantum hoc anno à me accepisse; cum circa finem mensis Octobris tertias scripserim, quibus addidi duo vitæ Episcopii, à Marco Teute latinitate donatæ, exemplaria, unum tibi, alterum Francisco Cudworth Masham, una cum literis ad ipsum, quæ jamdudum tibi reddita nullus dubitabam. Fasciculus quatuor comprehendebat exemplaria, quorum reliqua duo destinata erant rev. Episcopis Salisburiensi, ac Bathoniensi & Wellensi. Doleo interim etiam epistolam aberrâsse, in qua scripsi magnam me libri tui partem legisse, omniaque maximopere mihi probari. Postea retulit mihi amicus, se Cartesii quosdam sequaces, à quibus aliquot ex prioribus capitibus lecta erant, convenisse; illis maxime displicuisse duo, quæ ego verissima duco; nullas videlicet dari ideas innatas, & animam non esse nudam cogitationem. Verum quid aliud à Cartesii sequace expectes? Alios audivi magnopere librum tuum laudantes, & sententiæ tuæ applaudentes. Ego summa delectatione illum legi, & etiamnum lectionem illius continuo. Verum quoniam non tam exactam linguæ Gallicæ cognitionem habeo, ut phraseon quarundam Gallicarum vim prima lectione assequar, præsertim in materia subtili & ardua, cogor nonnunquam, ut distincte mentem tuam percipiam, lectionem aliquoties repetere. Gratissimum foret, si librum tuum latinitate donatum conspicere quandoque daretur; tum facilius quæ scripsisti intelligerem, & fortasse de quibusdam, quæ de libertate hominis in volendo scripsisti, tecum conferrem. Valde quæ ibi scribis mihi probantur: video te terminos aliquot obscuros aut ambiguos in illa materia elucidâsse; sed nescio an ubique mentem tuam perceperim: relegam integrum caput, & si quid occurrat ad quod hæsito, ingenue ac rotunde ad te scribam, plane persuasus dilucida tua explicatione, omnem (si quæ

sit) obscuritatem disparituram. Sed & ingenue tibi confiteor, mœrorem sæpe meditationes meas, quas studiis consecravi, turbare. Verum dabit Deus his quoque finem. Ego ut honesta & non inutili occupatione mœroris mei tædium diluam, incepi commentariam in Acta Apostolorum conscribere, sed noxa quadam ratione ac methodo. Criticos egerunt Grotius aliique, quorum laboribus mea diligentia nihil addere potest. Itaque omissa critica, aliam mihi interpretandi methodum præscripsi; ut ex historia apostolorum, variisque illius circumstantiis, ac præsertim eorum concionibus, religionis christianæ veritatem ac divinitatem asseram, & qua methodo apostoli contra Judæos eam adstruxerint, ostendam. In hisce explicandis prolixior paulo sum: reliqua huc non spectantia obiter tantum attingo. Quibus alia contra Judæos disputandi methodus placet, meum laborem non probatum iri, facile prævideo. Sed veritati litandum est; & apostolos duces sequi præstat, quam homines affectibus ac præjudiciis nimium indulgentes. Vale, vir amplissime. Deus pristinam tibi restituat sanitatem, ut, quoad vivis, egregiis tuis laboribus publico inservire possis. Salutant te quam officiosissime uxor mea liberique. Salutem à nobis dices Dominæ Masham totique familiæ.

Amstelod. 18 Feb. 1701.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir colendissime,

Ex ultimis tuis 18 præsentis Februarii datis, probe sentio, quam firma, quam immutabilis sit tua erga me amicitia, cum, tribus ante missis ad me silentem literis, quartas addere non dedignatus es, sine reprehensione ulla tantæ & tam criminosæ taciturnitatis. Ignoscis video, ideoque valetudinis incommoda non causabor. Penultimas tuas cum fasciculo librorum vel amissas, vel in itinere male hærentes, maxime doleo, quod credide-

rim te sensum tuum de libro meo, jam tum, cum scriberes, perlecto liberius explicuisse. Quod de iis, quæ de libertate hominis in volendo scripserim, aliquantum hæsitas, non miror. Totum illud argumentum in prima editione penitus omittendum censui; sed noluerunt amici, quicquid ego de rei ipsius & novitate & subtilitate contra afferrem, ne lectores, aliis assueti ratiocinationibus, non probe perspecto ubique animi mei sensu, offenderentur; & ea, quæ in isto parergo commentatus sum, vel tanquam novatoris paradoxa, vel tanquam inconsulte errantis sphalmata, negligerent, si non plane condemnarent. Nec me eventus penitus fefellit, cum plures inter amicos familiaresque meos, de hoc una subjecto, mecum seruere sermones, quam de omnibus reliquis totius libri capitibus. Fateor adhuc neminem fuisse cui scrupulum, quo detinebatur, non exemi, si modo dabatur otium sensim & pedetentim integram materiam à capite ad calcem mecum perpendendi: quod quidem rei veritati, non meæ quantulæcunque mediocritati tribuendum censeo. Quod si tibi nova recensione, ut promittis, recurrenti aliqua objicienda occurrunt, persuasum tibi sit nihil acceptius mihi fore, quam errores meos amica manu detegi, eoque ipso evelli: non enim famæ, nec opinioni, sed veritati soli litandum censeo. Quicquid demum fuerit, disputationes nostras in unam eandemque sententiam terminatum iri pro certo habeo, cum utrique unam eandemque illibatam veritatem studiose quærimus.

Gaudeo te commentarium in Acta Apostolorum meditari, & ejusmodi interpretandi methodum, quæ non hæreat in criticis observationibus & verborum cortice. Nullibi magis apparet, ut mihi videtur, scopus geniusque religionis christianæ, quam in ea historia. Quid enim magis genuinum sincerumque evangelii sensum nobis indicare possit, quam primæ illæ apostolorum prædicationes, quibus infideles, tam Gentiles quam Judæos, ad fidem Christi convertebant?

Ad priores tuas ut aliquando veniam; laudo consilium tuum quod Burmannorum Pietati minime respondendum censueris; hujusmodi vitiligantium opprobria omnino contemnenda.

Prælum nostrum in fermento est, nec quicquam pene prodire videmus præter disputationes politicas eccle-

siasticasque. Quorsum tandem res evadet nescio. Quod minatur turbo video: exitum non video. Tranquillitati quantum possum studeo. Deus optimus maximus ecclesiarum reformatarum & totius Europæ libertatem conservet: sic precatur

Tui observantissimus,

Oates, 22 Feb.
1700-1.

J. LOCKE.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Amplissime vir,

NUPER Transisalani rigoris in causa religionis minime excusandi exemplum præbuere vere detestandum. Quidam minister Mennonita jam ante annos quindecim synodo suspectus fuit Socinianismi, & illius hæreseos coram ordinibus Transisalanis à ministris ecclesiæ publicæ accusatus. Itaque à muneris sui functione suspensus fuit, adeo ut integro circiter biennio ecclesia illius publico religionis exercitio caruerit. Post longam actionem, cum ministri accusationem suam probare non possent, ipse ad ecclesiam suam fuit remissus, eique injunctum, ut sibi à dogmatibus Socinianis docendis caveret, sub pœna arbitraria. Ille ante triennium libellum edidit exigui admodum pretii, quo unionem inter omnes Christianorum sectas suadet, etiam cum Socinianis: qua occasione imprudentius quædam pro Socinianis scripsit; & alicubi quædam occurrunt aculeata in gentem togatam. Libellus hic si contemptus fuisset, vix invenisset lectores: verum scis gentem illam sacram vel minima injuria facile irritari. Itaque denuo delatus fuit ad satrapam dictrictus Vollenho, à deputatis classis Vollenho, qui exhibito libello supplice petunt, ut hic homo, qui non tantum Socinianas hæreticas opiniones clam & palam docuit, sed etiam audacissime edidit, & sparsit, iisque intolerandos sarcasmos ac blasphemias admiscuit, ab ipso satrapa compellatur coram proxima synodo libellum hunc palam revocare, & pœnitentiam ob commissa testari: ut libellus hic flammis tradatur, ac in tota provincia vetetur vendi, ac supprimatur: impensæ quas classis ob hanc causam sustinere

debuit ab ipso restituantur, ipseque propter crimen commissum pœna arbitraria afficiatur. Satrapa petitioni huic annuit hominemque ad synodum ablegat. Synodus illi offert quinque articulos subscribendos, quibus continebatur confessio, quod contra mandatum ordinum libellum istum edidisset, quod ipsum inobedientiæ illius pœniteret, quod omnia libelli sui exemplaria esset suppressurus; aliaque quibus ipse subscribere recusavit. Instabant aliqui ex ministris, imo obtestabantur ut subscriberet: verum ille constanter recusavit. Postea dicitur compertum fuisse, illos id adeo ardenter cupivisse, ut haberent reum confitentem, & sic propria sua confessione arbitrariæ pœnæ obnoxium. Hæc gesta sunt media æstate anni CIↃ IↃC XC IX. Proximo Januario anni sequentis à satrapa in carcerem est conjectus, & post longam novem vel decem mensium incarcerationem tandem sententia judicis homini pauperi, tenui victu, & diuturno carceris squalore emaciato, mulcta irrogatur centum ducatorum argenteorum, qui conficiunt libras vestras stirlingas circiter triginta, nec dimittendus à carcere pronunciatur, nisi soluta pecunia. Ille cum solvendo non esset, utpote pauper, in tetrum, fœtidum, ac tenebrosum carcerem subterraneum detruditur; ubi postquam duabus hebdomadibus pane & aqua vitam toleravit, tandem aliud ipsi mandatum exhibetur mense Novembri proxime elapso, quo ipse errores libello ipsius contentos disseminare prohibetur, sub pœna si secus fecerit catastæ & exilii, sine ulla ulteriore forma processus: atque ita è carcere dimittitur. Nunc miser ad extremam inopiam redactus est: omni illius divendita supellectile, quæ tamen neutiquam explere potuit mulctam in quam condemnatus eret. Non possum excusare illius imprudentiam: verum nec possum quin detester hanc sævitiam, præsertim quando in extensione sententiæ leges imperatoriæ ex codice adferuntur, ut fulcra ac fundamenta, quibus dura hæc sententia innititur. Sic sensim ad detestandum illud inquisitionis tribunal relabimur.

Relegi magna cum attentione cap. xxi. lib. ii. tractatus tui de Intellectu Humano. Expendi voces ac phrases, quas in materia hac controversa adhibes. Puto me jam plene mentem tuam percepisse, à qua ego non dis-

sentio. § 6, optime doces, intellectum & voluntatem non esse duas facultates revera ab anima distinctas, sed mentem ipsam humanam immediate per se ipsam intelligere & velle. Inde infers non recte voluntatem dici liberam, sed hominem: recte etiam meo judicio definis libertatem. Verum quando dicis, § 24, libertatem consistere in potentia agendi & non agendi, & quidem in eo solo: non puto id te restringere ad solas actiones externas, sed & extendere ad internas, seu cogitationes nostras; illæ enim, non minus quam actiones externæ, subjectæ sunt arbitrio nostro: idque consentaneum est iis, quæ in sequentibus capitis illius scribis. Porro jam inquiris, quod præcipuum est, quid sit illud, quod hominem ad hoc aut illud agendum movet? Ego hactenus ita me explicui; bonum jucundum, seu voluptatem esse id, quod hominem allicit, illique oppositum dolorem esse malum, quod homo aversatur; adeoque quodcunque homo vult, id ab eo considerari ut jucundum, quod vero aversatur & fuit, ut molestum. Non negas tu illud, quinimo id etiam urges, § 41, & seqq. Verum ut distinctius ostendas, qua ratione voluptas aut dolor hominem moveat, doces, § 29, & seqq. voluntatem determinari ab inquietudine, quam homo in se experitur, aut ex præsentia doloris, aut ex absentia boni, seu voluptatis, in qua vel totam, vel saltem partem suæ beatitudinis collocat; quamdiu enim homo in statu suo acquiescit, nullam illius mutationem quærit, sed solummodo quando in statu suo non acquiescit, seu quandum inquietudinem, sive ex præsentia doloris, sive ex absentia voluptatis, quam ut felicitatis suæ partem considerat, in se sentit. In his facile tibi assentior. Inde recte deducis, bonum in nobis excitare desiderium, non tamen inde sequi majus bonum semper in nobis majus desiderium excitare. Quod verissimum est, & tu recte probas. Unde porro deducis, libertatem hominis in eo consistere, quod possit suspendere impletionem cujuscunque desiderii sui, plenamque habeat libertatem unum post aliud considerandi, objecta eorum examinandi, eaque ab omni parte observandi, ac inter se comparandi, antequam se determinet ad agendum. Et hoc tecum agnosco. Inde jam infers, indifferentiam, quæ non possit determinari per ultimum judicium, quod

homo sert, de bono, et malo cujus electionem sequendam credit, esse summam naturæ intelligentis imperfectionem. In Remonstrantium scriptis sæpe VOX INDIFFERENTIA occurrit, quando de libertate hominis agitur: verum ea nunquam à nobis hoc sensu accipitur, quod posito illo ultimo judicio, in quo proprie actus volitionis consistit, nihilominus hominis potentia agendi sit indifferens, & per voluntatem non determinetur: sed, quod ante illud voluntatis decretum homo libertatem habet se in hanc vel illam partem determinandi, & non ad unum tantum oppositorum determinatus est: accedente autem voluntatis decreto, seu volendi actu, indifferentia illa tollitur, & potentia ad agendum aut non agendum determinatur. Et hic etiam puto nos consentire. Reliqua capitis iis, quæ jam recensita sunt, magis illustrandis ac confirmandis inserviunt. Puto me hic sententiam tuam de libertate hominis recte percepisse. Nec est quod illi quicquam opponam: imo quædam distinctius, & clarioribus, quam hactenus à nostris factum est, terminis ac phrasibus posse exprimi didici. Si non bene perceperim, aut si quid omiserim, quod ut sententia tua plene percipiatur, omitti non debuit, rogo ut me erroris admoneas: nolim enim in sententiæ tuæ explicatione, quam, prout eam percepi etiam meam esse agnosco, à mente tua aberrare. Si in quibusdam dissentimus, quod ego ignoro, amice tecum conferre gestio, ut exiguus, qui forte restare posset, dissensus tollatur. Plures tecum de hoc capite contulisse non miror. Materia est intricata & diversis philosophorum ac theologorum sententiis semper agitata. Primus, meo judicio, Episcopius in tractatu de Libero Arbitrio, & contra Cameronem, eam clarius explicuit, ostenditque intellectum & voluntatem non esse duas facultates revera inter se & ab anima distinctas, uti hactenus in scholis creditum fuit, sed animam immediate per seipsam intelligere ac velle. Porro licet non iisdem tecum vocibus ac phrasibus utatur, in summa tamen rei, quantum ego percipio, est consensus. Gratias interim tibi ago, quod multa me libri tui editione docueris. Ego eum iteratò evolvere statui; secunda enim lectione multo distinctius eum intelligo. Deum precor ut diu te nobis incolumem ac prospera

fruentem valetudine conservet. Uxor ac filia te salutant. Salveat quam officiosissime à me, uxore & filia, Domina Masham ejusque liberi. Vale.

Amstelod. 30 Mart. 1701. Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

MAGNO honori mihi esse duco, quod tu tantum lucubrationibus meis tribuas, ut in iis perlegendis bonas tuas horas locare velis: & eas tibi veritatis amatori non displicuisse gaudeo. Cum ego libertatem consistere dico, § 24. cap. xxi. lib. ii. in potentia agendi & non agendi, nequaquam id restringo ad solas actiones externas, uti constat ex § 8, 38, aliisque illius capitis locis: de hoc igitur inter nos convenit. Quando vero dicis, quod "quicquid homo vult ab eo considerari, ut jucundum," metuo ne voluntatem cum desiderio confundas. Quod à plerisque factum video, qui hoc argumentum tractant, non sine magno veritatis, vel saltem perspicuitatis, incommodo. Desiderium fertur in jucundum, fateor; sed voluntas fertur solum in actiones nostras, & ibi terminatur. Sed quia voluntas raro agit, nisi ducente desiderio, ideo pro uno eodemque actu plerumque sumuntur, cum toto cœlo, distent, § 30, 40. Cupido enim passio est mota à bono absente. Volitio autem actus voluntatis, vel animæ, imperium excercentis in potentias hominis operatrices. Hæ duæ operationes animæ, scil. illa qua cupit aliquid, & illa qua determinat, vel imperat, aliquid agendum, nisi distinguantur probe, nihil dilucidè, ut mihi videtur, de humana voluntate statui potest: ideòque spero ignosces mihi, quod de ista loquendi forma te monitum velim, cum de summa rei à me omnino non dissentias. In usu vocis "indifferentia," quod à vestris differam, non mirum est, cum in his scribendis nec aliorum placita secutus sum, nec vel scripta omnino consuluerim, sed quæ res ipsæ me, quantum indagatione & meditatione assequi poteram, docuerint, ea verbis quam potui aptissimis explicuerim. De terminorum

igitur usu nulla inter nos erit disputatio, modo de re ipsa constet. Quamvis, ut libere dicam, ista antecedens indifferentia hominis, qua homo, ante determinationem sive decretum voluntatis, supponitur libertatem habere se determinandi ad alterutram partem oppositorum, non omnino mihi videtur spectare ad quæstionem de libertate; quæ libertas unice consistit in potentia agendi, vel non agendi, secundum determinationem voluntatis. Disputare autem, an homo, ante ultimum judicium intellectûs, libertatem habet se determinandi ad alterutrum oppositorum, mihi videtur omnino de nihilo, sive de re impossibili, disputatio. Quis enim rogaret, vel quorsum attinet rogare, an homo potest ad alterutram partem oppositorum se determinare in statu, in quo se non potest omnino determinare? Nam, ante judicium intellectûs, non potest se omnino determinare, ideoque frustra quæritur, an in illo statu libertatem habet se determinandi in alterutram, ubi in neutram omnino partem potest se determinare. Ideòque omnes illæ lites, quæ agitantur de libertate se in alterutram partem determinandi, ante judicium intellectûs, mihi videntur (ignoscas fatenti) nullo modo pertinare ad quæstionem de libertate: quæ ne supponi quidem debet, nec potest, in statu in quo manifestum est quod homo, ut agens liberum, non potest agere; cum libertas, ut dixi, consistat in sola potentia agendi, vel non agendi, consequenter & congrue ad determinationem voluntatis. Ita autem sæpe usu venit. Disputantium fervor & partium studium rebus per se claris nubem & caliginem obducunt, dum undique conquisitis laqueis alter alterum innodare & absurdis involvere conatur. Vides quam libere tecum agam, eandem à te libertatem vicissim expectans; si enim tu meæ, vel ego tuæ opinioni assentior, perinde est veritatem quærentibus, dummodo illius potior habetur sententia quæ verior, & in ea consentiamus. In aliis libri mei partibus, dum percurras, si quid minus recte dictum, vel cogitatum invenias, moneri imo & redargui à te cupio. Vale, vir optime, & me, ut facis, ama

Oates, 21 Maii, 1701.

Tui amantissimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

EODEM die quo nuperrime ad te mane scripsi, literas tuas 27 Maii datas vesperi accepi. Vitam Episcopii summa cum voluptate perlegi. Historia placet, res gestæ plane displicent. Doleo sane reformatos tam propere mores pontificios, de quibus tam graviter questi sunt, imitatos. Sed scire juvat quod cognitum laudare non possis. Inquisitionem, quæ in Ecclesia Romana lentius succrevit, uno quasi nixu inceptam & pene perfectam hic conspicere mihi videor. An has protestantium inter se inimicitias & mutuas persecutiones jam castigaturus sit Deus, nescio: hoc saltem credo, theologorum ambitiosa dissidia, & invicem dominandi in fratres cupido, orbem reformatum antiquis hostibus denuo obruendum objecit, & in tantum periculum adduxit. Avertat Deus O. M. omen, nec ad persecutionem tam proclives animos persecutione catholica puniat. Unum est, quod in libro tuo desidero, nempe articulos illos quinque Remonstrantium, quorum tam frequens est mentio. Hos vel quod in propera lectione non observatos præterierim, vel quod eos historiæ tuæ non inseruisti, ignorare me fateor. Rogo igitur ut mihi indicare velis ubi eas legere possim; magnam enim lucem, ut mihi videtur, præbebunt causam Remonstrantium penitus cognoscere cupienti: nam iterum, credo, perlegam hanc tuam historiam. Maximas pro hoc dono gratias ago. Vive diu utilis religioni christianæ. Vale, & me ama

Oates, 1 Jun. 1701.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Amplissime vir,

VITAM Episcopii tibi, summi judicii viro, non displicuisse est quod mihi gratuler. Multa exteris ignota ibi esse præterita, quia nobis notissima, nullus dubito.

Quinque autem articulos nostros quorum decidendorum causa synodus Dordracena convocata fuit, nulli ignotos credebam. In explicatione sententiæ Arminii, p. 6, in vita Episcopii ego eos brevi in compendio exhibui. Extant autem in Remonstrantia ordinibus Hollandiæ CIↃ IↃC X oblata, quam reperies in epistolis præstantium virorum à me editis, n° cxlv. p. 254, vel in historia quinquarticulana Petri Heilini Anglica, cap. v. p. 50. Si altera vitæ Episcopii editio aliquando prodeat, possem illi quinque illos articulos aliaque quædam non sine Episcopio gesta, aut ipsum ipsiusve consanguineos spectantia, hic illic inserere, quæ ad historiæ nostræ cognitionem penitiorem, haud exigui futura sunt momenti. Continuavit Brantius noster senior historiam usque ad finem anni CIↃ IↃC XXIII, in qua gravis illa contra nostros persecutio exacte describitur; verum illa hactenus lucem non adspexit; & præ metu ne edatur, synodus Hollandica jam ab aliquot annis deputatis suis in mandatis dedit, ut solicite invigilent, ne illa alicubi imprimatur. Nolunt enim mysteria illa iniquitatis revelari. Utinam historiam suam continuâsset ad annum usque CIↃ IↃC XXXII, quo persecutioni ubique ferme in patria nostra finis est impositus, nobisque palam in cœtus religiosos convenire non fuit prohibitum. Ex illius lectione deprehendere posses veritatem dicti cujusdam monachi, quod Marnixius refert in epistola ad Casparum Verheiden, inter epist. selectas à Belgis vel ad Belgas, anno 1617, à Baudio & Heinsio editas, cent. ii. epist. 51. "Haud æque diu reformatorum ollam calefactam fuisse, "atque illorum quos tantopere incesserunt: videre se "plane, antequam per sæculorum intervallum labatur, "parem utrobique imperii ecclesiastici fore rationem." Scripta est hæc epistola ult. Mart. 1577.

Legi, relegi, & serio expendi quæ de libertate scribis; sed non deprehendi illum inter nos esse consensum, quem, lecto illo "de Potentia" capite, credidi. Quia uterque unice veritatem quærimus, paulo distinctius terminos quibus usus sum explicabo, & si qui aptiores sint, illis lubens utar; amo enim perspicuitatem; & in veritatis inquisitione omnem verborum ambiguitatem, quantum fieri potest, vitandam judico. Putas non recte dici nos velle jucundum, illud esse desiderium, non voluntatem.

Desiderium enim ferri in bonum absens; volitionem autem esse actum voluntatis vel animæ imperium exercentis in potentias hominis operatrices. Facile ego hoc discrimen admitto, & ut, perspicuitatis causa, unicuique verbo suam tribuamus significationem, utile esse existimo. Verum ego puto nos duo velle, finem & media quæ ad finem ducunt. Multa desideramus, quæ tamen non volumus. Est enim desiderium aliud completum, aliud incompletum; sicut & voluptas alia est completa, alia incompleta, quam barbaro vocabulo in scholis vocant velleïtatem, qua designamus non quid homo proprie velit, sed quid vellet. Prudentis est ex multis desiderabilius illud eligere, sibique omnium suarum actionum finem proponere, quod undequaque est perfectum, & in quo concurrunt omnes rationes, quæ rem desiderabilem faciunt. Atqui illa electio non fit sine determinatione voluntatis, qua homo discernit hoc bonum, quod omnibus aliis præferendum judicat, sibi omnium suarum actionum finem proponere. Ita ego credidi recte posse dici hominis voluntatem in bonum ferri, idque bonum semper ab ipso apprehendi, ut jucundum. Si vero credas actionem, qua ferimur in bonum illud, improprie dici voluntatem, sed debere appellari desiderium, quia fertur in bonum absens, de termino non contendam, modo de illius significatione constet. Ut ergo omnibus ambiguitas vitetur, dicamus desiderium ferri in bonum, voluntatem dirigere actiones. Sed caveamus ne quævis desideria confundamus, & desideria completa distinguamus ab incompletis, qua velleïtates, voce in scholis usitata, appellari solent. Si vero aliud aptius vocabulum indicare possis, eo lubens utar, ut omnis, quantum fieri potest, obscuritas & ambiguitas in sermone nostra vitetur.

Quod attinet vocem "indifferentia," certum est nostros ea non raro esse in hac materia usos: verum eam non adeo deperimus, quin si commodior nobis offeratur eam repudiaturi simus: eoque magis, quia videmus philosophos Cartesianos ea sensu à nostro plane alieno uti: illis enim indifferentia est fluctuatio judicii: quando mens, ex rationum pro utraque parte æquilibrio, incerta est, quid sibi eligendum sit. Nobis vero indifferentia est vis illa animæ, qua, positis omnibus ad agendum requisitis, potest agere vel non agere. Verum, in tota

hac de libertate disputatione, video sæpe ludi verbis ambiguis, aut saltem in ambiguum sensum detortis. Optandum foret omnia verba eodem significatu ab omnibus accipi; multæ inanes disceptationes & λογομαχίαι vitari possent. Nunc quoniam in significatione verborum convenire non possumus, necesse est ut quisque explicet, quo significatu unaquaque voce, de qua contenditur, utatur. Circa rem ipsam video nos dissentire. Dicis, "Ista antecedens indifferentia, qua homo ante determinationem, sive decretum voluntatis, supponitur libertatem habere se determinandi ad alterutram partem oppositorum, non omnino mihi videtur spectare ad quæstionem de libertate; quia libertas unice consistit in potentia agendi, vel non agendi, secundum determinationem voluntatis." Mihi plane contrarium videtur, libertatem unice consistere in potentia, qua homo actionem volendi potest determinare vel non determinare: & si eam homo ante voluntatis determinationem non habet quod non sit liber, neque ullus status concipi possit, in quo liber dici queat. Quia enim voluntas actionum nostrarum domina est, easque pro arbitrio moderatur, si determinatio voluntatis non sit libera, nec in actionibus nostris ulla erit libertas, quia actiones nostræ voluntatis determinationem necessario sequuntur. Quare vix capio quid velis, cum dicis ante ultimum judicium intellectûs homo non potest se omnino determinare. Verum antequam hic sententiam meam explicem, quid per ultimum judicium intellectûs significetur, propius explicandum est, ne hic propter ambiguitatem vocis, in oratione nostra sit obscuritas. Communiter ultimum intellectus judicium vocant, quo homo discernit quid sibi faciendum sit, idque vocant ultimum judicium practicum intellectûs: verum hoc judicium non est tam actus intellectûs quam voluntatis, vel saltem actus mixtus, ad cujus complementum voluntas concurrit. Judicium autem quod solius intellectus actus est, non ulterius procedit, quam hoc oportet facere, hoc oportet omittere. Ulterius si procedat, intercedit aliqua actio voluntatis. Quæ duo tamen à multis confunduntur. Jam mea est sententia hominem, quando recte rationi consentaneè agit, semper velle, quod intellectus judicat oportere fieri: posse tamen etiam contra rationem agere, & volun-

tatem in contrariam partem determinare: quin &, antequam intellectus post accuratum rationum examen judicaverit quid facere oporteat, posse bruto impetu agere non quod rationi consentaneum est, sed quod concupiscentia, dictat. Hic si homo non habet libertatem se determinandi, aut non determinandi, & actionem suam suspendendi, videre nequeo, in quo libertas consistat. Eandem tuam esse putabam sententiam, idque colligebam ex § 47. capitis supra nominati, ubi inter alia ais, "Animam, quæ habet potentiam suspendendi imple-"tionem cujuscunque desiderii sui, sicuti evidenter "patet per experientiam, consequenter, etiam habere "libertatem ea successive unum post alterum conside-"randi, eorum objecta examinandi, ea ex omni parte ob-"servandi, & inter se comparandi; & in hoc consistere "libertatem hominis: omnemque erroris & vitiorum ori-"ginem inde arcessis, quod præcipitemus judicium, vo-"luntatemque nostram cito nimis determinemus, & ac-"tioni nos accingamus, antequam bene examinaverimus "quid agere nos oporteat." Hæc, aliaque quæ ibi addis, verissima esse judico; iisque plane assentior. Verum hæc cum iis, quæ epistola scribis, "quod homo, ante judi-"cium intellectûs, se non potest omnino determinare," conciliare non possum. Fortasse mentem tuam non bene percepi. Rogo itaque, si grave non sit, ut ostendas, qua ratione hæc inter se conciliare debeam, & distinctius quod ego non plene percepi, explices. Nulli opinioni, nedum phrasi aut voci, ita sum addictus, quin meliora monstranti cedere paratus sim: veritatem enim unice quæro, quam si invenero, de errore triumphabo.

Hæc scripseram, cum ad me exemplar Latinum tractatus tui de Intellectu Humano affertur; pro quo eximio dono, ego summas tibi habeo ac ago gratias. Statui illud à capite ad calcem perlegere, & cum elegantissima versione Gallica conferre, quæ proculdubio Latinæ nonnunquam lucem fœnerabitur: & quando integrum, tractatum perlegero, candide tibi judicium meum scribam, non quia necesse est, sed quia id à me exigis, idque ego tibi petenti me debere agnosco. Verum quantum ex Gallicæ versionis lectione percepi, me sententiæ tuæ approbatorem habebis: si vero ad quædam hæsitavero, ea tibi candide indicabo, ut pleniorem eorum explica-

tionem ex te eliciam. Deum precor ut tibi vitam ac vires continuet, ut egregiis tuis laboribus orbi literato porro prodesse possis. Salutant te uxor ac filia. Salutem a nobis officiosissimam dices dominæ Masham totique familiæ. Vale.

Amstelod. 19 Julii, 1701.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

QUOD omnis obscuritas & ambiguitas in verborum usu sit vitanda tecum plane sentio; verum liceat mihi adjicere, quod hoc sæpe non sit etiam à volentibus evitare obscuritatem. Ideæ, quæ observantur hominum mentibus, præsertim eorum, qui veritatem attentiùs quærunt, multo plures sunt quam voces cujusvis linguæ, quæ ad eas exprimendas paratæ sunt. Hinc fit, quod homines (quibus integrum non est nova vocabula, quoties opus est ad novas ideas significandas, ad libitum procudere) eadem voce, pro diversis ideis, præsertim si cognatæ sint, identidem utuntur: unde oritur non raro sermonis obscuritas & incertus sensus, quando ad præcisiones accuratas veniendum est, quo non solum audientium sed & ipsorum etiam loquentium mentes implicantur. Inter alia quæ proposui, lib. iii. cap. xi. huic malo remedia, illud mihi præcipuum videtur, sc. ut diligenter colligamus omnes simplices ideas, quæ ingrediuntur compositionem cujuslibet ideæ complexæ, cujus nomen usurpamus, easque eidem voci affixas sedulo in animo teneamus. V. g. in argumento, quod præ manibus habemus, si voluntas significat potentiam, quam homo habet incipiendi, sistendi, vel vitandi aliquam actionem mentis vel corporis sui, ut ego fusius explicui, lib. ii. cap. xxi. § 5, &c. in quo tu etiam acquiescere videris: si hæc, inquam, sit idea, quam vox voluntas significat, eamque præsentem in animo habemus, quando de voluntate loquamur, nihil certius esse potest, quam quod voluntas terminatur solummodo in actionibus nostris, nec potest *ulterius extendi* ad rem aliquam aliam, nec ferri in bo-

num remotum & absens. Adeoque si contendis voluntatem ferri in bonum, ut finem, recedis ab ea idea, quam huic voci assignavimus, aliamque substituis; unde fit quod tu & ego diversas res designamus, quando de voluntate loquimur, nec omnino possumus inter nos de voluntate disserentes quicquam proficere, donec tu ideam indices cujus apud te vox voluntas signum est, ut de sensu vocis, i. e. de re, de qua disserimus, conveniamus.

Distinctio de desiderio completo & incompleto, sive de voluntate completa & incompleta, quam affers, nihil mihi videtur argumentum tuum juvare. Sive enim aliquod sit incompletum desiderium, vel incompleta voluntas, quod sane dubito id nunquam efficiet ut sit verum, quod voluntas fertur in bonum. Dico me dubitare an aliqua potest esse incompleta volitio; voluntas enim hic, ni fallor, sumitur pro actu voluntatis, i. e. pro volitione. Volitionem inefficacem facile agnosco, ut cum paralyticus manum paralysi solutam movere velit, inefficax fateor & sine successu est ista volitio, sed non incompleta. Actus enim volendi hoc in casu æque completus est, ac olim, quando manus volitioni obsequebatur. Itidem desiderium alicujus propositi boni, quod propter majus bonum incompatibile prosequi negligimus, non est incompletum desiderium, nec incompleta voluntas, sed desiderium completum brevi terminatum, eo usque non procedens, ut nos impellat ad volendum actiones, quibus obtineri possit illud bonum, in quod ferebatur breve illud desiderium: nec incompleta dici potest voluntas, ubi nulla omnino est volitio, etiamsi scholæ velleïtatem appellare ament. Quod si breve illud desiderium eousque procedat, ut nos ad volendum aliquam actionem excitet, voluntas illa non est incompleta, sed completus actus volendi, etiamsi omissa ulteriore inefficax sit ad obtinendum bonum propositum quod cessante desiderio negligitur. In his & hujusmodi mentis actionibus adeo celeres sunt motus animi, & inter se conjuncti, ut non mirum sit, quod sæpe, uti fit, confundantur, quæ attentius consideranti distinguenda sunt, ut recte conceptus nostros formemus. Vis libere dicam, quid hac de re sentio. Homo fertur in bonum absens, sive finem. Multis simul intellectui obversantibus bonis non surbordinatis nec consistentibus, homo

unum, neglectis aliis, sibi proponit ut finem, i. e. ut prosequendum; hoc facit voluntarie, adeoque voluntas fertur in illam actionem mentis, qua unum præ reliquis sibi proponit, ut finem, & in ea actione terminatur, eodem modo quo terminatur in computatione, quando vult numerare, vel in motione pedum, quando vult ambulare. Ob hanc voluntariam propositionem istius boni, ut finis, fateor non raro dicitur vulgo, quod voluntas fertur in eum finem vel in id bonum, an proprie & ut philosophicam decet ἀκρίβειαν, tu judices.

Quanta sit vis consuetudinis in usu verborum, quæ irrepit subinde nobis insciis, patet, ut mihi videtur, in iis quæ in epistola tua sequuntur. In priore epistola libens & aperte mecum consentire videris, quod actiones sunt agentium sive substantiarum, & non potentiarum sive facultatum: & tamen hic usitata loquendi forma te abduci pateris, dicisque "quod voluntas est actionum nos-"trarum domina, easque pro arbitrio moderatur," & similia passim, in toto illo epistolæ tuæ paragrapho; quod ni fecisses, nulla arbitror mihi tecum lis esset. Hoc non dico, quod adeo delicatulus sim, ut hujusmodi loquendi formulas nullo in loco pati possim: earum usus in sermone familiari, si recte intelligantur, non omnino vituperandus. Quando vero in disceptationibus philosophicis pro fundamentis argumentorum, quasi iis inniteretur rerum veritas, omnino rejiciendæ sunt metaphoricæ & tralatitiæ hujusmodi locutiones, ne nos in errorem inducant: resque ipsæ, uti revera sunt, propriis & non figuratis vocabulis exprimendæ: v. g. dicere, "quod voluntas sit "actionum nostrarum domina, easque pro arbitrio mo-"deratur," & inde arguere, quod "nisi voluntas sit libe-"ra, nulla erit in homine libertas," est, ut mihi videtur, ex vi metaphoræ illius nos in errorem conjicere. "Libertas, "apud me, est potestas hominis agendi vel non agendi se-"cundum suam voluntatem;" scilicet si homo potest agere hoc, si vult agere hoc; & abstinere, è contra, ab agendo hoc, quando vult abstinere ab agendo hoc, eo in casu liber est homo. Hanc esse veram libertatis notionem videtur mihi constare, ex iis quæ à me dicta sunt § 8. & seqq. Quæ si vera sit, inde omnino sequitur libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati, uti monstravi § 14. Imo inde sequitur, quod illa antecedens indifferentia, ante decretum

voluntatis, nullo modo, ut dixi, pertinet ad quæstionem de libertate. Si enim libertas sit potentia agendi actionem, quam vult homo, & vicissim abstinendi ab eadem actione, si ab ea homo vult abstinere; quid facit, rogo, ista antecedens indifferentia ad libertatem, quæ est potentia agendi vel non agendi, consequenter ad voluntatis determinationem?

Quandoquidem vero inciderit quæstio, de ista vestra antecedente indifferentia, cui vos omnem inniti libertatem contenditis, de ea liceat mihi paulo distinctius inquirere. Hæc indifferentia definitur à te, "vis animi, "qua, positis omnibus ad agendum requisitis, potest agere "vel non agere." Jam hic rogo, an intellectus, judicium, vel cogitatio, sit unum ex requisitis ad agendum?

1. Si dicas quod intellectus, judicium, vel cogitatio, sit unum ex requisitis ad agendum, vestra antecedens indifferentia nunquam efficiet, ut voluntas sit libera (quamvis eum in finem, ut inde adstrui possit voluntatis libertas, excogitata & introducta videtur) quia, ut dixi, aliqua actione semel intellectui proposita, voluntas non est in statu, in quo potest agere vel non agere (in quo, ut mihi videtur, consistit libertas) necessario debet agere; nec potest abstinere ab agendo, i. e. à volendo, actionem illam scilicet, vel illius omissionem. Imo vero voluntas, eo in statu, non est indifferens ad alterutram partem oppositorum, nempe actionem propositam, vel ejus omissionem, quia determinatur à præcedente intellectus judicio, actionem illam vel ejus omissionem præferente.

2. Si dicas quod intellectus, judicium, sive cogitatio, non sit unum ex requisitis ad agendum: videas, quæso, dum hominem hoc modo liberum reddere velis, an non agentem cæcum plane efficis; & ut liberum facias ab eo intellectum removes, sine quo nec esse, nec supponi potest libertas ulla. Ad res enim cogitatione & intellectu destitutas, nulla omnino attinet libertas. Perpende igitur, quæso, & tecum cogita, an libertas hominis recte fundari potest in ejusmodi statu, qui excludit cogitationem, redditque lapidem æque capacem libertatis; an illa indifferentia pertinere potest ad quæstionem de libertate, quæ seposita cogitatione nullum locum in subjecto relinquit libertati.

Hæc omnia ita se habent ex mea libertatis notione, quam fusius traditam invenies § 8, 13. Quod si tu alium isti voci sensum tribuas, forsan hæ omnes evanescent difficultates. Sed tunc rogandus es, ut tuam libertatis definitionem ad me mittas, si de diversis rebus, sub eodem nomine disserentes, nolumus sine fructu disputare.

Ex his, quæ supra dixi, mihi constare videtur, quod libertas nullatenus consistit in indifferentia hominis, sed solummodo in potentia agendi, vel non agendi, prout volumus. Exemplo forsan res clarior erit. Homo, v. g. amat vinum, judicat sibi bonum esse, ex voluntate sua bibit: nulla hic indifferentia est, & tamen libera prorsus est hæc actio, quia, si modo mutaverit voluntatem, potest abstinere. Contra, homo vinum nec amat, nec aversatur, nec judicat sibi bonum aut malum esse; supponamus quantamlibet hominis indifferentiam: ex voluntate abstinet à vino in carcere, ubi vinum non permittitur. Hæc actio, nempe abstinentia à potione vini, est voluntaria fateor, sed non est libera: quoniam homo ille, si mutet voluntatem, vinum tamen in eo casu bibere non potest. Vides igitur quod indifferentia potest esse sine libertate, & libertas sine indifferentia, & actio voluntaria sine utraque. Hæc me res ipsæ per se planæ docere videntur. Imo vero res ipsæ melius forsan & simplicius nos docerent multa, si scholarum subtilitas in procudendis facultatibus distinctionibus, aliisque speciosis inventis mira acuta, non obducerat sæpe rebus in se claris operosam & doctam obscuritatem.

Dicis porro, quod, " Libertas consistit in potentia, qua " homo actionem volendi potest determinare, vel non " determinare." Si, per actionem volendi determinare vel non determinare, significas velle aut non velle: libertas in eo consistere non potest: quia aliqua actione homini proposita, homo non potest abstinere à volitione, debet necessario velle aut actionem illam propositam, aut abstinentiam ab ista actione; quamtumvis levis & instantanea præcedat mentis cogitatio, semper & necessario sequitur actus volendi, quo actio proposita vel eligitur vel negligitur: & ita voluntas, præcedente cogitatione, semper determinatur ad agendum, i. e. ad volendum scil. existentiam, vel non existentiam, actionis propositæ. Quod si per " potentiam, qua homo actionem

" volendi potest determinare, vel non determinare," significas potentiam quicquid temere volendi, vel sine prævia cogitatione, vel contra intellectus judicium, uti sequentia verba videntur innuere, ubi dicis, " nisi deter-" minatio voluntatis sit libera, & loqueris de bruto im-" petu:" libertas in hujusmodi potentia non potest consistere. Quia, ut dixi, libertas supponit cogitationem. Ubi enim nulla est cogitatio, nulla esse potest libertas, uti fusius explicui § 8. & 9. Porro libertas non potest consistere in potentia determinandi actionem volendi contra judicium intellectus, quia homo non habet hujusmodi potentiam. Actio enim volendi hoc aut illud, semper sequitur judicium intellectûs, quo homo judicat pro hic & nunc hoc esse melius. Ex quo facile est intelligere, quid velim, cum dico, ante ultimum judicium intellectûs homo non potest omnino se determinare: hocque facile conciliare possis cum iis, quæ citas ex § 47, de suspensione impletionis cujuscunque desiderii, si modo memineris, quod ante unamquamque volitionem præcedit semper judicium aliquod intellectûs de re agenda; judiciumque illud, quod immediate præcedit volitionem, sive actum volendi, est eo in casu ultimum judicium intellectûs. Quod te in diversum abripuit mihi videtur hoc esse, nempe, quod ultimum judicium intellectûs videris confundere cum maturo & recto judicio, si recte capio sensum istius sententiæ, ubi hæc verba lego: " Intellectus post accuratum rationum examen " judicaverit, quid facere oporteat," &c. Sed id non est ultimum judicium, de quo ego loquor. Loquor ego de eo judicio, quod in omni volitione immediate præcedit volitionem, quod revera est ultimum judicium, sive bene expensum sit & matura deliberatione recoctum, sive extemporaneum & subito impetu enatum, & æque voluntatem determinat, sive sit, sive non sit rationi consentaneum.

Si meum sensum in his satis recte & clare exposui, non apparebit tibi, credo, hæc telegenti tanta inter nos opinionum distantia, quantum credidisti: pro certo habeo nos, veritatem utrinque sincere quærentes, non posse diu de rebus ipsis dissentire, quanquam loquendi formulæ videantur nonnunquam in diversum abire. Sed de rebus ipsis cogitantibus facile erit phraseologiæ nebu-

las discutere, ex quibus fere oriuntur inter veritatis amatores omnes controversiæ.

En prolixiore epistola tibi explicationem sententiæ meæ poscenti, ut potui, morem gessi. Ignoscas, rogo, quod toties citaverim librum meum; hoc feci brevitatis causa, ne hic in epistola ea rescriberem, quæ in libro impresso melius legeres.

De duabus versionibus monere te convenit, ut sicubi inter se dissentientes reperias de sensu meo ex Gallica dijudices. Illam enim mihi auctor totam perlegit, & ubi à sensu meo aberrare deprehendi, correxit. Latinam nondum mihi legere contigit. Valetudo & negotia non satis otii concesserunt. Vale, &, ut facis, me ama

Oates, 12 Aug. 1701. Tui amantissimum,

J. Locke.

Postquam, quæ supra habentur, scripseram, mihi venit in mentem non incommodum fore, si aliquid libro meo insererem, ad elucidandam indifferentiæ naturam, in qua consistit libertas, in gratam eorum, qui indifferentiam hoc in argumento tanti faciunt, ut illa ablata vel omissa nihil recte vel clare statu de libertate posse existimant. En igitur quæ § 71. subjungenda censui. Ego Anglice scripsi: Gallice vertit D. Coste; adeoque, si probas, Gallicæ versioni libri mei inserere possis.

Liv. II. Chap. XXI. § 71, après ces mots, " par son " propre jugement," ajoutez ce qui suit.

" Je sçai que certaines gens font consister la liberté " dans une certaine Indifference de l'homme, antece- " dente à la determination de sa volonté. Je souhaite- " rois que ceux qui font tant de fonds sur cette indiffe- " rence antecedente, comme ils parlent, nous eussent " dit nettement si cette indifference qu'ils supposent, " précede la pensée & le jugement de l'entendement " aussi bien que le decret de la volonté; car il est bien " malaisé de la placer entre ces deux termes, je veux " dire immediatement après le jugement de l'entende- " ment, & devant la détermination de la volonté parce " que la détermination de la volonté suit immediatement " le jugement de l'entendement: & d'ailleurs, placer la " liberté dans une indifference, qui précede la pensée

" & le jugement de l' entendement, c'est, ce me semble,
" faire consister la liberté dans un état de tenebres, où,
" nous ne pouvons ni voir ni dire ce que c'est : c'est du
" moins la placer dans un sujet incapable de liberté, nul
" agent n'étant jugé capable de liberté qu'en consequence
" de la pensée, & du jugement qu'on reconnoit en lui.
" Comme je ne suis pas délicat en matiere d'expressions,
" je consens à dire avec ceux qui aiment à parler ainsi,
" que la liberté est placée dans l'indifference : mais c'est
" dans une sorte d'indifference qui reste aprés le juge-
" ment de l'entendement, & même aprés la determination
" de la volonté : ce qui n'est pas une indifference de
" l'homme (car aprés que l'homme a une fois jugé ce qu'il
" est meilleur de faire ou de ne pas faire, il n'est plus in-
" different) mais une indifference des puissances actives
" ou operatives de l'homme, lesquelles demeurant tout
" autant capables d'agir ou de ne pas agir aprés, qu'avant
" le decret de la volonté, sont dans un état qu'on peut
" appeller, si l'on veut, indifference : & aussi loin que
" s'étend cette indifference, jusques-là l'homme est libre,
" & pas au delà. Par exemple, j'ai la puissance de mou-
" voir ma main, ou de la laisser en repos : cette faculté
" operative est indifferente au mouvement & au repos de
" ma main : je suis donc libre à cet égard. Ma volonté
" vient à déterminer cette puissance operative au repos,
" je suis encore libre, parce que l'indifference de cette
" puissance operative qui est en moi, d'agir ou de ne pas
" agir, reste encore ; la puissance de mouvoir ma main
" n'étant nullement diminué par la determination de ma
" volonté, qui à present ordonne le repos ; l'indifference
" de cette puissance à agir ou ne pas agir, est justement
" telle qu'elle etoit auparavant, comme il paroit si la
" volonté veut en faire l'epreuve en ordonnant le con-
" traire. Mais si pendant que ma main est en repos, elle
" vient à être saisie d'une soudaine paralysie, l'indiffe-
" rence de cette puissance operative est detruite, & ma
" liberté avec elle : je n'ai plus de liberté à cet égard,
" mais je suis dans la nécessité de laisser ma main en
" repos. D'un autre côté, si ma main est mise en
" mouvement par une convulsion, l'indifference de cette
" faculté operative s' évanouït ; & en ce cas-là ma liberté
" est detruite ; car je me trouve dans la nécessité de lais-

" ser mouvoir ma main. J'ai ajouté ceci pour faire voir
" dans quelle sorte d'indifference il me paroit que la li-
" berté consiste précisement, & qu'elle ne peut consister
" dans aucune autre, réelle ou imaginaire."

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Amplissime vir,

QUOD tantum mea causa laborem susceperis, ut prolixiori epistola sententiam tuam mihi distinctius explicare non fueris gravatus, maximas tibi habeo gratias: legi, relegi, expendi epistolam tuam magna cum attentione. Quanto exactius eam expendo, tanto magis observare videor, nos tam sententiis, quam phrasibus ac loquendi modis dicrepare, & quandoque diversas ideas iisdem, nonnunquam easdem ideas diversis vocibus designare. Respondissem citius, verum consulto responsum distuli, donec integrum tuum tractatum perlegissem. Eo jam perlecto, & cum epistola tua collato, magis magisque observare videor, omnem, qui inter nos apparet dissensum, non tam circa rem ipsam, quam circa voces, ac divertam ejusdem rei explicandæ rationem occupari. Quia vero non ubique phrasium mearum sensum recte percepisse videris, & ut, quicquid fortasse adhuc inter nos restat dissensus, paucis & in compendio comprehendi possit, primo sensum vocum ac phrasium, quibus usus sum, quanta possum perspicuitate explicabo: deinde phrasibus claris & ambiguitati non obnoxiis sententiam meam quanta possum brevitate exponam. Tandem inquiram in quibus consentiamus, & quis adhuc remaneat dissensus; utrumne ille in re ipsa, an vero in vocibus ac phrasibus, & diversa rem quam inquirimus explicandi ratione consistat. Ita puto, si fortasse nondum per omnia idem sentiamus, brevi omnem dissensum sublatum iri, nec veritatem sincere eam quærentibus diu absconditam fore.

Significationem voluntatis, quod sit " potentia, quam
" homo habet incipiendi, sistendi, vel vitandi aliquam
" actionem mentis, vel corporis," ego tecum agnosco, & ab ea non recedam: à voluntate etiam distinguo de*siderium,* quo ferimur in bonum absens, neque id unquam

sub notione voluntatis comprehendam. Agnosco hic me minus exacte locutum, & desiderium à voluntate esse distinguendum. Quod dixi, voluntatem etiam ferri in finem, nihil aliud volui, nisi quod tu ipse in epistola tua dicis: "Multis simul intellectui obversantibus bonis non "subordinatis nec consistentibus, hominem unum, ne-"glectis aliis, sibi proponere ut finem, & ut prosequen-"dum: hoc facit voluntarie." Hæc ergo electio est actio voluntatis: quando hanc sibi electionem fecit homo, desiderio suo fertur in bonum illud quod sibi elegit; & voluntate sua dirigit actiones suas, quibus se bonum desideratum consecuturum credit.

Vox "libertas" mihi designat dominium, quod homo habet in actionem suam: quo nempe, positis omnibus ad agendum requisitis, potest agere & non agere: qui non est actionis suæ dominus, seu agere non potest quod vult, non est liber. Verum ego puto hoc ad omnes hominis actiones, sine ulla exceptione, extendi, tam ad internas actiones mentis, quam externas corporis, adeo ut etiam actio volendi, quæ est interna mentis actio, sit libera. Quando autem dixi voluntatem esse actionum nostrarum dominam, nihil aliud volui, nisi, actiones nostras externas dirigi à volitione nostra, adeo ut faciamus quæ volumus, & non faciamus quæ nolumus, nisi intercedat cohibitio, aut coactio: utraque enim illa libertatem destruit. Semel declaravi credere me animum, seu mentem immediate, absque ullis intermediis facultatibus, intelligere & velle: per intellectum itaque & voluntatem, quotiescunque iis vocibus utor, aliud non intelligo nisi potentiam seu facultatem ipsius animæ, qua elicit actionem intelligendi ac volendi, & quam actionem anima immediate exercet. Et hanc significationem te etiam admittere puto.

Superest ut dicam de "indifferentia." De qua primo præmoneo, eam non esse nostram, uti tu credis, id est, à nobis inventam, aut ita à nobis adscitam, ut pro ea tanquam necessario in hac quætione usurpanda contendamus, Nihil minus. Nos diu illa voce usi non fuimus: libertatem definientes, eam ordinarie vocavimus dominium quod homo in actionem suam habet. In disputatione autem contra illos theologos, qui intellectum ac voluntatem statuunt duas esse facultates, realiter & ab anima & à se invicem distinctas, quarum una tantum intelligit,

nihil autem vult, altera tantum vult, nihil autem intelligit, hanc illorum sententiam hoc argumento oppugnavimus: quod per eam aut omnis libertas tollatur, aut omnis actio hominis reddatur bruta ac irrationalis. Aut enim voluntas determinatur ab intellectu, adeo ut necessario velit quod intellectus illi præscribit: atqui tum omnis actio necessaria est, quia omnis actio intellectûs est necessaria: aut non determinatur ab intellectu, sed seipsam determinat: atqui tum omnis actio voluntatis est bruta & irrationalis; quia supponitur voluntatem nihil intelligere, sed solummodo velle. Hujus argumenti ictum ut evitent, responderunt, radicem libertatis esse in intellectu; quia in intellectu est indifferentia, qua potest quodcunque objectum, quod sibi offertur, apprehendere & dijudicare. Responderunt nostri, eam esse tantum indifferentiam passivam, qualis est in oculo, qui etiam quævis objecta sibi occurrentia potest videre, eorumque imagines recipere; quem tamen nemo propterea dixerit libere videre; quia non potest, quin quod sibi videndum proponitur videat: sicut non potest intellectus, quin quod sibi clare proponitur comprehendat; aut dubitet de eo, pro quo utrinque æque graves militant rationes. Si vero libertas quæratur in indifferentia, oportere eam esse activam, qua homo dominium habet in suam actionem. Exinde, quoniam alii vocem "indifferentiæ" adhibuerunt, nos ut omnem in disputando ambiguitatem vitaremus, distinctionis causa addidimus vocem "activæ," diximusque libertatem consistere in indifferentia activa, eamque residere in voluntate. Vides ergo, nos non pro hac voce velle decertare, nec eam à nobis esse excogitatam: sed nos vocem ab aliis usurpatam explicuisse, & additione vocis activæ significationem illius explanatiorem reddidisse. Interim non nego, nos postea, quandoque etiam illa in scriptis nostris esse usos, quia juxta explicationem nostram accepta, commodissima visa fuit, & idem significare cum phrasi antea à nobis usurpata, dominium in actiones nostras. Idque etiam constat ex definitione hujus indifferentiæ, quam in præcedente mea epistola dedi; quod sit vis illa animi, qua positis omnibus ad agendum requisitis potest agere vel non agere: quod mihi aliud nihil est, quam quod homo dominium *habet* in actionem suam, ut possit, prout ipsi placuerit,

vel agere, vel non agere. Itaque inter omnia ad agendum requisita vel maxime colloco intellectus judicium, quod præcedere debet; alias volendi actio mere esset irrationalis. Quando autem dico, quod "possit agere & non agere," mens mea non est, quod simul possit agere & non agere; aut nec agere nec non agere, seu nec velle nec non velle: hoc enim contradictorium est; sed quod potentia ad neutrum sit determinata, ac proinde ex duobus oppositis possit eligere quodcunque ipsi libitum fuerit; imo ubi jam se determinavit ad agendum, quod actionem suam sistere possit, & se rursus in partem oppositam determinare. Hoc est quod dominium habet in suam actionem. Ubi hoc non potest, non est liber. Sic recte mones, eum, qui volens in carcere à vino abstinet, non libere abstinere, quia non habet facultatem vinum bibendi: nec qui volens in carcere manet, libere manere, quia non habet facultatem exeundi. Sed vero alia est ratio actionum internarum, quæ sola mente perficiuntur. Ad illarum libertatem, nihil requiritur, nisi libera determinatio voluntatis. Sic qui in carcere concupiscit alterius uxorem, eaque turpi concupiscentia se oblectat, eamque in animo fovet, libere concupiscit & peccat, licet ea concupiscentia intra solam delectationem morosam, uti scholastici loquuntur, consistat; ideoque ad ejus consummationem ipse externus adulterii actus non requiritur. Per "brutum impetum," non intelligo actionem voluntatis sine ulla præcedente cogitatione; sic enim conciperem non hominem; sed præcipitatam actionem, ante debitum & accuratum illius examen: sicuti videmus multos homines vehementi affectu sæpe abripi, ut hoc aut illud agere velint, antequam omnes actionis circumstantias, rationesque ac argumenta, quibus ad eam incitari, aut ab ea deterreri possint, rite consideraverint. Hanc ergo tribuo libertatem homini, ut quando actio ipsi proposita est, possit vel præcipitare judicium, vel mature omnes actionis circumstantias examinare, atque ita vel bruto impetu, vel prævio, maturo, ac deliberato consilio agere: ejusque libertatis unumquemque sibi esse conscium credo. Nec hoc omittendum per "indifferentiam," me non intelligere statum, in quo homo, quasi in æquilibrio est constitutus, nec in unam partem magis propendet, quam in alteram; talis enim status indifferentiæ

circa actiones morales in nullo homine reperitur: semper in unam partem magis propendemus quam in aliam, in actionibus præsertim moralibus, prout vel affectibus agimur, aut consuetudo ac habitus nos erga virtutem aut vitia proniores reddidit: sed statum, in quo homo potentiam habet se determinandi in quamcunque oppositorum partem velit: licet enim magis sit propensus in unam partem quam in alteram, non tamen dominium in actionem suam amisit, sed in alteram partem etiam se determinare potest. Verum quia vox "indifferentia" accipi potest pro statu, quo homo in neutram partem inclinat, sed plane in æquilibrio est constitutus, licet ille sensus directæ explicationi nostræ adversetur, ad omnem vitandam amphibologiam, à voce illa abstinebo.

"Ultimum intellectûs judicium" ego non confundo cum maturo & recto judicio; sed ibi distinguo ultimum judicium, quod sit vel maturum & rectum, vel pravum & præcipitatum, quod ibi vocavi brutum impetum, quia illud magis sequitur vehementem concupiscentiam carnalem, quam ductum rationis: utrumque est ultimum judicium, quando immediate actionem volendi antecedit, & inter illud actionemque volendi nullum aliud judicium intermedium est.

Ita explicatis terminis quibus usus sum, jam quanta possum brevitate & perspicuitate sententiam meam proponam. Eam his thesibus comprehendo.

1. Homo est agens liberum, & habet dominium in actiones suas, illas vel faciendi, vel omittendi.

2. Intellectus & voluntas non sunt duæ facultates realiter ab anima hominis & à se invicem distinctæ; sed anima per suam essentiam immediate intelligit & vult.

3. Homo nihil vult aut facit, nisi desiderio boni, aut sensu molestiæ ex absentia boni desiderati excitatus.

4. Actum volendi antecedit actus intelligendi, quo homo judicium fert de actione sua.

5. Judicium illud vel est prudens, post adhibitum maturum rationum ab utraque parte militantium examen; vel est præcipitatum, & ab affectu magis quam ratione dictatum.

6. Judicium hoc, quatenus est merus intelligendi actus, *non* procedit ultra suasionem, hoc est eligbile, seu

hoc consentaneum est eligere, hoc consentaneum est rejicere: aut inter eligibilia hoc magis, hoc minus est eligibile; inter fugienda hoc magis, hoc minus oportet fugere.

7. Judicium, quo homo decernit hoc est faciendum, est ipsa volitio; vel ad minimum, actus mixtus ex intellectione & volitione, & ad cujus consummationem actus volendi concurrit.

8. Actus intelligendi, quatenus est merus intelligendi actus, est necessarius, & nititur momento rationum ab homine perceptarum.

9. Actus volendi liber est, habetque homo dominium in illum, ac facultatem eum vel eliciendi, vel non eliciendi. Si quæ ergo libertas in judicio est, ea procedit non ab actu intelligendi sed volendi.

10. Actionum internarum, quæ sola mente perficiuntur, libertas consistit in libera mentis determinatione, qua actionem volendi vel elicere potest, vel cohibere. Ad libertatem vero actionum externarum, ad quarum consummationem concurrere debent membra externa, etiam requiritur ut homo habeat facultatem sive potentiam faciendi quod vult, et omittendi, seu non faciendi, quod non vult; sive liberum & non impeditum membrorum externorum usum.

Ita paucis explicata sententia mea, videamus nunc in quibus conveniamus, & quis inter nos supersit dissensus. Quando epistolam tuam confero cum lib. ii. cap. xxi. de potentia, videor mihi posse dicere, nos in quinque primis thesibus consentire, nec de iis inter nos ullum esse dissensum. De ultima etiam nulla est inter nos controversia, nisi forte quod tu libertatem in sola potentia faciendi quo volumus, & non faciendi quod nolumus, collocare videris, cum ego eam etiam ad ipsius voluntatis determinationem, seu volitionis actum extendam. De quo mox. Utroque etiam pollice amplector quod in epistola tua scribis, quod homo fertur in bonum absens, sive finem; & quod multis simul intellectui observantibus bonis non subordinatis nec consistentibus, homo unum, neglectis aliis, sibi proponit ut finem, id est, ut prosequendum: & hoc facit voluntarie: ideoque voluntas fertur in illam actionem mentis, qua unum præ reliquis sibi proponit, ut finem: & in ea actione terminatur:

eam autem voluntatis actionem sequitur desiderium finis. Hactenus ergo consentimus. Videamus quousque in reliquis consentiamus & quis supersit dissensus.

Primo, non videmur convenire in definitione libertatis. Sic enim dicis: "Libertas apud me est potestas ho-" minis agendi, vel non agendi, secundum suam volun-" tatem." Quæ definitio mihi angusta nimis esse videtur: & si ea agnoscatur, tum certum est, libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati: sicut certum est, animam nunquam posse esse sine cogitatione, si vera sit definitio, anima est cogitatio. Imo si hæc genuina sit definitio, libertatis, fieri posset ut libertas consisteret cum summa necessitate. Ut mox ostendam. Ego autem puto libertatem esse dominium, quod homo habet in quamcunque suam actionem, eamque extendi non tantum ad actiones, quas facit secundum suam voluntatem, sed & ad ipsum volendi actum, su voltionem.

Quod sextam & septimam thesin attinet, nescio quousque in illis consentiamus, aut quis de illis inter nos sit dissensus. In postrema mea epistola idem jam affirmavi: verum tu nullam in tua epistola illius mentionem facis: itaque incertus sum quousque his mecum sentias. Mihi evidens videtur, hominem judicium suum determinare, quia vult acquiescere rationibus quas expendit: suspendere autem judicium suum, quia nondum vult acquiescere, sed rationes aut exactius expendere, aut an sint plures, quibus judicium ejus inclinare possit, inquirere. Atque ita determinationem ultimi judicii, quo homo decernit hoc est eligendum, aut faciendum, si non totam, maximam saltem partem, esse actionem volendi.

Octava thesis, qua statuo, omnem actum intellectus, quatenus merus intelligendi actus est, esse necessarium, nescio an inter nos controversa sit. Illam enim expresse asserere videris, lib. iv. cap. xiii. § 2. & cap. xx. § 16. At ea distinctius paulum explicanda est, ut pateat, an aliquis de ea sit dissensus. Hic ergo observa, quod res, quas intellectus percipit, sunt vel meræ theoreticæ, vel practicæ. Circa veritates theoreticas actio intellectus necessaria prorsus est: proposita veritate clara & evidenti, intellectus necessario assentitur seu homo necessario *eam* percipit, illique assensum præbet; propositis argu-

mentis verisimilibus tantum, homo necessariò opinatur: propositis utrinque argumentis æqualis ponderis, homo, seu intellectus, necessario dubitat: omnesque hæ intelligendi actiones nituntur momento rationum ab homine perceptarum. Circa veritates practicas actio intelligendi, quatenus mera intelligendi actio est, & nulla intercedit actio volendi, etiam necessaria est: pro rationum enim momento, quas intellectus expendit, judicat quid convenientius, quid minus conveniens, quid ex usu sit facere, vel non facere. Hoc judicium ducit quidem voluntatem, verum eam non plene determinat: est enim illud imperium tantum suasionis, cui voluntas potest non obtemperare, seu homo potest aliud velle: determinatio autem procedit à voluntate, qua homo decernit hoc est faciendum, eaque determinatio fit vel juxta suasionem intellectus, & tunc est rationalis; vel fieri potest contra eam, & tunc est irrationalis, hoc esti, procedit ab affectu carnali, & suasioni intellectus neutiquam auscultat: vel etiam potest esse præceps & temeraria, ita ut maturum judicium antevertat. Hic videmur dissentire: dicis enim "hominem non habere potentiam determinandi "actionem volendi contra judicium intellectus: actio "enim volendi hoc, aut illud, semper sequitur judicium "intellectus, quo homo judicat hoc & nunc illud esse "melius." Idem etiam videris affirmare in fine § 71. dicti capitis. Sed tamen, quando hæc confero cum definitione voluntatis in tua epistola, quod sit "potentia, "quam homo habet incipiendi, sistendi, vel vitandi ali-"quam actionem mentis, vel corporis," & cum § 47. cap. xxi. & aliquot anteced. & seqq. dubito, an multum dissentiamus, & an non magis diversitas sit in modo explicandi, quam in re ipsa. Omnino enim mihi videris illic agnoscere libertatem quandam in judicando. Dicis enim illic, "liberum esse menti appetitionum suarum objec-"ta considerare, eas introspicere penitus, & utrum præ-"ponderet, trutina diligenter examinare. In hoc liber-"tas hominis consistit:" & quæ ibi porro egregia habes. Addis mox: "indultam nobis potestatem voluntatem "revocandi, à prosecutione hujus aut illius appetitionis. "Hoc mihi videtur fons esse omnis libertatis," &c. Ex iis enim liquere videtur, libertatem etiam versari in judicio formando, imo ibi esse libertatis fontem. Unde

colligo libertatem (juxta tuam explicationem) non solummodo consistere in potentia faciendi quod volumus: sed etiam ante volitionis actum, imo ante judicium de actione sua, hominem esse liberum, & libertatem suam exercere. Solummodo discrimen inter nos esset, an judicium ultimum, quo discernitur, non hoc convenit facere, sed hoc est faciendum, sit actio intelligendi mera; an vero ad id etiam concurrat actio volendi? &, an libertas resideat in actione intelligendi, an volendi? sive, an id quod in judicio, quo hominis actio determinatur, liberum est, resideat in intellectione, an volitione? Si in eo consistat discrimen, puto facile sententias nostras conciliari posse: quamvis enim mihi perspicuum videatur, libertatem residere in actione volendi, nihilque esse liberum, quin sit etiam voluntarium; non tamen hic tantopere videmur posse dissentire, quin facile ad consensum reducamur. Cum enim uterque statuamus, intellectum & voluntatem non esse duas potentias realiter ab anima, & à se invicem distinctas; sed hominem seu animam, immediate per suam essentiam intelligere ac velle; satis convenimus, quando uterque agnoscimus judicium hominis ultimum libere determinari: quando enim adest potentia faciendi quod ultimum illud judicium libere à nobis determinatum dictat, non faciendi, seu omittendi, quod ultimo illo judicio non esse faciendum decernitur, homo plena fruitur libertate; solummodo controvertitur, an illud judicium, quod homo libere format, & quo actiones ejus determinantur, sit actio intellectus an voluntatis? Si disquireretur, solummodo utra explicatio cum philosophica ἀκριβεια melius conciliari posset, in re ipsa autem foret consensus. Si vero dicamus, omnem actionem intellectus esse necessariam, & ultimum illud judicium practicum esse merum intellectus actum, ac per illud voluntatem determinari; non video, quomodo ulla in homine reliqua sit libertas. Actiones enim omnes determinantur à voluntate, nisi homo aut cohibeatur quo minus facere possit quod vult, aut cogatur facere quod non vult; cohibitio enim & coactio, ut recte observas, repugnant libertati, & quando nostri juris sumus, semper facimus quod volumus. Si autem voluntas determinatur ab intellectu, & intellectus actio *sit necessaria*, omnia erunt necessaria: nam à principio

necessario, hoc est, judicio intellectus, determinatur voluntas; à voluntate actiones: itaque homo ad actiones suas determinatus est; & licet potentiam habeat faciendi quod vult, & non faciendi quod non vult; potentia tamen illa, per antecedentem voluntatis determinationem ad unum determinata est. Atque sic mera in actionibus hominis regnaret necessitas. Prolixior paulo fui; sed prolixitatem, ut perspicue mentem meam explicarem, evitare vix potui. Si alicubi mentem tuam non recte, aut non plene, percepi, aut me à veritate aberrare credis, ut me libere moneas & instruas, rogo: veritatem enim unice sector. Et quoniam nunc plenius mentem meam explicui, brevius, quicquid tibi non probetur, indicare posses. Ut vero plenius sententiam nostram percipias, suaderem ut legas brevem Episcopii tractatum de Libero Arbitrio, qui extat in vol. i. part ii. p. 198. operum ejus; & epistolam illius, qua judicium suum profert de loco quodam ethices non edito; quæ est LV. inter epistolas nostras ecclesiasticas & theologicas. Reliqua libri tui mihi valde probantur, multumque me ex illius lectione profecisse gratus agnosco. Lectionem ejus repetere statui. Verum versio Gallica multum Latinæ præstat; eam ego subinde consulo, quando Latina obscurior est, sive interpretis sive typographi culpa. Quæ epistolæ tuæ inclusa sunt errata, & additamentum de indifferentia, nescio an in privatum meum usum miseris, an vero ut imprimantur. Verum ego puto se sententiam nostram de indifferentia non recte percepisse, ideoque eam in hac epistola plenius & distinctius explicui. Sed tandem manum de tabula. Vale, vir amplissime. Uxor & filia te plurimum salvere jubent. Salutem a nobis officiocissimam dices D. Masham totique familiæ.

Amstelod. 11 Oct. 1701.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

GRATISSIMAM epistolam tuam, 11 Oct. datam, legi relegique, & (te auctore) perlegi Episcopii tracta-

tum de Libero Arbitrio. Non tam magnifice de me sentio, ut audeam in tantorum virorum scriptis quicquam reprehendere; fateor tamen nonnulla & in illius dissertatione & in tua epistola occurrere, quæ, si coram tibi adessem, explicari à te peroptarem, ut melius perspicere possem, quomodo inter se & cum rei veritate consistere possint. Sed si singula, quæ in hoc argumento, in aliorum scriptis, suboriri possunt, dubia persequi velim, & pensiculatius ad trutinam revocare, in volumen abiret epistola: nec meum est aliorum opiniones convellere (quarum ignarus in scribendo nec aliorum sententiam fugi, nec autoritatem secutus sum) sed solum mea cogitata, quantam ex rebus ipsis perspicere possum, rebus ipsis conformare. Hæc causa esse potest quod, inconsultis auctoribus, & mea mecum meditatus terminis & loquendi formulis hoc in subjecto familiaribus non sum usus. Hoc mihi ignoscendum postulo. Nec Episcopii acutissimi, cujus memoria summa apud me in veneratione est, mentionem hic fecissem, nici te suasore tractatum ejus de Libero Arbitrio perlegissem, quem tuum fecisti, tuamque per omnia sententiam continere mihi notum fecisses.

Hæc à me prefanda erant, ne forsan videar aliorum scripta, qui me in hoc argumento præcesserunt, insolenter nimis negligere, vel non satis eorum autoritati tribuere: quod à meo animo, & à mea mediocritate, & est, & esse debet, remotissimum. Fateor, ego non sector nomina, sed ubique veritati litans, eamque quacunque ducit unice sequor: ideoque gratias tibi ago maximas, quod me, ubi errâsse existimas, in viam reducere conaris.

Primum & præcipuum, quod in novissima hac tua epistola culpare videris, est mea definitio libertatis, quam dicis "nimis esse angustam." An tua laxior est quam illa, quam ego lib. ii. cap. xxi. § 8. & 12. tradidi, tum videbimus, cum tu illam proferes. Nam quod dicis "libertatem esse dominium, quod homo habet in quamcunque suam actionem," hoc mihi non videtur esse definitio libertatis, quam nihil aliud dicit nisi hominem habere dominium in actiones suas quod habet; quod huc tantum redit, libertatem esse libertatem, quam homo habet in quamcunque suam actionem; quo evenire potest, ut nulla omnino sit hominis libertas: scis enim esse

aliquos, qui negant hominem ullum in actiones suas habere dominium, sed omnia præstituto & ineluctabili duci fato. Quod si dicas te supponere hominem habere dominium in actiones suas, & in eo consistere libertatem; tunc rogo, quid sit dominium hominis in actiones suas? Dominium enim, sive sit vox tralatitia, sive ob aliquam aliam causam, mihi videtur æque, si non magis obscura quam vox Libertas ideoque non minis eget definitione. Et sic pergam rogando, donec perventum erit ad simplices ideas, ex quibus conflatur idea libertatis.

Video ex hac tua epistola, quanta sit vis consuetudinis, & qua constantia non cogitantibus etiam & invitis irrepit. Fateris & candide fateris, voluntatem esse animæ facultatem, & facultates non esse agentes: & tamen, ut alia omittam, hoc dicis, "si mea definitio libertatis agnoscatur, certum est libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati." Voluntati enim nullo modo competere potest libertas, nisi pro agente agnoscatur. Quippe agentium solummodo est libertas. Scio te Episcopii exemplo posse teipsum excusare, qui in principio dissertationis suæ strenue rejiciens facultatem operationis, subinde tamen relabitur in argumentationes, quibus supponuntur agentes: permitte tamen ut amice moneam, nisi hoc maxime caveas, multum in hac materia tibi facesses negotium, & tenebras sæpissime tibi offundes.

Ad reliqua, de quibus dubitare videris, ne in longitudinem molemque nimiam extendatur responsio, rectius me & compendiosius satisfacturum credo, si aliquas hic illic capiti xxi. inseram explicationes, quibus animi mei sensum negligentius forsan, vel obscurius traditum, clariorem reddam, adeo ut festinanti etiam, uti fit, lectori in posterum pateat, modo quæ tradita sunt memoria tenere non dedignetur. Hæc cum tu attente perlegeris, & cum reliquis, quæ in isto capite exposui, contuleris, plene tibi satisfactum iri spero. Quod si quæ postea tibi, remanserint dubia, & aliqua restant, quæ vel obscura nimis, quorum te fugit sensus, vel parum veritati congrua, quibus assensum præbere non potes, moneas rogo, ut aut te auctore corrigam, aut ulterius explicando, veritatem, sua propria luce nitentem tibi ante oculos ponam.

Si qua sunt in epistola tua, ad quæ non satis distincte

responsum à me credas, ignoscas rogo valetudini parum firmæ, quæ languidiorem me & ad scribendum minus aptum reddit. Quanquam spero ex annexis explicationibus, ex quibus mentem meam percipies, perspicuum tibi fore quid ad singulas dubitationes tuas respondi possit. Vale, vir optime, &, ut facis, me ama

Tui studiosissimum,

Oates, 19 Nov.
1701.

J. LOCKE.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir Amplissime,

QUOD lectionem tractatus Episcopii de Libero Arbitrio tibi commendaverim, id eo fine non feci, ut viri illius auctoritate contra te utar; nihil minus: scio enim in sincera veritatis inquisitione nullam valere auctoritatem humanam, sed tantum momenta rationum, quibus veritas adstruitur. Nec ego, licet Episcopii sententiam approbem, vellem illius auctoritate constringi, ut omnia, etiam quæ, salva principali veritate, in dubium vocari possunt, admittam, nedum phrasibus ac loquendi formulis ab ipso usurpatis alligari me patiar. Sed illius legendi tibi auctor fui, ut ex illo cognosceres, nos jam a multo tempore renuntiâsse illi sententiæ, quæ statuit animam intermediis facultatibus agere; sed asseruisse tecum animam immediate per seipsam intelligere ac velle. Unde cognoscere posses, quando communem loquendi usum secuti utimur vocibus intellectus ac voluntatis, non iis non intelligere facultates realiter ab anima distinctas; sed ipsas intelligendi ac volendi actiones, quas anima immediate ex seipsa elicit. Hoc ego etiam brevioribus verbis significatum dedi, in Theologia mea Christiana, lib. ii. cap. xxiii. § 1, 2. Itaque si per incogitantiam, ex inveterata consuetudine, mihi forte exciderit voluntatem esse liberam, rogo ut id meo sensu accipias, ac si dixissem actio volendi est libera, seu homo in elicienda actione volendi est liber: ac proinde pro verbis meis, si tua libertatis definitio agnoscatur, " cer-

" tum est libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati," hæc substituas, " certum est actionem volendi neuti- " quam esse liberam, seu hominem non libere velle." Gratias interim tibi ago, quod inconsideratam hanc meam locutionem mihi indicaveris: ego annitar ut in posterum omnem ambiguam locutionem vitem, & ab insolita loquendi consuetudine non abripiar; ne nulla in verbis meis sit obscuritas.

Libertatem ego definivi per dominium in actiones; quia vox dominii tibi explicatione indigere videtur, simplicius dico libertatem esse facultatem hominis actionem suam vel eliciendi, vel non eliciendi: qui alterutrum tantum potest, non est liber. Per actionem autem ego intelligo actionem quamcunque, etiam actiones internas intelligendi ac volendi: circa quascunque actiones non habet homo hanc facultatem eas vel eliciendi, vel non eliciendi, sed alterutrum tantum potest, hæ non sunt liberæ: & quia illi hanc facultatem tribuo circa actiones volendi, ideo eas liberas voco: quando hac facultate homo destitutus est, libere nec vult, nec velle potest.

Unitam facultas esset coram tecum de omnibus his disserendi, & ex ore tuo pleniorem omnium, circa quæ hæsito, explanationem audiendi; meamque sententiam, ac loquendi phrases distincte explicandi; non dubito, quin felicius totam hanc quæstionem terminare possemus. Nunc etiam circa ea, quæ explicationis gratia addidisti, hæsito, an statuas judicium illud, quo formato, non amplius in homine libertas est non volendi, sit actio mera intelligendi, eaque intelligendi actio sit libera vel necessaria: si in ea elicienda hominem liberum agnoscas, non video quis inter nos, quoad summam rei, maneat dissensus. Sed coram possemus hæc distinctius & exactius expendere; idque maxime percuperem, ut uterque in hac materia, quanta fieri potest perspicuitate, nos explicemus & difficultatibus hinc inde oborientibus occurramus. Nunc quoniam utriusque ætas id neutiquam permittit, quæ misisti, semper, quando de hac materia ago, consulam, ne aut ipse errem, aut aliis inconsiderata loquendi ratione errendi occasionem præbeam. Vale, vir amplissime. Salutant te uxor ac filia, omnesque prosperam tibi precamur valetudinem. Generoso Domino Masham gratulamur continuatam

dignitatem: illi, ut & Dominæ Masham totique familiæ, ut annus hic ex voto fluat precamur.

Amstelod. 3 Jan. 1702. Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

DE valetudine satis constanti quod scribis, maxime lætor, & quod palpitatio illa cordis molesta amplius non fuerit, gaudeo. Quæ ad sanitatem tuendam faciunt tam recte & prudenter moderaris, ut sperem te diu ab illo aliisque morbis tutum & sospitem futurum: præcipue si dictæ mediocritati venæ sectionem, si plethoram vel sentias vel metuas, quotiescunque inde malum ingruit, addere velis.

Nunc demum, si placet, ad diu intermissa studia redeamus. Habeo jam præ manibus literas tuas 3 Januarii datas, in quibus videris mihi dubitare, an ego statuam hominem esse in volendo vel in intelligendo liberum; ita enim quæstionem tuam interpretor: etiam tu rogas, an actio volendi vel intelligendi sit libera? ad quam quæstionem sic respondeo.

1. Generaliter, nempe quod mea sententia homo in omni actione tam volendi quam intelligendi liber est, si ab actione illa volendi aut intelligendi potuit abstinuisse; si non, non.

2. Specialius, quod voluntatem, aliqui sunt casus in quibus homo non potest non velle, & in omnibus istis volendi actibus homo non est liber, quia non potest non agere. In cæteris, ubi potuit velle, vel non velle, liber est.

3. Quod actus intelligendi, in ista voce intelligendi suspicor latere amphiboliam; nam significare potest actionem cogitandi de aliquo subjecto, & in isto sensu homo plerumque liber est in istiusmodi actionibus intellectus. V. g. possum cogitare de peccato Adami, vel inde amovere cogitationem meam ad urbem Romam,

vel ad artem bellicam præsentis sæculi. In quibus omnibus & hujusmodi aliis infinitis, liber sum, quia pro libitu meo possum de hoc vel illo cogitare, vel non cogitare; vel actus intelligendi potest sumi pro ea actione, qua percipio aliquid esse verum, & in hac actione intelligendi, v. g. quod tres anguli trianguli sunt æquales duobus rectis, homo non est liber, quia excussa demonstratione non potest non hoc intelligere. Homo potest plerumque non aperire oculos, vel non advertere aciem oculorum ad hoc vel illud objectum, verum apertis & conversis ad solem vel lunam oculis, necessario videt & splendorem & figuram quæ se offert intuitui videndam. Quod de oculis dixi ad intellectum transferre licet. Par utrinque est ratio. Sed de his hactenus. Si satisfactum tibi sit gaudeo. Sin dubia restent, utere libertate tua, ego paratus sum & in his & in omnibus, quantum in me est, tibi obtemperare.

Oates, 28 Sept. 1702.

Tui studiosissimus,

J. LOCKE.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

MULTIS me obruis beneficiis, quorum memoriam nulla unquam eluet ætas. Ego hactenus Dei gratia bene valeo: ante septem circiter hebdomadas plethoram mihi molestam sensi, sine tamen gravi cordis palpitatione: quare venæ sectionem adhibui, atque ita omnis illa molestia evanuit.

1. Quæ de libertate hominis in actione intelligendi ac volendi scribis, tecum verissima agnosco; nimirum in omnibus actionibus, à quibus homo potuit abstinuisse, esse liberum: minime vero, si abstinuisse non potuit.

2. Similiter, quosdam esse casus, in quibus homo non potest non velle, & non agere; quia facultate non agendi destitutus est. Sed vero in omnibus actibus obedientiæ ab ipso præstandis, & ob quos non præstitos pœnæ

reus fit, liberum credo, neque quemquam posse reum pœnæ fieri, ob non præstitum actum sibi minime possibilem, aut ob præstitum sibi inevitabilem: nihil enim homini magis liberum esse debet, quam id ob quod pœnæ reus redditur.

3. Hominem esse liberum, ut contemplationem vel cogitationem suam ab uno objecto avertat & in aliud dirigat, atque hoc respectu in actionibus intellectus liberum dici posse, tecum agnosco. Verum hæc actio, si accurate loqui velimus, proprie est actio volendi, non intelligendi: avertit enim homo cogitationes suas ab uno objecto, & in aliud dirigit, quia non vult priores cogitationes continuare, & quia vult novas inchoare. Quod vero actionem intelligendi attinet, qua homo aliquid percipit esse verum, eam recte dicis non esse liberam: idque locum habet tam in percipiendis iis, quæ philosophi per solam intelligentiam cognosci dicunt; ut, bis duo sunt quatuor; idem non potest simul esse & non esse, &c. quam illis, quæ excussa demonstratione cognosci, optime dicis; videl. tres angulos trianguli esse æquales duobus rectis. Idem etiam locum habere censeo in aliis intelligendi actionibus, quando res est obscura aut dubia, & nullæ sunt rationes eam evidenter probantes, aut pro utraque sententia rationes sunt æqualis ponderis; tum enim homo necessario aut suspensus est, aut dubitat, aut leviter tantum assentitur, ita tamen ut falli posse se credat. Adeo ut intelligendi actio accommodata sit rationibus ac argumentis, quorum pondere in hanc aut illam partem inclinatur. Qualia plurima sunt in vita humana. Et actio illa intelligendi non mutatur, quamdiu non accedunt novæ rationes, aut rationum, quibus rei veritas innititur, clarior & evidentior perceptio. Non nego tamen in ejusmodi cognitione inevidenti fieri posse, quin & sæpius contingere, ut nulla accedente nova luce, aut magis distincta perceptione, homo aut eliciat plenum assensum, aut opinionem suam mutet: verum illa mutatio judicii aut assensus, non procedit ab actione aliqua intelligendi, sed velendi: quia nimirum homo, licet nova ratione minime illustratus, judicium suum in alteram partem inclinare vult. Scimus affectus nostros valde inclinare judicium nostrum: itaque indulgendo

affectui cuipiam, qui me in alteram partem impellit, eo etiam judicium & assensum meum inclinare possum. Atque ita judicium hoc meum erit actio mixta, partim intelligendi, partem volendi: quatenus intelligendi est actio, seu rem percipit, est necessaria: verum quicquid in judicio liberum est, procedit ab actione volendi: quatenus scilicit ego rationibus allatis acquiescere volo, ut judicium feram. Qualem actionem mixtam ego etiam credo fidem nostram esse, prout explicui in Theol. mea Christ. lib. v. cap. ix. § 21, 22, 23. ibique plenius ostendo, quomodo actio intelligendi & volendi in fide christiana concurrunt: solummodo ex inveterata loquendi consuetudine, usus sum vocibus intellectus & voluntatis, quibus actiones intelligendi & volendi designo, juxta ea quæ jam declaraveram lib. ii. cap. xxiii. § 1, 2. Hæc sic distincte consideranda existimo: verum nolim ego multum contendere, utrum illa libertas etiam sit decenda inesse actioni intelligendi, dummodo constet hominem in actione illa liberum esse: & hominem libere ab una cogitatione se convertere in alteram. Distinctione tamen hac adhibita puto rem dilucidius explicari. Et sic etiam similitudo tua ab oculis desumpta plenius applicatur: quod enim homo non aperiat oculos, aut oculorum aciem non advertat, hoc facit, quia ita vult: oculi autem quando aperiuntur & in objectum diriguntur, illud quale se oculis repræsentat, necessario conspiciunt: si in debita distantia oculis objiciatur, etiam necessario distincte videtur: si nimis remotum sit, distincte videri non potest; neque homo libertatem habet procurandi ut objectum in tali distantia ipsi distincte appareat: sed si distincte contemplari velit, libertatem habet propius accedendi. In his puto nos consentire, atque ita in summa rei nullum esse dissensum, licet forsitan in modo explicandi aliqua discrepantia sit. Vale, vir amplissime, & salve ab uxore, filia, & me

Amstelod. 27 Octob. 1702.

Tui amantissimo,

P. à Limborch.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

POSTQUAM afflicta tua valetudo, præsertim in extrema senectute, nos admodum de te solicitos habuit, tandem gratior paulo nuntius nos recreavit calore æstatis, qui tamen nunc apud nos calornem verum non excedit, te nonnihil respirare, & meliuscule te habere. Utinam firmam tibi valetudinem concedat benignum numen, ut quos vitæ tuæ adjicere dignabitur dies iis, quibus te consecrâsti, studiis impendas, & donec hujus vitæ usura frueris, doctissimis tuis lucubrationibus, orbi christiano inservire possis! Quæ tu concordiæ christianæ jecisti femina, licet nunc ab ingratis conculcentur, gratæ posteritati fructus suos ferent. Quod licet mens mihi certo præsagiat, nihilominus, quando servilia plurimorum, & pro auctoritate humana decertantia ingenia considero, ægre sperare licet, eos depositis præjudiciis & affectibus, animo puro ac sincero momenta rationum, quibus veritas nititur ponderaturos, ac uni veritati candide cessuros. Etiam reformatos, qui sese opponendo patui nullo se humana auctoritate constringi velle, aut posse, protestati sunt, nimium humanæ auctoritati tribuere, scriptaque humana majore quam par est in veneratione habere, actus singulis trienniis in patria nostra repetitus, & cujus solennem repetitionem novellæ nostrates paucas ante hebdomadas nobis retulerunt, argumentum est omni exceptione majus: cujus quoniam nunc recens memoria est, quia illius narrationem tibi non ingratam fore confido, licet res ipsa maxime displiceat, eam distinctius & cum præcipuis circumstantiis describam. Jam anno CIↃ IↃC XXV. Ordines Generales decreverunt, ut singulis trienniis acta authentica synodi Dordracenæ, quæ Hagæ asservantur, à deputatis ordinum & ecclesiarum inspiciantur: postquam deinde anno CIↃ IↃC XXXVII. prodiit nova bibliorum versio, jussu ejusdem synodi adornata, illius etiam exemplar, a translatoribus, & revisoribus, hunc in finem Lugdunum evocatis, ultimo correctum, quod Lugduni Batavorum asservatur, inspici solet. Redeunte itaque quolibet trien-

nio deputati synodorum Hollandiæ Australis & Borealis cœtum convocant, ex omnium provinciarum ecclesiis, necnon ex ecclesia Walonica. Hi patres conscripti, ubi convenere, præsidi Ordinum Generalium adventum fratrum indicant: precibus à pastore loci, si cœtus membrum sit, habitis, & literis credentialibus lectis, præses & scriba eliguntur. Præcedentis cœtus acta prælegunturur: exinde deputati cœtus ad Ordines Generales mittuntur, ut scriptorum synodalium visionem petant, & ut aliquos è collegio suo ad eam deputent, locum & tempus statuant, quin & per epistolam consules Lugdunenses præmoneant, & collegii regentem, unius clavis custodem, ut adsit, quando Lugdunum convenient ad inspiciendum autographa versionis. His peractis, certa à deputatis Ordinum constituta hora, comparent in Ordinum Generalium camera; primo funduntur preces, quibus Deo gratiæ aguntur, quod ecclesiam reformatam à variis erroribus purgaverit, quod synodum ipsis concesserit, cujus acta authentica in præcedente cœtu adhuc incorrupta conspexerunt; & quoniam nunc convenerunt ut ea denuo inspiciant, oratur Deus ut gratiam hanc ipsis concedat, ut integra æque ac incorrupta ab ipsis conspiciantur, perinde uti ante triennium conspecta fuere. Postquam scripta inspecta sunt, gratiæ Deo pro tanto beneficio aguntur, idque depositum denuo tutelæ divinæ committitur, ut in proximo cœtu æque sincerum atque incorruptum reperiatur prout nunc deponitur. Postridie Lugdunum proficiscuntur, et à magistratu in curiam adsciti authentica versionis inspiciunt. Hæc inspectio similibus precibus inchoatur ac finitur. Exin lauto excipiuntur convivio, in quo à præside cœtus & scriba deputatis Ordinum & magistratus Lugdunensis gratiæ aguntur. Hagam reversi in actis scribunt, scripta illis integra adhuc, & à vermibus, tinea & muribus inviolata esse reperta: atque ita cœtui finis imponitur. Hæc est illa triennalis solennitas, visioni scriptorum synodalium destinata, quam paulo distinctius, variisque circumstantiis vestitam tibi scribere volui, ut, quanta veneratione synodæ illius famosæ reliquiæ hic asserventur, cognoscas. Hæc ego excerpsi ex narratione cujusdam ministri, qui ipse cœtus illius membrum fuit, scripta inspexit, & in quorundam amicorum gratiam hanc hi-

toriolam scripto consignavit. Cui etiam consonant aliorum qui solennitati illi interfuerunt relationes. Non credo Romæ tanta cum veneratione tantisque sumptibus acta concilii Tridentini inspici. Ridenda hæc forent, si quorundum privatorum inconsiderato zelo agerentur; nunc, quia auctoritate publica fiunt, dolenda sunt. Quid Gallica synodus nuperrime contra D. Clerici versionem Gallicam Novi Testamenti ejusque notas decreverit, quam frivolæ illius sint criminationes, quam plene brevi scripto edito eas D. Clericus refutaverit, ipse tibi aut jam scripsit, aut brevi, ut credo, scripturus est. Hæc similiaque quando considero, bonæ conscientiæ studio acquiescendum, & neglectis hominum iniquorum molitionibus, veritati ac paci indefesso studio unice litandum, laborumque nostrorum benedictionem à solo Deo, qui è tenebris lucem eruere potest, expectandum esse certus sum. Illius te tutelæ commendo; illum oro, ut omnia tibi largiatur fausta ac salutaria, necnon honoratissimæ in qua vivis familiæ. Salutant te, Dominum ac Dominam Masham, una cum dignissima filia ac filio, uxor ac filia. Salutem etiam à me dices D° Coste.

Amstelod. Jun. 21, 1704.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

PUDET me sane tam diuturni silentii, nec ab infirma & plane fracta valetudine satis excusatum credo, etiamsi admixta etiam aliqua tui reverentia me à scribendo aliquantulum detinuit, satis ex ipso morbo desidiosum. Quorsum enim attinet te eruditioribus sermonibus aptum & commerciis literarum docto liberoque animo dignis, ægrotantis querelis, laboriosisque verbis anhelum scriptorem redolentibus fatigare? juvat tamen experiri amicitiam tuam, veterem amicum, etiamsi senio & morbo mutilum, ad sepulchrum usque prosequi. *Nihil* sane jucundius, nec est, quod magis animum de-

bilem & languescentem refocillat, quam constans & vegeta amicorum benevolentia; magnum perfugium humanæ fragilitatis, in quo reperitur magna pars voluptatis, cum reliqua plane insipida sunt & frustra solicitantur. Gratissimæ igitur mihi fuerunt epistolæ tuæ benevolentiæ & amicitiæ plenæ, nec quantum ex illis solatii perceperim ex taciturnitate mea, sed ex voluptate quam profiteor judicare debes. Ea enim infirmi corporis morbus est, hoc sentientis grati & animi testimonium.

Etiamsi servilium ingeniorum, humana venerantium, exempla cumulate satis mihi obtulit longa dies, nec melior omnino mihi spes est de futuro; donec placuerit Deo optimo maximo ex misericordia sua, secundo filii sui adventu, restaurare ecclesiam; maxime tamen mihi placuit historia ista, quam in novissimis tuis perscripsisti. Actus ille triennalis, cum omni suo apparatu partim ridiculo, partim superstitioso, habet in se quod & stomachum & splenem moveat: certe cum omnibus suis circumstantiis ita graphice depictus conservari debet, etiam ubi commode fieri potest typis mandari, & in publicum prodire, ut quod privatim obtinet, oculis hominum obversetur, & pudefiant qui sic sacris illudunt, Deique nomen sacrosanctum, placitis inventisque suis, audacter præfigunt. Vitam tibi in utilitatem religioni longam validamque, & in usum familiæ & amicorum tuorum animitùs precor, uti & omnia prospera tibi tuisque. Optimam tuam fœminam filiamque, reliquosque amicos nostros, meo nomine, rogo officiosissime salutes. Hæc tota familia te tuosque salutat. Vale, vir amplissime, & me ama

Oates, 4 August, 1704.

Tui amantissimum,

J. Locke.

A

COLLECTION

OF

SEVERAL PIECES

OF

MR. JOHN LOCKE.

PUBLISHED BY

MR. DESMAIZEAUX,

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

ANTHONY COLLINS, ESQ.

TO

HUGH WROTTESLEY, ESQUIRE.

SIR,

HAVING met with several of Mr. LOCKE's works, which were never printed, I thought myself obliged to impart them to the public, together with some pieces of that illustrious writer, which had indeed been published before, but without his name to them, and were grown very scarce. The value you have for every thing that was written by Mr. LOCKE, and your esteem for some of his friends concerned in this collection, emboldens me to offer it to you; and I flatter myself that you will favour it with your acceptance.

The first piece in this collection, contains "The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina." You know, sir, that CHARLES II. made a grant of that country by letters patents, bearing date March 24th, 1663, to the duke of ALBEMARLE, the earl of CLARENDON, the earl of CRAVEN, the lord BERKLEY of Stratton, the lord ASHLEY, sir GEORGE CARTERET, sir WILLIAM BERKLEY, and sir JOHN COLLETON; who thereupon became proprietors of that colony. My lord ASHLEY, afterwards so well known by the title of earl of SHAFTESBURY, was distinguished by an exquisite judgment, an uncommon penetration, and a deep insight into civil affairs. The other proprietors desired him to draw up the laws necessary for the establishment of their new colony; to which he the more readily consented, because he relied on the assistance of Mr. LOCKE, who had the good fortune to gain his friendship and confidence.

My lord ASHLEY well knew, that our philosopher had a peculiar right to a work of this nature. He called to his mind so many ancient philosophers, who had been legislators, and who, on this very account, had statues erected to them. And indeed, sir, if we consider on the one hand,

that a philosopher makes Man his particular study, knows the reach of his mind, and the springs of his passions, in fine, his good and bad qualities; and that on the other hand, not being biassed by any motives of self-interest, he hath nothing in view but the general good of mankind; it will be granted, that nobody is better qualified than such an one, not only to civilize a barbarous people, but to prevent the inconveniences and disorders which even the most polite nations are apt to fall into. In this respect it is, that the philosopher hath the advantage over the courtier, or what we call the politician. For this latter, being accustomed to study the genius and inclinations of men for his own ends only, and to make his own advantage of them; it is impossible he should entirely overcome the force of custom, and the tyranny of prejudice, when the concerns of the public, and the welfare of society, are under deliberation. But the philosopher considers things in general, and as they really are in themselves. He examines the most difficult and important points of government, with the same accuracy, and the same disposition of mind, as his other philosophical speculations. And therefore as all his views are more extensive and impartial, they must needs be more beneficial and secure.

But though some may be of opinion, that in matters of state, the politician ought to have the preference of the philosopher, this will not in the least diminish the value of the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina; since not only a philosopher, but a politician of the first rank, was concerned therein. No man is more capable of judging of the excellence of such constitutions, than yourself, sir, who not only have acquired a complete knowledge of our laws, but studied them as a philosopher, by looking for the motives and foundations of them, in the very nature of mankind.

For the rest, you have here those constitutions, printed from Mr. LOCKE's copy, wherein are several amendments made with his own hand. He had presented it, as a work of his, to one of his friends, who was pleased to communicate it to me.

The second piece in this collection is, "A Letter from "a Person of Quality, to his Friend in the Country." It

gives an account of the debates and resolutions of the house of lords, in April and May, 1675, concerning a bill, intitled, "An act to prevent the dangers, which may arise "from persons disaffected to the government." By that bill, which was brought in by the court-party, all such as enjoyed any beneficial office or employment, civil or military, to which was afterwards added, privy counsellors, justices of the peace, and members of parliament, were, under a penalty, to take the oath, and make the declaration and abhorrence following: "I A. B. do declare, that it is "not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms "against the king; and that I do abhor that traitorous "position, of taking arms by his authority against his "person; or against those that are commissioned by him, "in pursuance of such commission; and I do swear, that "I will not, at any time, endeavour the alteration of the go-"vernment, either in church or state. So help me God."

Such of the lords as had no dependence upon the court, and were distinguished by the name of country-lords, looked upon this bill as a step the court was making to introduce arbitrary power; and they opposed it so vigorously, that the debate lasted five several days, before it was committed to a committee of the whole house; and afterwards it took up sixteen or seventeen whole days; the house sitting many times till eight or nine of the clock at night, and sometimes till midnight. However after several alterations, which they were forced to make, it passed the committee; but a contest then arising between the two houses, concerning their privileges, they were so inflamed against each other, that the king thought it adviseable to prorogue the parliament, so that the bill was never reported from the committee to the house.

The debates occasioned by that bill, failed not to make a great noise throughout the whole kingdom; and because there were but few persons duly apprized thereof, and every body spoke of it as they stood affected: my lord SHAFTESBURY, who was at the head of the country-party, thought it necessary to publish an exact relation of every thing that had passed upon that occasion; in order, not only to open the people's eyes upon the secret views of the court, but to do justice to the country lords, and thereby to secure to them the continuance of the affection

and attachment of such as were of the same opinion with themselves, which was the most considerable part of the nation. But though this lord had all the faculties of an orator; yet not having time to exercise himself in the art of writing, he desired Mr. LOCKE to draw up this relation; which he did under his lordship's inspection, and only committed to writing what my lord SHAFTESBURY did in a manner dictate to him. Accordingly you will find in it a great many strokes, which could proceed from nobody but my lord SHAFTESBURY himself; and among others, the characters and eulogiums of such lords as had signalized themselves in the cause of public liberty.

This letter was privately printed soon afterwards; and the court was so incensed at it, that, at the next meeting of the parliament, towards the end of the year 1675, the court-party, who still kept the ascendant in the house of lords, ordered it to be burnt by the common hangman. "The particular relation of this debate, says the ingenious "Mr. MARVEL, which lasted many days with great "eagerness on both sides, and the reasons but on one, was, "in the next session, burnt by order of the lords, but the "sparks of it will eternally fly in their adversaries faces [a]."

This piece was grown very scarce. It is true it was inserted, in the year 1689, in the first volume of the State Tracts; but in such a manner, that it had been far better not to have reprinted it at all. And, indeed, among numbers of lesser faults, there are several whole periods left out; and many places appear to be designedly falsified. It is likely all this was occasioned by the compiler's making use of the first printed copy that fell into his hands; without giving himself the trouble to look out for more exact ones. That I might not be guilty of the same fault, I have sought after all the editions I could possibly hear of; and have luckily met two printed in the year 1675, both pretty exact, though one is more so than the other. I have collated them with each other, and with that contained in the State Tracts. In short, that this piece might appear to the best advantage, I have taken the same care as if I had

[a] An account of the growth of popery, and arbitrary government in England, more particularly from the long prorogation of November, 1675, ending the 15th of February, 1676, till the last meeting of parliament; the 16th of July, 1677. By ANDREW MARVEL, Esq; p. m. 89.

been to publish some Greek or Latin author from ancient manuscripts. And truly when a man undertakes to republish a work that is out of print, and which deserves to be made more easy to be come at, be it either ancient or modern, it is the same thing; the public is equally abused, if, instead of restoring it according to the best editions, and in the most correct manner that is possible, the editor gives it from the first copy he chances to light upon, without troubling himself whether that copy be defective or not.

The third piece in this collection consists of "Remarks "upon some of Mr. NORRIS's Books, wherein he asserts "Father MALEBRANCHE's Opinion, of our seeing all "Things in God." It is in a manner the sequel of a much larger discourse, printed in the year 1706, among the "Posthumous Works of Mr. LOCKE." Our author had resolved to give that subject a thorough examination; and this small piece is but a sketch, containing some cursory reflections, which he had thrown together, in reading over some of Mr. NORRIS's books. Accordingly, I find these words in his manucsript, written before those Remarks; "Some other thoughts, which I set down, as "they came in my way, in a hasty perusal of some of "Mr. NORRIS's writings, to be better digested, when I "shall have leisure to make an end of this argument." And at the end of them, he hath added these words: "the finishing of these hasty thoughts must be deferred "to another season." But though this small piece is far from being perfected, it however contains many important reflections; and therefore, I was of opinion it deserved to be published; and I hope, sir, you will not disapprove my inserting it in this collection.

It is followed here by the "Elements of Natural Philosophy[b]." Mr. LOCKE had composed, or rather dictated, these Elements for the use of a young gentleman, whose education he had very much at heart. It is an abstract or summary of whatever is most material in natural philosophy; which Mr. LOCKE did afterwards explain more at large to that young gentleman. The same is practised in the universities, where, you know, it is customary for the professors to dictate such abridgments, to serve for

[b] See note, page 159.

the subject and rule of their lectures. And therefore this small tract is far from being what Mr. LOCKE would have made it, had he written upon that matter professedly, and designed to make it a complete work.

However, as the generality of men expect every thing should be perfect, that proceeds from such a writer as Mr. LOCKE, and do not enter into the occasions or designs which he proposed to himself in writing; I own that some persons, very good judges, whom I have taken the liberty to consult about the impression of some pieces in this collection, were of opinion that this little treatise had better been left out, for fear every reader should not make the proper allowances, and lest the memory of Mr. LOCKE should suffer by it. I yielded to their opinion; and was resolved to lay that piece aside. But being informed that there were several other copies of it abroad, which it was impossible to suppress, or hinder from falling, one time or other, into the hands of the printers, maimed and disfigured, as is too often the case on such occasions; I was obliged to take other measures; and I the more easily determined to publish it, because I could give it more complete, more correct, and in better order, than can possibly be pretended to, by the copies above mentioned.

After all, I may take upon me to say, that, in its kind, this piece is no way to be despised. We wanted such a work in English; and it would not have been an easy matter to find any other person, who could have comprehended so many things in so few words, and in so clear and distinct a manner. Great use may be made of it in the instruction of young gentlemen, as it was originally designed by Mr. LOCKE. And persons even of riper years may improve by it; either by recalling ideas that had slipt out of their memory; or by informing themselves of several things, which were unknown to them.

To this treatise are subjoined, "Some Thoughts concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman[c]." Mr. LOCKE having one day, in conversation, discoursed upon the method that a young gentleman should take in his reading, and study; one of the company was so well pleased with it, that he desired him to dictate to him

[c] See note, page 159.

the substance of what he had been speaking; which Mr. LOCKE immediately did. This is one of the usual conversations of Mr. LOCKE, reduced into writing: from whence you may judge, sir, how agreeable and advantageous it was to converse with that great man.

Mr. LOCKE not only points out the sciences that a gentleman ought to study, whether as a private man, or one in a public capacity; but likewise directs to such books as treat of those sciences, and which, in his opinion, are the properest for that end. As you have acquired, sir, in Italy, the most refined taste for the politer arts, and have added that study to those Mr. LOCKE here recommends to a gentleman; you will perhaps wonder, that he says nothing of painting, sculpture, architecture, and other arts of this kind, which make an accomplished gentleman. But I desire you would consider, that there are but few persons in possession of the means necessary for attaining this sort of knowledge; and that Mr. LOCKE is speaking here of what may suit the circumstances of the generality of people. Besides he was very far from imagining, that an extemporary advice, which he was giving by his fire-side, would ever be exposed to common view. However, I presume to think, that after you have perused it, you will be of opinion it was not unworthy to be made public.

But among the works of Mr. LOCKE, contained in this volume, I do not know that any will afford you more pleasure than his Letters. Some of them are written upon weighty subjects; and are upon that very account exceeding valuable. Others are what Mr. LOCKE wrote out of the country to one of his friends in London, about private business. In these one would expect nothing but what was common and customary; but a subject so simple, and vulgar in itself, changes, as it were, its very nature, when managed by Mr. LOCKE; and becomes something considerable and of moment, by the turn and manner in which he expresses the sentiments of affection and gratitude he hath for his friend. And indeed, though true friendship be founded upon esteem; yet we may say, if friendship goes no farther, there is something in it austere, not to say dry, and rustic. But there is a certain agreeable and complaisant way of showing this esteem, wherein consists the greatest charm of friendship; as it is what supports it,

and adds force and vigour to it. Now this is Mr. LOCKE's peculiar talent; and it is impossible that a person of your nice taste should not be sensibly touched with the respectful, endearing, and affectionate manner in which he writes here to his friend; and which he still repeats with new graces. It is a pattern of urbanity, politeness, and gaiety. For our old philosopher hath nothing morose, nor uneasy. Whenever he speaks of his infirmities, it is by way of pleasantry, or that he may have an opportunity of saying some obliging thing to his friend.

The last piece in this collection contains the "Rules "of a Society, which met once a Week for their Improve-"ment in useful Knowledge, aad the promoting of "Truth and Christian Charity." Mr. LOCKE took a delight in forming such societies, wherever he made any stay. He had established one at Amsterdam in 1687, of which Mr. LIMBORCH, and Mr. LE CLERC, were members. He settled this club at London soon after the Revolution; and drew up the rules you will find here. But his design in doing this, was not only to pass away time in an agreeable conversation of two or three hours; he had views far more solid and sublime. As there is nothing that more obstructs the advancement of truth, and the progress of real christianity, than a certain narrow spirit, which leads men to cantonise themselves, if I may so speak, and to break into small bodies, which at last grow into so many factions; Mr. LOCKE, zealous for the general good of mankind, would have gladly inspired them with sentiments of a higher and more extensive nature, and united those whom the spirit of prejudice or party had kept asunder. This is what continually employed his thoughts. He never loses sight of it throughout his works. Nay, it is the principal subject of them. But he did not confine himself to bare speculation; and he formed the society above mentioned with a design to render, as much as lay in his power, such a desirable union practicable. This appears from the disposition of mind he requires in those, who were to be members of it; and especially by the declaration they were obliged to subscribe, "that by their becoming of that society, they pro-"posed to themselves an improvement in useful know-"ledge, and the promoting of truth and christian charity."

But you will find, sir, the same mind, the same genius, not only in this small piece, but in all others in this collection. Mr. LOCKE every-where discovers a sincere love of truth, and an invincible aversion to whatever may do it the least wrong. To the quality of a great philosopher, he every-where joins that of a true christian. You see him full of love, respect, and admiration, for the christian religion. And thereby he furnishes us with the strongest presumption, that can be imagined, for the truth as well as excellency of that holy institution. For this is not the approbation of a vulgar mind, who is still fettered by the prejudices of infancy; it is the suffrage of a wit, a superior genius, who has laboured all his life to guard against error; who, in several important points, departed from the common opinion; and made christianity his study, without taking it upon trust. It is, doubtless, a great advantage, not to say an honour, for a doctrine to be embraced and countenanced by such a man. But let us return to our collection.

To make it more useful, I have added notes to illustrate certain passages, which suppose the knowledge of some facts that may be unknown to the reader, or which would not readily occur to his memory; and therefore these notes are merely historical. I pretend neither to approve nor disapprove the particulars they contain. I only act the part of an historian. There is but one of them that can be looked upon as critical; and even that is only intended to settle a matter of fact, misrepresented by a late historian. These notes are not very numerous; and I do not know but the fear of swelling them too much may have made me suppress some, which would not have been wholly useless.

As for what concerns the impression itself, in order to make it more beautiful, I have been obliged to recede, in several respects, from our usual way of printing; which, if I am allowed to speak freely, is extremely vicious. It is a matter of wonder, that in such a country as this, where there is so much encouragement for printing, there should prevail a sort of Gothic taste, which deforms our English impressions, and makes them not a little ridiculous. For can any thing be more absurd, than so many capital letters, that are not only pre-

fixed to all noun substantives, but also often to adjectives, pronouns, particles, and even to verbs? And what shall we say of that odd mixture of italic, which, instead of helping the reader to distinguish matters the more clearly, does only perplex him; and breeds a confusion shocking to the eye? But you are not to be informed, sir, you, who every day enrich your library with books of the finest editions, that none of these faults were ever committed by the printers, who have been eminent in their art. Surely, if the authors on the one hand, and the readers on the other, would oppose this barbarism, it would be no difficult matter to restore a just taste, and a beautiful way of printing.

To the pieces already mentioned, I have prefixed the character of Mr. LOCKE, at the request of some of his friends; as you will see by the letter before it, which was sent to me together with that character.

These, sir, are all the pieces, which make up this volume. Why may I not, at the same time that I offer it to you, unfold to the view of the public so many perfections, which a too severe and scrupulous modesty conceals from it! Why may I not make known the rare endowments of your mind, as well as the noble and generous sentiments of your heart! But I fear I have already too much presumed upon your goodness, by prefixing your name to this discourse. And after having been so bold, as not to consult you, upon a thing which you would never have permitted; I ought to account myself very fortunate, if, on consideration of my passing over your excellent qualities in profound silence, you are pleased to forgive the freedom I have taken; and will give me leave to declare to you and all the world, how sensible I am of the friendship you honour me with, and to assure you that I shall always be, with the greatest respect,

SIR,

Your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

March 23, 1719.

DES MAIZEAUX.

A

TABLE

OF THE

PIECES contained in this COLLECTION.

THE character of Mr. Locke, by Mr. Peter Coste.
The fundamental constitutions of Carolina.
A letter from a person of quality to his friend in the country; giving an account of the debates and resolutions of the house of lords, in April and May 1675, concerning a bill, intitled, "An act to prevent the "dangers which may arise from persons disaffected "to the government."
Remarks upon some of Mr. Norris's books, wherein he asserts F. Malebranche's opinion of "our seeing all "things in God."
[a] Elements of natural philosophy.
[a] Some thoughts concerning reading and study for a gentleman.
A letter to Mr. Oldenburg, secretary to the Royal Society.
Letters to Anthony Collins, Esq.
A letter to the Rev. Mr. Richard King.
A letter to * * * on Dr. Pococke.
Letters to the Rev. Mr. Richard King.
Rules of a society which met once a week, for their improvement in useful knowledge, and for the promoting of truth and christian charity.

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[a] It has been deemed expedient, in the present edition, to transfer these two articles to the second volume.

THE

CHARACTER

OF

MR. LOCKE;

BY

MR. PETER COSTE:

WITH

A LETTER relating to that CHARACTER, and to the AUTHOR of it.

A LETTER to Mr. * * * * * *.

SIR, London, Feb. 4, 1720.

BEING informed, that you design to publish several new pieces of Mr. Locke, I here send you, at the request of some of his friends, the translation of a letter, attempting his character, and containing several passages of his life and conversation; which you are desired to prefix before that collection.

The author of that letter is Mr. Peter Coste, who has translated into French Mr. Locke's Thoughts concerning Education, his Reasonableness of Christianity, and Vindications thereof; with his principal work, the Essay concerning Human Understanding.

Mr. COSTE lived in the same family with Mr. Locke, during the seven last years of that great man's life; whereby he had all possible opportunities to know him.

The letter was written some time after Mr. Locke's death; and appears to be the production of a man in

raptures, and struck with the highest admiration of Mr. Locke's virtue, capacity, and of the excellency of his writings; and under the deepest affliction for the loss of a person, to whom in his life-time he had paid the most profound respect, and for whom he had constantly expressed the greatest esteem, and that even in writings, whereof Mr. Locke did not know him to be the author.

And therefore Mr. Locke's friends judge its publication necessary, not only, as they think it contains a just character of Mr. Locke, as far as it goes; but as it is a proper vindication of him against the said Mr. Coste, who in several writings, and in his common conversation throughout France, Holland, and England, has aspersed and blackened the memory of Mr. Locke, in those very respects, wherein he was his panegyrist before.

For, they conceive, the eulogium contained in the following letter must stand good, till Mr. Coste thinks fit either to deny his own experience, or to confess, that the same things, which he then thought praise-worthy, have since changed their nature. I am,

SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant,

* * *

The CHARACTER of Mr. LOCKE.

In a LETTER to the AUTHOR of the Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres. By Mr. P. COSTE*.

SIR, London, Dec. 10, 1704.

YOU must have heard of the death of the illustrious Mr. Locke. It is a general loss. For that reason he is lamented by all good men, and all sincere lovers

* That letter was printed in the Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, for the month of February, 1705, art. II. page 154, with this title, A LETTER of Mr. COSTE to the author of these Nouvelles, written on occasion of the death of Mr. Locke.

of truth, who were acquainted with his character. He was born for the good of mankind. Most of his actions were directed to that end; and I doubt whether, in his time, any man in Europe applied himself more earnestly to that noble design, or executed it with more success.

I will forbear to speak of the valuableness of his works. The general esteem they have attained, and will preserve, as long as good sense and virtue are left in the world; the service they have been of to England in particular, and universally to all that set themselves seriously to the search of truth, and the study of christianity; are their best eulogium. The love of truth is visible in every part of them. This is allowed by all that have read them. For even they, who have not relished some of Mr. Locke's opinions, have done him the justice to confess, that the manner, in which he defends them, shows he advanced nothing that he was not sincerely convinced of himself. This his friends gave him an account of from several hands: "Let them "after this, answered he, object whatever they please "against my works; I shall never be disturbed at it: "for since they grant I advance nothing in them but "what I really believe, I shall always be glad to prefer "truth to any of my opinions, whenever I discover it "by myself, or am satisfied that they are not conform-"able to it." Happy turn of mind! which, I am fully persuaded, contributed more even than the penetration of that noble genius, to his discovery of those great and useful truths which appear in his works.

But, without dwelling any longer upon considering Mr. Locke in the quality of an author, which often serves only to disguise the real character of the man, I haste to show him to you in particulars much more amiable, and which will give you a higher notion of his merit.

Mr. Locke had a great knowledge of the world, and of the business of it. Prudent without being cunning; he won people's esteem by his probity, and was always safe from the attacks of a false friend, or a sordid flatterer. Averse to all mean complaisance; his wisdom, his experience, his gentle and obliging manners, gained him the respect of his inferiours, the esteem of his

equals, the friendship and confidence of the greatest quality.

Without setting up for a teacher, he instructed others by his own conduct. He was at first pretty much disposed to give advice to such of his friends as he thought wanted it; but at length, finding that, "good counsels "are very little effectual in making people more pru-"dent," he grew much more reserved in that particular. I have often heard him say, that the first time he heard that maxim, he thought it very strange; but that experience had fully convinced him of the truth of it. By counsels, we are here to understand those which are given to such as do not ask them. Yet, as much as he despaired of rectifying those whom he saw taking of false measures; his natural goodness, the aversion he had to disorder, and the interest he took in those about him, in a manner forced him sometimes to break the resolution he had made of leaving them to go their own way; and prevailed upon him to give them the advice, which he thought most likely to reclaim them; but this he always did in a modest way, and so as to convince the mind by fortifying his advice with solid arguments, which he never wanted upon a proper occasion.

But then Mr. Locke was very liberal of his counsels, when they were desired; and nobody ever consulted him in vain. An extreme vivacity of mind, one of his reigning qualities, in which perhaps he never had an equal; his great experience, and the sincere desire he had of being serviceable to all mankind; soon furnished him with the expedients, which were most just and least dangerous. I say, the least dangerous; for what he proposed to himself before all things was to lead those, who consulted him, into no trouble. This was one of his favourite maxims, and he never lost sight of it upon any occasion.

Though Mr. Locke chiefly loved truths that were useful, and with such fed his mind, and was generally very well pleased to make them the subject of his discourse; yet he used to say, that in order to employ one part of this life in serious and important occupations, it was necessary to spend another in mere amusements; and when

an occasion naturally offered, he gave himself up with pleasure to the charms of a free and facetious conversation. He remembered a great many agreeable stories, which he always brought in properly; and generally made them yet more delightful, by his natural and agreeable way of telling them. He was no foe to raillery, provided it were delicate and perfectly innocent.

Nobody was ever a greater master of the art of accommodating himself to the reach of all capacities; which, in my opinion, is one of the surest marks of a great genius.

It was his peculiar art in conversation, to lead people to talk of what they understood best. With a gardener he discoursed of gardening; with a jeweller, of a diamond; with a chymist, of chymistry, &c. "By this, "said he himself, I please all those men, who com- "monly can speak pertinently upon nothing else. As "they believe I have an esteem for their profession, "they are charmed with showing their abilities before "me; and I, in the mean while, improve myself by "their discourse." And indeed, Mr. Locke had by this means acquired a very good insight into all the arts, of which he daily learnt more and more. He used to say too, that the knowledge of the arts contained more true philosophy, than all those fine learned hypotheses, which, having no relation to the nature of things, are fit for nothing at the bottom, but to make men lose their time in inventing, or comprehending them. A thousand times have I admired how, by the several questions he would put to artificers, he would find out the secret of their art, which they did not understand themselves; and oftentimes give them views entirely new, which sometimes they put in practice to their profit.

This easiness, with which Mr. Locke knew how to converse with all sorts of men, and the pleasure he took in doing it, at first surprised those, who had never talked with him before. They were charmed with this condescension, not very common among men of letters; and which they so little expected from a person, whose great qualities raised him so very much above all other

men. Many who knew him only by his writings, or by the reputation he had gained of being one of the greatest philosophers of the age, having imagined to themselves before-hand, that he was one of those scholars, that, being always full of themselves, and their sublime speculations, are incapable of familiarizing themselves with the common sort of mankind, or of entering into their little concerns, or discoursing of the ordinary affairs of life; were perfectly amazed to find him nothing but affability, good humour, humanity, pleasantness, always ready to hear them, to talk with them of things which they best understood, much more desirous of informing himself in what they understood better than himself, than to make a show of his own science. I knew a very ingenious gentleman in England, that was for some time in the same prejudice. Before he saw Mr. Locke, he had formed a notion of him to himself under the idea of one of the ancient philosophers, with a long beard, speaking nothing but by sentences, negligent of his person, without any other politeness but what might proceed from the natural goodness of his temper, a sort of politeness often very coarse and very troublesome in civil society. But one hour's conversation entirely cured him of his mistake, and obliged him to declare, that he looked upon Mr. Locke to be one of the politest men he ever saw: "He is not a "philosopher always grave, always confined to that "character, as I imagined; he is, said he, a perfect "courtier, as agreeable for his obliging and civil beha-"viour, as admirable for the profoundness and delicacy "of his genius."

Mr. Locke was so far from assuming those airs of gravity, by which some folks, as well learned as unlearned, love to distinguish themselves from the rest of the world; that, on the contrary, he looked upon them, as an infallible mark of impertinence. Nay, sometimes he would divert himself with imitating that studied gravity, in order to turn it the better into ridicule; and upon this occasion he always remembered this maxim of the duke of la Rochefoucault, which he admired above all others, "that gravity is a mystery of

" the body, invented to conceal the defects of the " mind." He loved also to confirm his opinion on this subject, by that of the famous earl of Shaftsbury*, to whom he took a delight to give the honour of all the things, which he thought he had learnt from his conversation.

Nothing ever gave him a more sensible pleasure than the esteem, which that earl conceived for him, almost the first moment he saw him, and which he afterwards preserved as long as he lived. And, indeed, nothing set Mr. Locke's merit in a better light, than the constant esteem of my lord Shaftsbury, the greatest genius of his age, superiour to so many great men that shone at the same time at the court of Charles II; not only for his resolution and intrepidity in maintaining the true interests of his country, but also for his great abilities in the conduct of the most knotty affairs. When Mr. Locke studied at Oxford, he fell by accident into his company, and one single conversation with that great man won him his esteem and confidence to such a degree, that soon afterwards my lord Shaftsbury took him to be near his person, and kept him as long as Mr. Locke's health or affairs would permit. That earl particularly excelled in the knowledge of men. It was impossible to catch his esteem by moderate qualities; this his enemies themselves could never deny. I wish I could, on the other hand, give you a full notion of the idea, which Mr. Locke had of that nobleman's merit. He lost no opportunity of speaking of it; and that in a manner, which sufficiently showed he spoke from his heart. Though my lord Shaftsbury had not spent much time in reading; nothing, in Mr. Locke's opinion, could be more just than the judgment he passed upon the books, which fell into his hands. He presently saw through the design of a work; and without much heeding the words, which he ran over with vast rapidity, he immediately found whether the author was master of his subject, and whether his reasonings were exact. But,

* Chancellor of England in the reign of Charles II.

above all, Mr. Locke admired in him that penetration, that presence of mind, which always prompted him with the best expedients, in the most desperate cases; that noble boldness, which appeared in all his public discourses, always guided by a solid judgment, which, never allowing him to say any thing but what was proper, regulated his least word, and left no hold to the vigilance of his enemies.

During the time Mr. Locke lived with that illustrious lord, he had the advantage of becoming acquainted with all the polite, the witty, and agreeable part of the court. It was then that he got the habit of those obliging and benevolent manners, which, supported by an easy and polite expression, a great knowledge of the world, and a vast extent of capacity, made his conversation so agreeable to all sorts of people. It was then too, without doubt, that he fitted himself for the great affairs, of which he afterwards appeared so capable.

I know not whether it was the ill state of his health, that obliged him, in the reign of king William, to refuse going ambassador to one of the most considerable courts in Europe. It is certain that great prince judged him worthy of that post, and nobody doubts but he would have filled it gloriously.

The same prince, after this, gave him a place among the lords commissioners, whom he established for advancing the interest of trade and the plantations. Mr. Locke executed that employment for several years; and it is said (absit invidia verbo) that he was in a manner the soul of that illustrious body. The most experienced merchants were surprised, that a man, who had spent his life in the study of physic, of polite literature, or of philosophy, should have more extensive and certain views than themselves, in a business which they had wholly applied themselves to from their youth. At length, when Mr. Locke could no longer pass the summer at London, without endangering his life, he went and resigned that office to the king himself, upon account that his health would permit him to stay no longer in town. This reason did not hinder the king from entreating Mr. Locke to continue in his post, telling him

expressly, that, though he could stay at London but a few weeks, his services in that office would yet be very necessary to him; but at length he yielded to the representations of Mr. Locke, who could not prevail upon himself to hold an employment of that importance, without doing the duties of it more regularly. He formed and executed this design without mentioning a word of it to any body whatsoever; thus avoiding, with a generosity rarely to be found, what others would have earnestly laid out after; for by making it known that he was about to quit that employment, which brought him in a thousand pounds a year, he might easily have entered into a kind of composition with any pretender, who, having particular notice of this news, and being befriended with Mr. Locke's interest, might have carried the post from any other person. This, we may be sure, he was told of, and that too by way of reproach. "I knew it very well, replied he; but this was the very "reason why I communicated my design to nobody. "I received this place from the king himself, and to "him I resolved to restore it, to dispose of it as he "thought proper." "Heu prisca fides!" Where are such examples, at this day, to be met with?

One thing, which those who lived for any time with Mr. Locke could not help observing in him, was, that he took a delight in making use of his reason in every thing he did; and nothing, that is attended with any usefulness, seemed unworthy his care; so that we may say of him, what was said of queen Elizabeth, that he was no less capable of small things than of great. He used often to say himself, that there was an art in every thing; and it was easy to be convinced of it, to see the manner in which he went about the most trifling thing he did, and always with some good reason. I might here descend into particulars, which probably, to many, would not be unpleasant: but the bounds I have set myself, and the fear of taking up too many pages in your journal, will not give me leave to do it.

Mr. Locke, above all things, loved order; and he had got the way of observing it in every thing with wonderful exactness.

As he always kept the useful in his eye, in all his disquisitions, he esteemed the employments of men only in proportion to the good they were capable of producing; for which reason he had no great value for those critics, or mere grammarians, that waste their lives in comparing words and phrases, and in coming to a determination in the choice of a various reading, in a passage that has nothing important in it. He cared yet less for those professed disputants, who, being wholly taken up with the desire of coming off with the victory, fortify themselves behind the ambiguity of a word, to give their adversaries the more trouble. And whenever he had to deal with this sort of folks, if he did not beforehand take a strong resolution of keeping his temper, he quickly fell into a passion. And, in general, it must be owned, he was naturally somewhat choleric. But his anger never lasted long. If he retained any resentment, it was against himself for having given way to so ridiculous a passion; which, as he used to say, may do a great deal of harm, but never yet did the least good. He often would blame himself for this weakness. Upon which occasion, I remember, that two or three weeks before his death, as he was sitting in a garden taking the air in a bright sun-shine, whose warmth afforded him a great deal of pleasure, which he improved as much as possible, by causing his chair to be drawn more and more towards the sun, as it went down; we happened to speak of Horace, I know not on what occasion, and having repeated to him these verses, where that poet says, of himself, that he was

Solibus aptum;
Irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem:

"That he loved the warmth of the sun, and that, "though he was naturally choleric, his anger was easily "appeased." Mr. Locke replied, that, if he durst presume to compare himself with Horace in any thing, he thought he was perfectly like him in those two respects. But, that you may be the less surprised at his modesty, upon this occasion, I must, at the same time, inform you, that he looked upon Horace to be one of

the wisest and happiest Romans that lived in the age of Augustus, by means of the care he took to preserve himself clear of ambition and avarice, to keep his desires within bounds, and to cultivate the friendship of the greatest men in those times, without living in their dependence.

Mr. Locke also disliked those authors that labour only to destroy, without establishing any thing themselves: "A building, said he, displeases them. They "find great faults in it; let them demolish it, and wel-"come, provided they endeavour to raise another in its "place, if it be possible."

He advised, that, whenever we have meditated any thing new, we should throw it as soon as possible upon paper, in order to be the better able to judge of it by seeing it altogether; because the mind of man is not capable of retaining clearly a long chain of consequences, and of seeing, without confusion, the relation of a great number of different ideas. Besides, it often happens, that what we had most admired, when considered in the gross, and in a perplexed manner, appears to be utterly inconsistent and unsupportable, when we see every part of it distinctly.

Mr. Locke also thought it necessary always to communicate one's thoughts to some friend, especially if one proposed to offer them to the public; and this was what he constantly observed himself. He could hardly conceive how a being of so limited a capacity as man, and so subject to errour, could have the confidence to neglect this precaution.

Never man employed his time better than Mr. Locke, as appears by the works he published himself; and perhaps, in time, we may see new proofs of it. He spent the last fourteen or fifteen years of his life at Oates, a country-seat of sir Francis Masham's, about five and twenty miles from London, in the county of Essex. I cannot but take pleasure in imagining to myself, that this place, so well known to so many persons of merit, whom I have seen come thither from so many parts of England to visit Mr. Locke, will be famous to posterity, for the long abode that great man made there.

Be that as it may, it was there that enjoying sometimes the conversation of his friends, and always the company of my lady Masham, for whom Mr. Locke had long conceived a very particular esteem and friendship, (in spite of all that lady's merit, this is all the eulogium she shall have of me now,) he tasted sweets, which were interrupted by nothing but the ill state of a weakly and delicate constitution. During this agreeable retirement, he applied himself especially to the study of the Holy Scripture; and employed the last years of his life in hardly any thing else. He was never weary of admiring the great views of that sacred book, and the just relation of all its parts; he every day made discoveries in it, that gave him fresh cause of admiration. It is strongly reported, in England, that those discoveries will be communicated to the public. If so, the whole world, I am confident, will have a full proof of what was observed by all that were near Mr. Locke to the last part of his life; I mean, that his mind never suffered the least decay, though his body grew every day visibly weaker and weaker.

His strength began to fail him more remarkably than ever, at the entrance of the last summer; a season which, in former years, had always restored him some degrees of strength. Then he foresaw that his end was very near. He often spoke of it himself, but always with great composure, though he omitted none of the precautions, which his skill in physic taught him, to prolong his life. At length, his legs began to swell; and, that swelling increasing every day, his strength diminished very visibly. He then saw how short a time he had left to live, and prepared to quit this world, with a deep sense of all the blessings which God had granted him, which he took delight in numbering up to his friends, and full of a sincere resignation to his will, and of firm hopes in his promises, built upon the word of Jesus Christ, sent into the world to bring to light life and immortality, by his gospel.

At length, his strength failed him to such a degree, that, the 26th of October, 1704. two days before his death, going to see him in his closet, I found him

on his knees, but unable to rise again without assistance.

The next day, though he was not worse, he would continue a-bed. All that day he had a greater difficulty of respiration than ever, and about five of the clock, in the evening, he fell into a sweat, accompanied with an extreme weakness, that made us fear for his life. He was of opinion himself, that he was not far from his last moment. Then he desired to be remembered at evening prayers; thereupon my lady Masham told him, that if he would, the whole family should come and pray by him in his chamber. He answered, he should be very glad to have it so, if it would not give too much trouble; there he was prayed for particularly. After this, he gave some orders with great serenity of mind; and, an occasion offering of speaking of the goodness of God, he especially exalted the love which God showed to man, in justifying him by faith in Jesus Christ. He returned him thanks, in particular, for having called him to the knowledge of that divine Saviour. He exhorted all about him to read the Holy Scripture attentively, and to apply themselves sincerely to the practice of all their duties; adding, expressly, that "by this means they "would be more happy in this world, and secure to "themselves the possession of eternal felicity in the "other." He past the whole night without sleep. The next day he caused himself to be carried into his closet, for he had not strength to walk by himself; and there in his chair, and in a kind of dozing, though in his full senses, as appeared by what he said from time to time, he gave up the ghost about three in the afternoon, the 28th of October.

I beg you, sir, not to take what I have said of Mr. Locke's character for a finished portrait. It is only a slight sketch of some few of his excellent qualities. I am told we shall quickly have it done by the hand of a master. To that I refer you. Many features, I am sure, have escaped me; but I dare affirm, that those, which I have given you a draught of, are not set off with false colours, but drawn faithfully from the life.

I must not omit a particular in Mr. Locke's will, which it is of no small importance to the commonwealth of learning to be acquainted with; namely, that therein he declares what were the works which he had published without setting his name to them. The occasion of it was this: some time before his death, Dr. Hudson, keeper of the Bodleian library at Oxford, had desired him to send him all the works with which he had favoured the public, as well those with his name as those without, that they might be all placed in that famous library. Mr. Locke sent him only the former; but in his will he declares he is resolved fully to satisfy Dr. Hudson; and to that intent he bequeaths to the Bodleian library a copy of the rest of his works, to which he had not prefixed his name, viz. a Latin "Letter concerning "Toleration," printed at Tergou, and translated some time afterwards into English, unknown to Mr. Locke; two other letters upon the same subject, in answer to the objections made against the first; "The Reasonable-"ness of Christianity," with two Vindications of that book; and "Two Treatises of Government." These are all the anonymous works which Mr. Locke owns himself to be the author of.

For the rest, I shall not pretend to tell you at what age he died, because I do not certainly know it. I have often heard him say, he had forgot the year of his birth; but that he believed he had set it down somewhere. It has not yet been found among his papers; but it is computed that he was about sixty-six.

Though I have continued some time at London, a city very fruitful in literary news, I have nothing curious to tell you. Since Mr. Locke departed this life, I have hardly been able to think of any thing, but the loss of that great man, whose memory will always be dear to me; happy if, as I admired him for many years, that I was near him, I could but imitate him in any one respect! I am, with all sincerity, Sir, your, &c.

THE

FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS

OF

CAROLINA.

OUR sovereign lord the king having, out of his royal grace and bounty, granted unto us the province of Carolina, with all the royalties, properties, jurisdictions, and privileges of a county palatine, as large and ample as the county palatine of Durham, with other great privileges, for the better settlement of the government of the said place, and establishing the interest of the lords proprietors with equality, and without confusion; and that the government of this province may be made most agreeable to the monarchy under which we live, and of which this province is a part; and that we may avoid erecting a numerous democracy: we, the lords and proprietors of the province aforesaid, have agreed to this following form of government, to be perpetually established amongst us, unto which we do oblige ourselves, our heirs, and successors, in the most binding ways that can be devised.

I. THE eldest of the lords proprietors shall be palatine; and, upon the decease of the palatine, the eldest of the seven surviving proprietors shall always succeed him.

II. There shall be seven other chief offices erected, viz. the admiral's, chamberlain's, chancellor's, constable's, chief-justice's, high-steward's, and treasurer's; which places shall be enjoyed by none but the lords proprietors, to be assigned at first by lot; and upon the vacancy of any one of the seven great offices by death, or otherwise, the eldest proprietor shall have his choice of the said place.

III. The whole province shall be divided into counties; each county shall consist of eight signories, eight baronies, and four precincts; each precinct shall consist of six colonies.

IV. Each signiory, barony, and colony, shall consist of twelve thousand acres; the eight signories being the share of the eight proprietors, and the eight baronies of the nobility; both which shares, being each of them one fifth part of the whole, are to be perpetually annexed, the one to the proprietors, the other to the hereditary nobility, leaving the colonies, being three fifths, amongst the people: that so in setting out and planting the lands, the balance of the government may be preserved.

V. At any time before the year one thousand seven hundred and one, any of the lords proprietors shall have power to relinquish, alienate, and dispose to any oter person, his proprietorship, and all the signories, powers, and interest thereunto belonging, wholly and entirely together, and not otherwise. But, after the year one thousand seven hundred, those, who are then lords proprietors, shall not have power to alienate or make over their proprietorship, with the signories and privileges thereunto belonging, or any part thereof, to any person whatsoever, otherwise than as in § xviii. but it shall all descend unto their heirs male; and, for want of heirs male, it shall all descend on that landgrave, or cassique, of Carolina, who is descended of the next heirs female of the proprietor; and, for want of such heirs, it shall descend on the next heir general; and, for want of such

heirs, the remaining seven proprietors shall, upon the vacancy, choose a landgrave to succeed the deceased proprietor, who being chosen by the majority of the seven surviving proprietors, he and his heirs, successively, shall be proprietors, as fully, to all intents and purposes, as any of the rest.

VI. That the number of eight proprietors may be constantly kept; if, upon the vacancy of any proprietorship, the seven surviving proprietors shall not choose a landgrave to be a proprietor, before the second biennial parliament after the vacancy; then the next biennial parliament but one after such vacancy shall have power to choose any landgrave to be a proprietor.

VII. Whosoever after the year one thousand seven hundred, either by inheritance or choice, shall succeed any proprietor in his proprietorship, and signiories thereunto belonging; shall be obliged to take the name and arms of that proprietor, whom he succeeds; which from thénceforth shall be the name and arms of his family and their posterity.

VIII. Whatsoever landgrave or cassique shall any way come to be a proprietor, shall take the signiories annexed to the said proprietorship; but his former dignity, with the baronies annexed, shall devolve into the hands of the lords proprietors.

IX. There shall be just as many landgraves as there are counties, and twice as many cassiques, and no more. These shall be the hereditary nobility of the province, and by right of their dignity be members of parliament. Each landgrave shall have four baronies, and each cassique two baronies, hereditarily and unalterably annexed to, and settled upon the said dignity.

X. The first landgraves and cassiques of the twelve first counties to be planted, shall be nominated thus; that is to say, of the twelve landgraves, the lords proprietors shall each of them separately for himself, nominate and choose one; and the remaining four landgraves of the first twelve, shall be nominated and chosen by the palatine's court. In like manner, of the twenty-four first cassiques, each proprietor for himself shall nominate and choose two, and the remaining eight shall

be nominated and chosen by the palatine's court; and when the twelve first counties shall be planted, the lords proprietors shall again in the same manner nominate and choose twelve more landgraves, and twenty-four cassiques for the twelve next counties to be planted; that is to say, two-thirds of each number by the single nomination of each proprietor for himself, and the remaining one-third by the joint election of the palatine's court, and so proceed in the same manner till the whole province of Carolina be set out and planted, according to the proportions in these Fundamental Constitutions.

XI. Any landgrave or cassique at any time before the year one thousand seven hundred and one, shall have power to alienate, sell, or make over to any other person, his dignity, with the baronies thereunto belonging, all intirely together. But after the year one thousand seven hundred, no landgrave or cassique shall have power to alienate, sell, make over, or let the hereditary baronies of his dignity, or any part thereof, otherwise than as in § XVIII; but they shall all intirely, with the dignity thereunto belonging, descend unto his heirs male; and for want of heirs male, all intirely and undivided, to the next heir general; and for want of such heirs, shall devolve into the hands of the lords proprietors.

XII. That the due number of landgraves and cassiques may be always kept up; if, upon the devolution of any landgraveship or cassiqueship, the palatine's court shall not settle the devolved dignity, with the baronies thereunto annexed, before the second biennial parliament after such devolution; the next biennial parliament but one after such devolution shall have power to make any one landgrave or cassique, in the room of him, who dying without heirs, his dignity and baronies devolved.

XIII. No one person shall have more than one dignity, with the signiories or baronies thereunto belonging. But whensoever it shall happen, that any one, who is already proprietor, landgrave, or cassique, shall have any of these dignities descend to him by inheritance, it shall be at his choice to keep which of the dig-

nities, with the lands annexed, he shall like best; but shall leave the other, with the lands annexed, to be enjoyed by him, who not being his heir apparent, and certain successor to his present dignity, is next of blood.

XIV. Whosoever, by right of inheritance, shall come to be landgrave or cassique, shall take the name and arms of his predecessor in that dignity, to be from thenceforth the name and arms of his family and their posterity.

XV. Since the dignity of proprietor, landgrave, or cassique, cannot be divided, and the signiories or baronies thereunto annexed must for ever all intirely descend with, and accompany that dignity: whensoever for want of heirs male it shall descend on the issue female, the eldest daughter and her heirs shall be preferred; and in the inheritance of those dignities, and in the signiories or baronies annexed, there shall be no coheirs.

XVI. In every signiory, barony, and manor, the respective lord shall have power in his own name to hold court-leet there, for trying of all causes both civil and criminal; but where it shall concern any person being no inhabitant, vassal, or leet-man of the said signiory, barony, or manor, he, upon paying down of forty shillings to the lords proprietors use, shall have an appeal from the signiory or barony-court to the county-court, and from the manor-court to the precinct court.

XVII. Every manor shall consist of not less than three thousand acres, and not above twelve thousand acres in one intire piece and colony: but any three thousand acres or more in one piece, and the possession of one man, shall not be a manor, unless it be constituted a manor by the grant of the palatine's court.

XVIII. The lords of signiories and baronies shall have power only of granting estates not exceeding three lives, or thirty-one years, in two thirds of the said signiories or baronies, and the remaining third shall be always demesne.

XIX. Any lord of a manor may alienate, sell, or dispose to any other person and his heirs for ever, his manor, all intirely together, with all the privileges and

leet-men thereunto belonging, so far forth as any colony lands; but no grant of any part thereof, either in fee, or for any longer term than three lives, or one-and-twenty years, shall be good against the next heir.

XX. No manor, for want of issue male, shall be divided amongst co-heirs; but the manor, if there be but one, shall all intirely descend to the eldest daughter and her heirs. If there be more manors than one, the eldest daughter first shall have her choice, the second next, and so on, beginning again at the eldest, till all the manors be taken up; that so the privileges, which belong to manors being indivisible, the lands of the manors, to which they are annexed, may be kept intire, and the manor not lose those privileges, which, upon parcelling out to several owners, must necessarily cease.

XXI. Every lord of a manor, within his manor, shall have all the powers, jurisdictions, and privileges, which a landgrave or cassique hath in his baronies.

XXII. In every signiory, barony, and manor, all the leet-men shall be under the jurisdiction of the respective lords of the said signiory, barony, or manor, without appeal from him. Nor shall any leet-man, or leet-woman, have liberty to go off from the land of their particular lord, and live any-where else, without licence obtained from their said lord, under hand and seal.

XXIII. All the children of leet-men shall be leet-men, and so to all generations.

XXIV. No man shall be capable of having a court-leet, or leet-men, but a proprietor, landgrave, cassique, or lord of a manor.

XXV. Whoever shall voluntarily enter himself a leet-man, in the registry of the county-court, shall be a leet-man.

XXVI. Whoever is lord of leet-men, shall upon the marriage of a leet-man, or leet-woman of his, give them ten acres of land for their lives; they paying to him therefore not more than one-eighth part of all the yearly produce and growth of the said ten acres.

XXVII. No landgrave or cassique shall be tried for any criminal cause, in any but the chief justice's court, and that by a jury of his peers.

XXVIII. There shall be eight supreme courts. The first called the palatine's court, consisting of the palatine, and the other seven proprietors. The other seven courts of the other seven great officers, shall consist each of them of a proprietor, and six counsellors added to him. Under each of these latter seven courts, shall be a college of twelve assistants. The twelve assistants of the several colleges shall be chosen, two out of the landgraves, cassiques, or eldest sons of the proprietors, by the palatine's court; two out of the landgraves, by the landgrave's chamber; two out of the cassiques, by the cassiques chamber; four more of the twelve shall be chosen by the commons chamber, out of such as have been, or are members of parliament, sheriffs, or justices of the county-court, or the younger sons of proprietors, or eldest sons of landgraves or cassiques; the two other shall be chosen by the palatine's court, out of the same sort of persons, out of which the commons chamber is to choose.

XXIX. Out of these colleges shall be chosen at first by the palatine's court, six counsellors, to be joined with each proprietor in his court; of which six, one shall be of those, who were chosen into any of the colleges by the palatine's court, out of the landgraves, cassiques, or eldest sons of proprietors; one out of those, who were chosen by the landgrave's chamber; and one out of those, who were chosen by the cassiques chamber; two out of those, who were chosen by the commons chamber; and one out of those, who were chosen by the palatine's court, out of the proprietor's younger sons, or eldest sons of landgraves, cassiques, or commons, qualified as aforesaid.

XXX. When it shall happen that any counsellor dies, and thereby there is a vacancy, the grand council shall have power to remove any counsellor that is willing to be removed out of any of the proprietors courts to fill up the vacancy; provided they take a man of the same degree and choice the other was of, whose vacant place is to be filled up. But if no counsellor consent to be removed, or upon such remove the last remaining vacant place, in any of the proprietor's courts, shall be

filled up by the choice of the grand council, who shall have power to remove out of any of the colleges any assistant, who is of the same degree and choice that counsellor was of, into whose vacant place he is to succeed. The grand council also shall have power to remove any assistant, that is willing, out of one college into another, provided he be of the same degree and choice. But the last remaining vacant place in any college, shall be filled up by the same choice, and out of the same degree of persons the assistant was of who is dead, or removed. No place shall be vacant in any proprietor's court above six months. No place shall be vacant in any college longer than the next session of parliament.

XXXI. No man, being a member of the grand council, or of any of the seven colleges, shall be turned out, but for misdemeanor, of which the grand council shall be judge; and the vacancy of the person so put out shall be filled, not by the election of the grand council, but by those, who first chose him, and out of the same degree he was of who is expelled. But it is not hereby to be understood, that the grand council hath any power to turn out any one of the lords proprietors or their deputies, the lords proprietors having in themselves an inherent original right.

XXXII. All elections in the parliament, in the several chambers of the parliament, and in the grand council, shall be passed by balloting.

XXXIII. The palatine's court shall consist of the palatine, and seven proprietors, wherein nothing shall be acted without the presence and consent of the palatine or his deputy, and three others of the proprietors or their deputies. This court shall have power to call parliaments, to pardon all offences, to make elections of all officers in the proprietor's dispose, and to nominate and appoint port-towns; and also shall have power by their order to the treasurer, to dispose of all public treasure, excepting money granted by the parliament, and by them directed to some particular public use; and also shall have a negative upon all acts, orders, votes, and judgments, of the grand council and the parliament, except only as in § VI. and XII. and shall have

all the powers granted to the lords proprietors, by their patent from our sovereign lord the king, except in such things as are limited by these Fundamental Constitutions.

XXXIV. The palatine himself, when he in person shall be either in the army, or in any of the proprietors courts, shall then have the power of general, or of that proprietor, in whose court he is then present; and the proprietor in whose court the palatine then presides, shall during his presence there be but as one of the council.

XXXV. The chancellor's court, consisting of one of the proprietors, and his six counsellors, who shall be called vice-chancellors, shall have the custody of the seal of the palatine, under which charters of lands or otherwise, commissions and grants of the palatine's court, shall pass. And it shall not be lawful to put the seal of the palatinate to any writing, which is not signed by the palatinate or his deputy, and three other proprietors or their deputies. To this court also belong all state matters, dispatches, and treaties with the neighbour Indians. To this court also belong all invasions of the law, of liberty of conscience, and all disturbances of the public peace, upon pretence of religion, as also the licence of printing. The twelve assistants belonging to this court shall be called recorders.

XXXVI. Whatever passes under the seal of the palatinate, shall be registered in that proprietor's court, to which the matter therein contained belongs.

XXXVII. The chancellor, or his deputy, shall be always speaker in parliament, and president of the grand council; and in his and his deputy's absence, one of his vice-chancellors.

XXXVIII. The chief justice's court, consisting of one of the proprietors and his six counsellors, who shall be called justices of the bench, shall judge all appeals in cases both civil and criminal, except all such cases as shall be under the jurisdiction and cognizance of any other of the proprietors courts, which shall be tried in those courts respectively. The government and regulation of the registries of writings and contracts, shall

belong to the jurisdiction of this court. The twelve assistants of this court shall be called masters.

XXXIX. The constable's court, consisting of one of the proprietors and his six counsellors, who shall be called marshals, shall order and determine of all military affairs by land, and all land forces, arms, ammunition, artillery, garrisons, and forts, &c. and whatever belongs unto war. His twelve assistants shall be called lieutenant-generals.

XL. In time of actual war, the constable, whilst he is in the army, shall be general of the army: and the six counsellors, or such of them as the palatine's court shall for that time or service appoint, shall be the immediate great officers under him, and the lieutenant-generals next to them.

XLI. The admiral's court, consisting of one of the proprietors, and his six counsellors, called consuls, shall have the care and inspection over all ports, moles, and navigable rivers, so far as the tide flows, and also all the public shipping of Carolina, and stores thereunto belonging, and all maritime affairs. This court also shall have the power of the court of admiralty; and shall have power to constitute judges in port-towns, to try cases belonging to law-merchant, as shall be most convenient for trade. The twelve assistants, belonging to this court, shall be called proconsuls.

XLII. In time of actual war, the admiral, whilst he is at sea, shall command in chief, and his six counsellors, or such of them as the palatine's court shall for that time and service appoint, shall be the immediate great officers under him, and the proconsuls next to them.

XLIII. The treasurer's court, consisting of a proprietor and his six counsellors, called under-treasurers, shall take care of all matters that concern the public revenue and treasury. The twelve assistants shall be called auditors.

XLIV. The high steward's court, consisting of a proprietor and his six counsellors, called comptrollers, shall have the care of all foreign and domestic trade, manufactures, public buildings, work-houses, highways, passages by water above the flood of the tide, drains,

sewers, and banks against inundations, bridges, post, carriers, fairs, markets, corruption or infection of the common air or water, and all things in order to the public commerce and health; also setting out and surveying of lands; and also setting out and appointing places for towns to be built on in the precincts, and the prescribing and determining the figure and bigness of the said towns, according to such models as the said court shall order; contrary or differing from which models it shall not be lawful for any one to build in any town. This court shall have power also to make any public building, or any new highway, or enlarge any old highway, upon any man's land whatsoever; as also to make cuts, channels, banks, locks, and bridges, for making rivers navigable, or for draining fens, or any other public use. The damage the owner of such lands (on or through which any such public things shall be made) shall receive thereby, shall be valued, and satisfaction made by such ways as the grand council shall appoint. The twelve assistants, belonging to this court, shall be called surveyors.

XLV. The chamberlain's court, consisting of a proprietor and his six counsellors, called vice-chamberlains, shall have the care of all ceremonies, precedency, heraldry, reception of public messengers, pedigrees, the registry of all births, burials, and marriages, legitimation, and all cases concerning matrimony, or arising from it; and shall also have power to regulate all fashions, habits, badges, games, and sports. To this court also it shall belong to convocate the grand council. The twelve assistants belonging to this court shall be called provosts.

XLVI. All causes belonging to, or under the jurisdiction of any of the proprietors courts, shall in them respectively be tried, and ultimately determined without any farther appeal.

XLVII. The proprietors courts shall have a power to mitigate all fines, and suspend all executions in criminal causes, either before or after sentence, in any of the other inferiour courts respectively.

XLVIII. In all debates, hearings, or trials, in any of the proprietors courts, the twelve assistants belonging to the said courts respectively, shall have liberty to be present, but shall not interpose, unless their opinions be required, nor have any vote at all; but their business shall be, by the direction of the respective courts, to prepare such business as shall be committed to them; as also to bear such offices, and dispatch such affairs, either where the court is kept, or elsewhere, as the court shall think fit.

XLIX. In all the proprietors courts, the proprietor, and any three of his counsellors, shall make a quorum; provided always, that for the better dispatch of business, it shall be in the power of the palatine's court, to direct what sort of causes shall be heard and determined by a quorum of any three.

L. The grand council shall consist of the palatine and seven proprietors, and the forty-two counsellors of the several proprietors courts, who shall have power to determine any controversies that may arise between any of the proprietors courts, about their respective jurisdictions, or between the members of the same court, about their manner and methods of proceeding, to make peace and war, leagues, treaties, &c. with any of the neighbour Indians; to issue out their general orders to the constable's and admiral's courts, for the raising, disposing, or disbanding the forces, by land or by sea.

LI. The grand council shall prepare all matters to be proposed in parliament. Nor shall any matter whatsoever be proposed in parliament, but what hath first passed the grand council; which, after having been read three several days in the parliament, shall by majority of votes be passed or rejected.

LII. The grand council shall always be judges of all causes and appeals that concern the palatine, or any of the lords proprietors, or any counsellor of any proprietor's court, in any cause, which otherwise should have been tried in the court, in which the said counsellor is judge himself.

LIII. The grand council, by their warrants to the treasurer's court, shall dispose of all the money given by

the parliament, and by them directed to any particular public use.

LIV. The quorum of the grand council shall be thirteen, whereof a proprietor, or his deputy, shall be always one.

LV. The grand council shall meet the first Tuesday in every month, and as much oftener as either they shall think fit, or they shall be convocated by the chamberlain's court.

LVI. The palatine, or any of the lords proprietors, shall have power, under hand and seal, to be registered in the grand council, to make a deputy, who shall have the same power, to all intents and purposes, as he himself who deputes him; except in confirming acts of parliament, as in § LXXVI, and except also in nominating and choosing landgraves and cassiques, as in § X. All such deputations shall cease and determine at the end of four years, and at any time shall be revocable at the pleasure of the deputator.

LVII. No deputy of any proprietor shall have any power, whilst the deputator is in any part of Carolina, except the proprietor, whose deputy he is, be a minor.

LVIII. During the minority of any proprietor, his guardian shall have power to constitute and appoint his deputy.

LIX. The eldest of the lords proprietors, who shall be personally in Carolina, shall of course be the palatine's deputy, and if no proprietor be in Carolina, he shall choose his deputy out of the heirs apparent of any of the proprietors, if any such be there; and if there be no heir apparent of any of the lords proprietors above one and twenty years old, in Carolina, then he shall choose for deputy any one of the landgraves of the grand council: till he have, by deputation, under hand and seal, chosen any one of the fore-mentioned heirs apparent, or landgraves, to be his deputy, the eldest man of the landgraves, and for want of a landgrave, the eldest man of the cassiques, who shall be personally in Carolina, shall of course be his deputy.

LX. Each proprietor's deputy shall be always one of his own six counsellors respectively; and in case any of

the proprietors hath not, in his absence out of Carolina, a deputy, commissioned under his hand and seal, the eldest nobleman of his court shall of course be his deputy.

LXI. In every county there shall be a court, consisting of a sheriff and four justices of the county, for every precinct one. The sheriff shall be an inhabitant of the county, and have at least five hundred acres of freehold within the said county; and the justices shall be inhabitants, and have each of them five hundred acres a-piece freehold within the precinct, for which they serve respectively. These five shall be chosen and commissioned from time to time by the palatine's court.

LXII. For any personal causes exceeding the value of two hundred pounds sterling, or in title of land, or in any criminal cause: either party, upon paying twenty pounds sterling to the lords proprietors use, shall have liberty of appeal from the county-court unto the respective proprietor's court.

LXIII. In every precinct there shall be a court, consisting of a steward and four justices of the precinct, being inhabitants, and having three hundred acres of freehold within the said precinct, who shall judge all criminal causes; except for treason, murder, and any other offences punishable with death, and except all criminal causes of the nobility; and shall judge also all civil causes whatsoever; and in all personal actions, not exceeding fifty pounds sterling, without appeal; but where the cause shall exceed that value, or concern a title of land, and in all criminal causes; there either party, upon paying five pounds sterling to the lords proprietors use, shall have liberty of appeal to the county-court.

LXIV. No cause shall be twice tried in any one court, upon any reason or pretence whatsoever.

LXV. For treason, murder, and all other offences punishable with death, there shall be a commission, twice a year, at least, granted unto one or more members of the grand council, or colleges, who shall come as itinerant judges to the several counties, and, with the sheriff and four justices, shall hold assizes to judge all

such causes; but, upon paying of fifty pounds sterling to the lords proprietors use, there shall be liberty of appeal to the respective proprietor's court.

LXVI. The grand jury at the several assizes shall, upon their oaths, and under their hands and seals, deliver in to the itinerant judges a presentment of such grievances, misdemeanors, exigencies, or defects, which they think necessary for the public good of the country; which presentments shall, by the itinerant judges, at the end of their circuit, be delivered in to the grand council, at their next sitting. And whatsoever therein concerns the execution of laws already made, the several proprietors courts, in the matters belonging to each of them respectively, shall take cognizance of it, and give such order about it as shall be effectual for the due execution of the laws. But whatever concerns the making of any new law, shall be referred to the several respective courts to which that matter belongs, and be by them prepared and brought to the grand council.

LXVII. For terms, there shall be quarterly such a certain number of days, not exceeding one and twenty at any one time, as the several respective courts shall appoint. The time for the beginning of the term, in the precinct-court, shall be the first Monday in January, April, July, and October; in the county-court, the first Monday in February, May, August, and November; and in the proprietors courts, the first Monday in March, June, September, and December.

LXVIII. In the precinct-court no man shall be a juryman under fifty acres of freehold. In the county-court, or at the assizes, no man shall be a grand juryman under three hundred acres of freehold; and no man shall be a petty juryman under two hundred acres of freehold. In the proprietors courts no man shall be a juryman, under five hundred acres of freehold.

LXIX. Every jury shall consist of twelve men; and it shall not be necessary they should all agree, but the verdict shall be according to the consent of the majority.

LXX. It shall be a base and vile thing to plead for money or reward; nor shall any one (except he be a near kinsman, nor farther off than cousin-german to the

party concerned) be permitted to plead another man's cause, till before the judge, in open court, he hath taken an oath, that he doth not plead for money or reward, nor hath, nor will receive, nor directly, nor indirectly, bargained with the party whose cause he is going to plead, for money or any other reward, for pleading his cause.

LXXI. There shall be a parliament, consisting of the proprietors, or their deputies, the landgraves and cassiques, and one freeholder out of every precinct, to be chosen by the freeholders of the said precinct respectively. They shall sit all together in one room, and have every member one vote.

LXXII. No man shall be chosen a member of parliament who hath less than five hundred acres of freehold within the precinct, for which he is chosen; nor shall any have a vote in choosing the said member that hath less than fifty acres of freehold within the said precinct.

LXXIII. A new parliament shall be assembled the first Monday of the month of November every second year, and shall meet and sit in the town they last sat in, without any summons; unless, by the palatine's court, they be summoned to meet at any other place. And if there shall be any occasion of a parliament in these intervals, it shall be in the power of the palatine's court to assemble them in forty days notice, and at such time and place as the said court shall think fit; and the palatine's court shall have power to dissolve the said parliament when they shall think fit.

LXXIV. At the opening of every parliament, the first thing that shall be done, shall be the reading of these Fundamental Constitutions, which the palatine and proprietors, and the rest of the members then present, shall subscribe. Nor shall any person whatsoever sit or vote in the parliament, till he hath that session subscribed these Fundamental Constitutions, in a book kept for that purpose by the clerk of the parliament.

LXXV. In order to the due election of members for the biennial parliament, it shall be lawful for the freeholders of the respective precincts to meet the first Tuesday in September every two years, in the same

town or place that they last met in to choose parliament-men; and there choose those members that are to sit the next November following, unless the steward of the precinct shall, by sufficient notice thirty days before, appoint some other place for their meeting, in order to the election.

LXXVI. No act, or order of parliament, shall be of any force, unless it be ratified in open parliament, during the same session, by the palatine or his deputy, and three more of the lords proprietors, or their deputies; and then not to continue longer in force but until the next biennial parliament, unless, in the mean time, it be ratified under the hands and seals of the palatine himself, and three more of the lords proprietors themselves, and by their order published at the next biennial parliament.

LXXVII. Any proprietor, or his deputy, may enter his protestation against any act of the parliament, before the palatine or his deputy's consent be given as aforesaid; if he shall conceive the said act to be contrary to this establishment, or any of these Fundamental Constitutions of the government. And in such case, after full and free debate, the several estates shall retire into four several chambers; the palatine and proprietors into one; the landgraves into another; the cassiques into another; and those chosen by the precincts into a fourth; and if the major part of any of the four estates shall vote that the law is not agreeable to this establishment, and these Fundamental Constitutions of the government, then it shall pass no farther, but be as if it had never been proposed.

LXXVIII. The quorum of the parliament shall be one half of those who are members, and capable of sitting in the house that present session of parliament. The quorum of each of the chambers of parliament shall be one half of the members of that chamber.

LXXIX. To avoid multiplicity of laws, which by degrees always change the right foundations of the original government, all acts of parliament whatsoever, in whatsoever form passed or enacted, shall at the end of an hundred years after their enacting, respectively cease

and determine of themselves, and without any repeal become null and void, as if no such acts or laws had ever been made.

LXXX. Since multiplicity of comments, as well as of laws, have great inconveniencies, and serve only to obscure and perplex; all manner of comments and expositions, on any part of these Fundamental Constitutions, or any part of the common or statute law of Carolina, are absolutely prohibited.

LXXXI. There shall be a registry in every precinct, wherein shall be enrolled all deeds, leases, judgments, mortgages, and other conveyances, which may concern any of the land within the said precinct; and all such conveyances, not so entered or registered, shall not be of force against any person or party to the said contract or conveyance.

LXXXII. No man shall be register of any precinct who hath not at least three hundred acres of freehold within the said precinct.

LXXXIII. The freeholders of every precinct shall nominate three men; out of which three, the chief justices court shall choose and commission one to be register of the said precinct, whilst he shall well behave himself.

LXXXIV. There shall be a registry in every signiory, barony, and colony, wherein shall be recorded all the births, marriages, and deaths, that shall happen within the respective signiories, baronies, and colonies.

LXXXV. No man shall be register of a colony that hath not above fifty acres of freehold within the said colony.

LXXXVI. The time of every one's age, that is born in Carolina, shall be reckoned from the day that his birth is entered in the registry, and not before.

LXXXVII. No marriage shall be lawful, whatever contract and ceremony they have used, till both the parties mutually own it before the register of the place where they were married, and he register it, with the names of the father and mother of each party.

LXXXVIII. No man shall administer to the goods, or have right to them, or enter upon the estate of any

person deceased, till his death be registered in the respective registry.

LXXXIX. He that doth not enter, in the respective registry, the birth or death of any person that is born, or dies, in his house or ground, shall pay to the said register one shilling per week for each such neglect, reckoning from the time of each birth, or death, respectively, to the time of registering it.

XC. In like manner the births, marriages, and deaths, of the lords proprietors, landgraves, and cassiques, shall be registered in the chamberlain's court.

XCI. There shall be in every colony one constable, to be chosen annually by the freeholders of the colony; his estate shall be above a hundred acres of freehold within the said colony, and such subordinate officers appointed for his assistance, as the county-court shall find requisite, and shall be established by the said county-court. The election of the subordinate annual officers shall be also in the freeholders of the colony.

XCII. All towns incorporate shall be governed by a mayor, twelve aldermen, and twenty-four of the common-council. The said common-council shall be chosen by the present householders of the said town; the aldermen shall be chosen out of the common-council; and the mayor out of the aldermen, by the palatine's court.

XCIII. It being of great consequence to the plantation, that port-towns should be built and preserved; therefore whosoever shall lade or unlade any commodity at any other place but a port-town, shall forfeit to the lords proprietors, for each tun so laden or unladen, the sum of ten pounds sterling; except only such goods as the palatine's court shall license to be laden or unladen elsewhere.

XCIV. The first port-town upon every river shall be in a colony, and be a port-town for ever.

XCV. No man shall be permitted to be a freeman of Carolina, or to have any estate or habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a GOD; and that God is publicly and solemnly to be worshipped.

XCVI. [As the country comes to be sufficiently planted and distributed into fit divisions, it shall belong to the parliament to take care for the building of churches, and the public maintenance of divines, to be employed in the exercise of religion, according to the church of England; which being the only true and orthodox, and the national religion of all the king's dominions, is so also of Carolina; and therefore it alone shall be allowed to receive public maintenance, by grant of parliament *.]

XCVII. But since the natives of that place, who will be concerned in our plantation, are utterly strangers to christianity, whose idolatry, ignorance, or mistake, gives us no right to expel, or use them ill; and those who remove from other parts to plant there, will unavoidably be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them, and it will not be reasonable for us on this account to keep them out; that civil peace may be maintained amidst the diversity of opinions, and our agreement and compact with all men may be duly and faithfully observed; the violation whereof, upon what pretence soever, cannot be without great offence to Almighty God, and great scandal to the true religion, which we profess; and also that jews, heathens, and other dissenters from the purity of the christian religion, may not be scared and kept at a distance from it, but by having an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the truth and reasonableness of its doctrines, and the peaceableness and inoffensiveness of its professors, may by good usage and persuasion, and all those convincing methods of gentleness and meekness, suitable to the rules and design of the gospel, be won over to embrace and unfeignedly receive the truth; therefore any seven or more persons, agreeing in any religion, shall consti-

* This article was not drawn up by Mr. Locke; but inserted by some of the chief of the proprietors, against his judgment; as Mr. Locke himself informed one of his friends, to whom he presented a copy of these constitutions.

tute a church or profession, to which they shall give some name, to distinguish it from others.

XCVIII. The terms of admittance and communion with any church or profession shall be written in a book, and therein be subscribed by all the members of the said church or profession; which book shall be kept by the public register of the precinct where they reside.

XCIX. The time of every one's subscription and admittance shall be dated in the said book or religious record.

C. In the terms of communion of every church or profession, these following shall be three; without which no agreement or assembly of men, upon pretence of religion, shall be accounted a church or profession within these rules:

1. "That there is a GOD.

2. "That GOD is publicly to be worshipped.

3. "That it is lawful and the duty of every man, "being thereunto called by those that govern, to bear "witness to truth; and that every church or profession "shall in their terms of communion set down the ex-"ternal way whereby they witness a truth as in the "presence of GOD, whether it be by laying hands on, or "kissing the bible, as in the church of England, or by "holding up the hand, or any other sensible way."

CI. No person above seventeen years of age shall have any benefit or protection of the law, or be capable of any place of profit or honour, who is not a member of some church or profession, having his name recorded in some one, and but one religious record at once.

CII. No person of any other church or profession shall disturb or molest any religious assembly.

CIII. No person whatsoever shall speak any thing in their religious assembly, irreverently or seditiously of the government or governors, or state-matters.

CIV. Any person subscribing the terms of communion in the record of the said church or profession, before the precinct register, and any five members of the said church or profession; shall be thereby made a member of the said church or profession.

CV. Any person striking his own name out of any religious record, or his name being struck out by any

officer thereunto authorized by each church or profession respectively, shall cease to be a member of that church or profession.

CVI. No man shall use any reproachful, reviling, or abusive language, against any religion of any church or profession; that being the certain way of disturbing the peace, and of hindering the conversion of any to the truth, by engaging them in quarrels and animosities, to the hatred of the professors and that profession, which otherwise they might be brought to assent to.

CVII. Since charity obliges us to wish well to the souls of all men, and religion ought to alter nothing in any man's civil estate or right, it shall be lawful for slaves, as well as others, to enter themselves, and be of what church or profession any of them shall think best, and thereof be as fully members as any freeman. But yet no slave shall hereby be exempted from that civil dominion his master hath over him, but be in all other things in the same state and condition he was in before.

CVIII. Assemblies, upon what pretence soever of religion, not observing and performing the abovesaid rules, shall not be esteemed as churches, but unlawful meetings, and be punished as other riots.

CIX. No person whatsoever shall disturb, molest, or persecute another for his speculative opinions in religion, or his way of worship.

CX. Every freeman of Carolina shall have absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever.

CXI. No cause, whether civil or criminal, of any freeman, shall be tried in any court of judicature, without a jury of his peers.

CXII. No person whatsoever shall hold or claim any land in Carolina by purchase or gift, or otherwise, from the natives or any other whatsoever; but merely from and under the lords proprietors; upon pain of forfeiture of all his estate, moveable or immoveable, and perpetual banishment.

CXIII. Whosoever shall possess any freehold in Carolina, upon what title or grant soever, shall, at the farthest from and after the year one thousand six hundred eighty-nine, pay yearly unto the lords proprietors,

for each acre of land, English measure, as much fine silver as is at this present in one English penny, or the value thereof, to be as a chief rent and acknowledgment to the lords proprietors, their heirs and successors for ever. And it shall be lawful for the palatine's court by their officers, at any time, to take a new survey of any man's land, not to out him of any part of his possession, but that by such a survey the just number of acres he possesseth may be known, and the rent thereupon due may be paid by him.

CXIV. All wrecks, mines, minerals, quarries of gems, and precious stones, with pearl-fishing, whale-fishing, and one half of all amber-grease, by whomsoever found, shall wholly belong to the lords proprietors.

CXV. All revenues and profits belonging to the lords proprietors, in common, shall be divided into ten parts, whereof the palatine shall have three, and each proprietor one; but, if the palatine shall govern by a deputy, his deputy shall have one of those three tenths, and the palatine the other two tenths.

CXVI. All inhabitants and freemen of Carolina above seventeen years of age, and under sixty, shall be bound to bear arms, and serve as soldiers whenever the grand council shall find it necessary.

CXVII. A true copy of these Fundamental Constitutions shall be kept in a great book by the register of every precinct, to be subscribed before the said register. Nor shall any person of what condition or degree soever, above seventeen years old, have any estate or possession in Carolina, or protection or benefit of the law there, who hath not, before a precinct register, subscribed these Fundamental Constitutions in this form:

" I A. B. do promise to bear faith and true allegiance to our sovereign lord king Charles the Second, his heirs and successors; and will be true and faithful to the palatine and lords proprietors of Carolina, their heirs and successors; and with my utmost power will defend them,

" and maintain the government according to this
" establishment in these Fundamental Constitu-
" tions."

CXVIII. Whatsoever alien shall, in this form, before any precinct register, subscribe these Fundamental Constitutions, shall be thereby naturalized.

CXIX. In the same manner shall every person, at his admittance into any office, subscribe these Fundamental Constitutions.

CXX. These Fundamental Constitutions, in number a hundred and twenty, and every part thereof, shall be and remain the sacred and unalterable form and rule of government of Carolina for ever. Witness our hands and seals, the first day of March, 1669.

RULES OF PRECEDENCY.

I. THE lords proprietors; the eldest in age first, and so in order.

II. The eldest sons of the lords proprietors; the eldest in age first, and so in order.

III. The landgraves of the grand council; he that hath been longest of the grand council first, and so in order.

IV. The cassiques of the grand council; he that hath been longest of the grand council first, and so in order.

V. The seven commoners of the grand council that have been longest of the grand council; he that hath been longest of the grand council first, and so in order.

VI. The younger sons of the proprietors; the eldest first, and so in order.

VII. The landgraves; the eldest in age first, and so in order.

VIII. The seven commoners, who next to those be-

fore mentioned have been longest of the grand council; he that hath been longest of the grand council first, and so in order.

IX. The cassiques; the eldest in age first, and so in order.

X. The seven remaining commoners of the grand council; he that hath been longest of the grand council first, and so in order.

XI. The male line of the proprietors.

The rest shall be determined by the chamberlain's court.

A

LETTER

FROM A

PERSON OF QUALITY

TO HIS

FRIEND IN THE COUNTRY;

GIVING

An Account of the Debates and Resolutions of the House of Lords, in April and May, 1675, concerning a Bill, intitled, "An Act to prevent the "Dangers which may arise from Persons disaf- "fected to the Government."

SIR,

THIS session being ended, and the bill of test being finished at the committee of the whole house; I can now give you a perfect account of this state masterpiece. It was first hatched (as almost all the mischiefs of the world have hitherto been) amongst the great church-men; and is a project of several years standing, but found not ministers bold enough to go through with it, until these new ones, who, wanting a better bottom to support them, betook themselves wholly to this; which is no small undertaking, if you consider it in its whole extent.

First, To make a distinct party from the rest of the nation of the high episcopal men and the old cavaliers; who are to swallow the hopes of enjoying all the power and offices of the kingdom; being also tempted by the advantage they may receive from overthrowing the act of oblivion; and not a little rejoicing to think, how valiant they should prove, if they could get any to fight the old quarrel over again, now they are possessed of the arms, forts, and ammunition of the nation.

Next, they design to have the government of the church sworn to as unalterable: and so tacitly owned to be of divine right; which, though inconsistent with the oath of supremacy, yet the churchmen easily break through all obligations whatsoever, to attain this station, the advantage of which the prelate of Rome hath sufficiently taught the world.

Then, in requital to the crown, they declare the government absolute and arbitrary; and allow monarchy, as well as episcopacy, to be jure divino, and not to be bounded or limited by any human laws.

And to secure all this, they resolve to take away the power and opportunity of parliaments to alter any thing in church or state; only leave them as an instrument to raise money, and to pass such laws as the court and church shall have a mind to; the attempt of any other, how necessary soever, must be no less a crime than perjury.

And as the top-stone of the whole fabric, a pretence shall be taken from the jealousies they themselves have raised, and a real necessity from the smallness of their party, to increase and keep up a standing army; and then in due time the cavalier and churchman will be made greater fools, but as arrant slaves as the rest of the nation.

In order to this, the first step was made in the act for regulating corporations, wisely beginning that, in those lesser governments, which they meant afterwards to introduce upon the government of the nation; and making them swear to a declaration and belief of such propositions as they themselves afterwards, upon debate, were enforced to alter, and could not justify in those

words *; so that many of the wealthiest, worthiest, and soberest men, are still kept out of the magistracy of those places.

The next step was in the act of militia †, which went for most of the chiefest nobility, and gentry, being obliged as lords-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, &c. to swear to the same declaration and belief; with the addition only of these words, "in pursuance of such mi-"litary commissions;" which makes the matter rather worse than better. Yet this went down smoothly, as an oath in fashion, a testimony of loyalty; and none adventuring freely to debate the matter, the humour of the age, like a strong tide, carries wise and good men down before it. This act is of a piece; for it establisheth a standing army by a law, and swears us into a military government.

Immediately after this, followeth the act of uniformity, by which all the clergy of England are obliged to subscribe, and declare what the corporations, nobility, and gentry had before sworn; but with this additional clause of the militia act omitted. This the clergy readily complied with; for you know, that sort of men are taught rather to obey than understand; and to use that learning they have, to justify, not to examine what their superiors command. And yet that Bartholomew-day was fatal to our church and religion, in throwing out a very great number of worthy, learned, pious, and orthodox divines, who could not come up to this, and other things in that act. And it is upon this occasion worth your knowledge, that so great was the zeal in carrying on this church affair, and so blind

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* By the act for the well governing and regulating of corporations, passed in the year 1661, all persons bearing any office of magistracy, place of trust, or other employment, relating to the government of any city, corporation, borough, &c. were ordered to take the following oath:

"I A. B. do declare and believe, that it is not lawful, upon any "pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king; and that "I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his au-"thority against his person, or against those that are com-"missioned by him."

† The act for ordering the forces in the several counties of this kingdom.

was the obedience required, that if you compute the time of the passing this act, with the time allowed for the clergy to subscribe the book of Common Prayer thereby established; you shall plainly find it could not be printed and distributed so, as one man in forty could have seen and read the book they did so perfectly assent and consent to *.

But this matter was not complete until the five-mile act passed at Oxford, wherein they take an opportunity to introduce the oath in the terms they would have it †. This was then strongly opposed by the lord treasurer Southampton, lord Wharton, lord Ashley ‡, and others; not only in the concern of those poor ministers that were so severely handled, but as it was in itself a most unlawful and unjustifiable oath. However, the zeal of that time against all non-conformists easily passed the act.

This act was seconded the same session at Oxford, by another bill in the house of commons, to have im-

* By the act of uniformity of public prayers, &c. which received the royal assent, on the 19th of May, 1662, all parsons, vicars, or other ministers, &c. were ordered to conform to the church of England, before the feast of St. Bartholomew, or the 24th of August following, upon pain of losing all their ecclesiastical preferments, &c. And it is certain, that, "the Common-Prayer Book, with the "alterations and amendments .... made by the convocation, did not "come out of the press till a few days before the 24th of August." See Dr. Calamy's Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's history of his life and times, ubi supra, p. 201.

† By that act, passed in the parliament held at Oxford the 9th of October, 1665, and intitled, An Act for restraining non-conformists from inhabiting corporations; the non-conforming ministers were prohibited, upon a penalty of forty pounds for every offence, to come unless only in passing upon the road, within five miles of any city, corporation, borough, town, or place where they had been ministers, or had preached, after the act of uniformity; unless they first subscribed to the declarations of the act of uniformity, and did take and subscribe the following oath:

"I A. B. do swear, that it is not lawful upon any pretence what-
"soever to take arms against the king: and that I do abhor
"that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against
"his person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in
"pursuance of such commissions; and that I will not at any
"time endeavour any alteration of government, either in church
"or state."

‡ Anthony Ashley-Cooper, afterwards earl of Shaftsbury.

posed that oath on the whole nation. And the providence, by which it was thrown out, was very remarkable; for Mr. Peregrine Bertie, being newly chosen, was that morning introduced into the house by his brother the now earl of Lindsey, and sir Thomas Osborn *, now lord treasurer, who all three gave their votes against that bill; and the numbers were so even upon the division, that their three votes carried the question against it. But we owe that right to the earl of Lindsey, and the lord treasurer, as to acknowledge that they have since made ample satisfaction for whatever offence they gave either the church or court in that vote.

Thus our church became triumphant, and continued so for divers years; the dissenting protestant being the only enemy, and therefore only persecuted; whilst the papists remained undisturbed, being by the court thought loyal, and by our great bishops not dangerous; they differing only in doctrine and fundamentals; but, as to the government of the church, that was, in their religion, in its highest exaltation.

This dominion continued unto them, until the lord Clifford, a man of a daring and ambitious spirit, made his way to the chief ministry of affairs by other and far different measures; and took the opportunity of the war with Holland, the king was then engaged in, to propose the declaration of indulgence †, that the dissenters of all sorts, as well protestants as papists, might be at rest, and so a vast number of people not be made desperate at home, while the king was engaged with so potent an enemy abroad. This was no sooner proposed, but the earl of Shaftsbury, a man as daring, but more able, (though of principles and interest diametrically opposite to the other,) presently closed with it; and perhaps the opportunity I have had, by my conversation with them both; who were men of diversion, and of free and open discourses where they

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* Sir Thomas Osborn, created afterwards baron of Kiveton and viscount Latimer, in 1673; earl of Danby, in 1674; marquis of Caermarthen, in 1689; and duke of Leeds, in 1694.

† That declaration bore date, March 17, 1671-2.

had a confidence; may give you more light into both their designs, and so by consequence the aims of their parties, than you will have from any other hand.

My lord Clifford did in express terms tell me one day in private discourse: "That the king, if he would "be firm to himself, might settle what religion he "pleased, and carry the government to what height he "would. For if men were assured in the liberty of "their conscience, and undisturbed in their properties, "able and upright judges made in Westminster-hall, "to judge the causes of meum and tuum; and if, on the "other hand, the fort of Tilbury was finished to bridle "the city; the fort of Plymouth to secure the west; "and arms for 20,000 in each of these; and in Hull, "for the northern parts; with some addition, which "might be easily and undiscernibly made to the forces "now on foot; there were none that would have "either will, opportunity, or power to resist." But he added withal, "he was so sincere in the main-"tenance of property and liberty of conscience, that "if he had his will, though he should introduce a "bishop of Durham (which was the instance he then "made, that see being then vacant) of another religion; "yet he would not disturb any of the church beside, "but suffer them to die away, and not let his change "(how hasty soever he was in it) overthrow either of "those principles, and therefore desired he might be "thought an honest man as to his part of the declara-"tion, for he meant it really."

The lord Shaftsbury (with whom I had more freedom) I with great assurance asked, "What he meant by the "declaration? for it seemed to me (as I then told him) "that it assumed a power to repeal and suspend all our "laws, to destroy the church, to overthrow the pro-"testant religion, and to tolerate popery." He replied, all angry, "that he wondered at my objection, there "being not one of these in the case. For the king as-"sumed no power of repealing laws, or suspending "them, contrary to the will of his parliament or people; "and not to argue with me at that time the power of "the king's supremacy, which was of another nature

" than that he had in civils, and had been exercised
" without exception in this very case by his father,
" grandfather, and queen Elizabeth, under the great
" seal to foreign protestants, become subjects of Eng-
" land; not to instance in the suspending the execu-
" tion of the two acts of navigation and trade, during
" both this, and the last Dutch war, in the same
" words, and upon the same necessity, and as yet
" without clamour, that ever we heard; but to pass
" by all that, this was certain, a government could not
" be supposed, whether monarchical, or of any other
" sort, without a standing supreme, executive power,
" fully enabled to mitigate, or wholly to suspend, the
" execution of any penal law, in the intervals of the
" legislative power; which when assembled, there was
" no doubt but, wherever there lies a negative in pass-
" ing of a law, there the address or sense known of
" either of them to the contrary (as for instance of
" either of our two houses of parliament in England)
" ought to determine that indulgence, and restore the
" law to its full execution. For without this, the laws
" were to no purpose made, if the prince could annul
" them at pleasure; and so on the other hand, without
" a power always in being, of dispensing upon occa-
" sion, was to suppose a constitution extremely imper-
" fect and impracticable; and to cure those with a le-
" gislative power always in being, is, when considered,
" no other than a perfect tyranny.

" As to the church, he conceived the declaration
" was extremely their interest; for the narrow bottom
" they had placed themselves upon, and the measures
" they had proceeded by, so contrary to the properties
" and liberties of the nation, must needs, in a short
" time, prove fatal to them; whereas this led them into
" another way, to live peaceably with the dissenting
" and differing protestants, both at home and abroad,
" and so by necessary and unavoidable consequences,
" to become the head of them all. For that place is due
" to the church of England, being in favour, and of
" nearest approach to the most powerful prince of that
" religion, and so always had it in their hands to be

" the intercessors and procurers of the greatest good
" and protection that party, throughout all christen-
" dom, can receive. And thus the archbishop of Can-
" terbury might become, not only " alterius orbis,"
" but " alterius regionis papa;" and all this addition
" of honour and power attained without the least loss,
" or diminution of the church; it not being intended
" that one living, dignity, or preferment, should be
" given to any but those that were strictly conform-
" able.

" As to the protestant religion, he told me plainly,
" it was for the preserving of that, and that only,
" that he heartily joined in the declaration; for, be-
" sides that, he thought it his duty to have care, in his
" place and station, of those he was convinced were
" the people of God, and feared him; though of dif-
" ferent persuasions. He also knew nothing else but
" liberty and indulgence, that could possibly (as our
" case stood) secure the protestant religion in England;
" and he begged me to consider, if the church of Eng-
" land should attain to a rigid, blind, and undis-
" puted conformity, and that power of our church
" should come into the hands of a popish prince;
" which was not a thing so impossible, or remote, as
" not to be apprehended; whether in such a case,
" would not all the arms and artillery of the govern-
" ment of the church be turned against the present
" religion of it? and should not all good protestants
" tremble to think what bishops such a prince was like
" to make, and whom those bishops would condemn
" for heretics, and that prince might burn. Whereas
" if this, which is now but a declaration, might ever,
" by the experience of it, gain the advantage of be-
" coming an established law; the true protestant reli-
" gion would still be kept up amongst the cities, towns,
" and trading places, and the worthiest and soberest
" (if not the greatest) part of the nobility, and gentry,
" and people."

As for the toleration of popery, he said, " It was a
" pleasant objection, since he could confidently say,
" that the papists had no advantage in the least, by

" this declaration, that they did not as fully enjoy, and " with less noise, by the favour of all the bishops. It " was the vanity of the lord keeper, that they were " named at all; for the whole advantage was to the " dissenting protestants, which were the only men dis- " turbed before. And yet he confessed to me, that it " was his opinion, and always had been, that the papists " ought to have no other pressure laid upon them, but " to be made incapable of office, court or arms, and to " pay so much as might bring them at least to a balance " with the protestants, for those chargeable offices they " are liable unto."

And concluded with this, " That he desired me seri- " ously to weigh, whether liberty and property were " likely to be maintained long, in a country like ours, " where trade is so absolutely necessary to the very " being, as well as prosperity of it, and in this age of " the world; if articles of faith, and matters of reli- " gion, should become the only accessible ways to our " civil rights."

Thus, Sir, you have perhaps a better account of the declaration, than you can receive from any other hand; and I could have wished it a longer continuance, and better reception than it had; for the bishops took so great offence at it, that they gave the alarm of popery through the whole nation, and by their emissaries the clergy, (who, by the contexture and subordination of their government, and their being posted in every parish, have the advantage of a quick dispersing their orders, and a sudden and universal insinuation of whatever they pleased,) raised such a cry, that those good and sober men, who had really long feared the increased countenance popery had hitherto received, began to believe the bishops were in earnest; their eyes opened, though late, and therefore joined in heartily with them; so that at the next meeting of parliament *, the protestants interest was run so high, as an act came up from the commons to the house of lords in favour of the dis-

* February 4, 1672-3.

senting protestants, and had passed the lords, but for want of time. Besides, another excellent act passed the royal assent for the excluding all papists from office *; in the opposition to which, the lord treasurer Clifford fell, and yet, to prevent his ruin, this session had the speedier end. Notwithstanding, the bishops attained their ends fully; the declaration being cancelled, and the great seal being broken off from it; the parliament having passed no act in favour of the dissenters, and yet the sense of both houses sufficiently declared against all indulgence, but by act of parliament. Having got this point, they used it at first with seeming moderation. There were no general directions given for persecuting the non-conformists; but here and there some of the most confiding justices were made use of, to try how they could revive the old persecution. For as yet, the zeal raised against the papists was so great, that the worthiest, and soberest, of the episcopal party, thought it necessary to unite with the dissenting protestants, and not to divide their party, when all their forces were little enough. In this posture the session of parliament, that began October 27, 1673, found matters; which being suddenly broken up, did nothing.

The next session, which began January 7, following†, the bishops continued their zeal against the papists, and seemed to carry on, in joining with the country lords, many excellent votes, in order to a bill, as in particular, that the princes of the blood-royal should all marry protestants, and many others; but their favour to dissenting protestants was gone, and they attempted a bargain with the country lords, with whom they then joined, not to promote any thing of that nature, except

* By the "Act for preventing Dangers, which may happen from Popish Recusants," passed March 29, 1673, all persons having any office, or place of trust, under his majesty, &c. were obliged to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, &c. and to receive the sacrament according to the usage of the church of England, &c. From that time no act was passed till the 13th of October 1675.

† 1673-4.

the bill for taking away assent and consent, and renouncing the covenant *.

This session was no sooner ended, without doing any thing, but the whole clergy were instructed to declare, that there was now no more danger of the papists. The fanatic (for so they call the dissenting protestant) is again become the only dangerous enemy; and the bishops had found a Scotch lord, and two new ministers, or rather great officers of England, who were desperate and rash enough to put their master's business upon so narrow and weak a bottom; and the old covenanter, Lauderdale †, is become the patron of the church, and has his coach and table filled with bishops. The keeper ‡, and the treasurer, are of a just size to this affair; for it is a certain rule with the churchmen, to endure (as seldom as they can) in business, men abler than themselves. But his grace of Scotland was least to be excused, of the three; for having fallen from presbytery, protestant religion, and all principles of public good, and private friendship; and become the slave of Clifford, to carry on the ruin of all that he had professed to support; does now also quit even Clifford's generous principles, and betake himself to a sort of men that never forgive any man the having once been in the right; and such men, who would do the worst of things by the worst of means, enslave their country, and betray them, under the mask of religion, which they have the public pay for, and the charge of; so seething the kid in the mother's milk. Our statesmen and bishops being now as well agreed, as in old Laud's time, on the same principles, with the same passion to attain their end; they, in the first place, give orders to the judges, in all their circuits, to quicken the execution of the laws against dissenters; a new

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* See Dr. Calamy's "Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times, &c." Vol. I. p. 340. of the 2d edit. London, 1713, in 8vo.

† John Maitland, duke of Lauderdale. He was created baron of Petersham, and earl of Guildford, in England, in the year 1674.

‡ Sir Heneage Finch, afterwards earl of Nottingham.

declaration is published directly contrary to the former; most in words against the papists, but in the sense, and in the close, did fully serve against both; and, in the execution, it was plain who were meant. A commission, besides, comes down, directed to the principal gentlemen of each county, to seize the estates of both papists and fanatics, mentioned in a list annexed; wherein, by great misfortune, or skill, the names of papists of best quality and fortune (and so best known) were mistaken, and the commission rendered ineffectual as to them.

Besides this, the great ministers of state did, in their common public talk, assure the party, that all the places of profit, command, and trust, should only be given to the old cavaliers; no man that had served, or been of the contrary party, should be left in any of them. And a direction is issued to the great ministers before mentioned, and six or seven of the bishops, to meet at Lambeth-house, who were, like the lords of the articles in Scotland, to prepare their complete model for the ensuing session of parliament.

And now comes this memorable session of April 13, 1675, than which never any came with more expectation of the court, or dread and apprehension of the people. The officers, court-lords, and bishops, were clearly the major vote in the lords house; and they assured themselves to have the commons as much at their dispose, when they reckoned the number of the courtiers, officers, pensioners, increased by the addition of the church and cavalier party; besides the address they had made to men of the best quality there, by hopes of honour, great employment, and such things as would take. In a word, the French king's ministers, who are the great chapmen of the world, did not out-do ours, at this time, and yet the over-ruling hand of God has blown upon their politics, and the nation is escaped this session, like a bird out of the snare of the fowler.

In this session, the bishops wholly laid aside their zeal against popery. The committee of the whole house for religion, which the country lords had caused to be set

up again by the example of the former sessions, could hardly get, at any time, a day appointed for their sitting; and the main thing designed for a bill voted in the former session, viz. the marrying our princes to none but protestants, was rejected, and carried in the negative, by the unanimous votes of the bishops bench; for I must acquaint you, that our great prelates were so near an infallibility, that they were always found in this session of one mind in the lords house; yet the lay lords, not understanding from how excellent a principle this proceeded, commonly called them, for that reason, the dead weight. And they really proved so, in the following business; for the third day of this sessions, this bill of the test was brought into the lords house by the earl of Lindsey, lord high-chamberlain, a person of great quality, but in this imposed upon; and received its first reading, and appointment for the second, without much opposition; the country lords being desirous to observe what weight they put upon it, or how they designed to manage it.

At the second reading, the lord-keeper, and some other of the court-lords, recommended the bill to the house in set and elaborate speeches, the keeper calling it a moderate security to the church and crown; and that no honest man could refuse it; and whosoever did, gave great suspicion of dangerous and anti-monarchical principles. The other lords declaimed very much upon the rebellion of the late times; the great number of fanatics; the dangerous principles of rebellion still remaining; carrying the discourse on, as if they meant to trample down the act of oblivion, and all those whose securities depended on it. But the earl of Shaftsbury, and some other of the country lords, earnestly prest that the bill might be laid aside, and that they might not be engaged in the debate of it; or else that freedom they should be forced to use in the necessary defence of their opinion, and the preserving of their laws, rights, and liberties, which this bill would overthrow, might not be misconstrued. For there are many things that must be spoken upon the debate, both concerning church and state, that it was well known they

had no mind to hear. Notwithstanding this, the great officers and bishops called out for the question of referring the bill to a committee; but the earl of Shaftsbury, a man of great abilities and knowledge in affairs, and one that, in all this variety of changes of this last age, was never known to be either bought or frighted out of his public principles, at large opened the mischievous and ill designs, and consequences of the bill; which, as it was brought in, required all officers of church and state, and all members of both houses of parliament, to take this oath following:

> " I A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful, upon any " pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the " king; and that I do abhor that traitorous posi- " tion of taking arms by his authority, against his " person, or against those that are commissioned " by him in pursuance of such commission; and I " do swear that I will not at any time endeavour " the alteration of the government, either in church " or state. So help me God."

The earl of Shaftsbury, and other lords, spake with such convincing reason, that all the lords, who were at liberty from court engagements, resolved to oppose, to the uttermost, a bill of so dangerous consequence; and the debate lasted five several days before it was committed to a committee of the whole house; which hardly ever happened to any bill before. All this, and the following debates, were managed chiefly by the lords, whose names you will find to the following protestations; the first whereof was as followeth:

> " We whose names are under-written, being peers " of this realm, do, according to our rights, and the " ancient usage of parliaments, declare, that the ques- " tion having been put whether the bill, entitled, " An " act to prevent the dangers which may arise from per- " sons disaffected to the government," doth so far in- " trench upon the privileges of this house, that it ought " therefore to be cast out; it being resolved in the ne-

" gative, we do humbly conceive, that any bill, which
" imposeth an oath upon the peers with a penalty, as
" this doth, that upon the refusal of that oath, they
" shall be made incapable of sitting and voting in this
" house; as it is a thing unprecedented in former times,
" so is it, in our humble opinion, the highest invasion
" of the liberties and privileges of the peerage, that
" possibly may be, and most destructive of the free-
" dom which they ought to enjoy as members of par-
" liament; because the privilege of sitting and voting
" in parliament is an honour they have by birth, and a
" right so inherent in them, and inseparable from them,
" as that nothing can take it away, but what by the
" law of the land must withal take away their lives, and
" corrupt their blood; upon which ground we do here
" enter our dissent from that vote, and our protestation
" against it:

BUCKINGHAM	WINCHESTER
BRIDGEWATER	SALISBURY
BEDFORD	MOHUN
DORSET	STAMFORD
AILSBURY	HALLIFAX
BRISTOL	DE LA MER
DENBIGH	EURE
PAGITT	SHAFTSBURY
HOLLES	CLARENDON
PETER	GREY ROLL
HOWARD of	SAY and SEAL
BERKS	WHARTON."

The next protestation was against the vote of committing the bill, in the words following:

" The question being put, whether the bill, entitled,
" An act to prevent the dangers which may arise from
" persons disaffected to the government," should be
" committed; it being carried in the affirmative, and
" we, after several days debate, being in no measure
" satisfied, but still apprehending that this bill doth
" not only subvert the privileges and birth-right of the
" peers, by imposing an oath upon them with the pe-

" nalty of losing their places in parliament, but also, as
" we humbly conceive, strike at the very root of govern-
" ment; it being necessary to all government to have
" freedom of votes and debates in those who have power
" to alter and make laws; and besides, the express
" words of this bill obliging every man to abjure all
" endeavours to alter the government in the church,
" without regard to any thing that rules of prudence
" in the government, or christian compassion to pro-
" testant dissenters, or the necessity of affairs at any
" time, shall or may require; upon these considera-
" tions, we humbly consider it to be of dangerous con-
" sequence to have any bill of this nature so much as
" committed, and do enter our dissents from that vote,
" and protestation against it:

BUCKINGHAM	CLARENDON
WINTON	STAMFORD
SALISBURY	SHAFTSBURY
DENBIGH	WHARTON
BRISTOL	MOHUN
HOWARD of BERKS	DE LA MER."

Which protestation was no sooner entered and subscribed the next day, but the great officers and bishops raised a storm against the lords that had subscribed it; endeavouring not only some severe proceedings against their persons, if they had found the house would have born it, but also to have taken away the very liberty of entering protestations with reasons. But that was defended with so great ability, learning, and reason, by the Lord Holles, that they quitted the attempt; and the debate ran for some hours, either wholly to raze the protestation out of the books, or at least some part of it; the expression of " christian compassion to protestant " dissenters," being that which gave them most offence. But both these ways were so disagreeable to the honour and privilege of the house, and the latter to common sense and right; that they despaired of carrying it, and contented themselves with having voted, " that

" the reasons given, in the said protestation, did reflect " upon the honour of the house, and were of dangerous " consequence." And I cannot here forbear to mention the worth and honour of that noble lord Holles, suitable to all his former life; that whilst the debate was at the height, and the protesting lords in danger of the Tower, he begged the house to give him leave to put his name to that protest, and take his fortune with those lords, because his sickness had forced him out of the house, the day before; so that, not being at the question, he could not, by the rules of the house sign it. This vote against those twelve lords begat the next day the following protestation, signed by one and twenty:

" Whereas it is the undoubted privilege of each peer " in parliament, when a question is past contrary to his " vote and judgment, to enter his protestation against " it; and that, in pursuance thereof, the bill, entitled, " An act to prevent the dangers which may arise from " persons disaffected to the government," being con- " ceived by some lords to be of so dangerous a nature, " as that it was not fit to receive the countenance of a " commitment; those lords did protest against the " commitment of the said bill; and, the house having " taken exceptions at some expressions in their protest- " ation, those lords, who were present at the debate, " did all of them severally and voluntarily declare, that " they had no intention to reflect upon any member, " much less upon the whole house; which, as is humbly " conceived, was more than in strictness did consist " with that absolute freedom of protesting, which is " inseparable from every member of this house, and " was done by them merely out of their great respect " to the house, and their earnest desire to give all satis- " faction concerning themselves, and the clearness of " their intentions; yet the house, not satisfied with this " their declaration, but proceeding to a vote, "That the " reasons given in the said protestation do reflect upon " the honour of the house, and are of dangerous conse- " quence; which is, in our humble opinion, a great " discountenancing of the very liberty of protesting; " we, whose names are underwritten, conceive ourselves

" and the whole house of peers extremely concerned
" that this great wound should be given (as we humbly
" apprehend) to so essential a privilege of the whole
" peerage of this realm, as their liberty of protesting;
" do now (according to our unquestionable right)
" make use of the same liberty to enter this our dissent
" from, and protestation against, the said vote :

BUCKS	DENBIGH
WINTON	BERKS
BEDFORD	CLARENDON
DORSET	AILSBURY
SALISBURY	SHAFTSBURY
BRIDGEWATER	SAY and SEAL
HALLIFAX	MOHUN
AUDLEY	HOLLES
FITZWALTER	DE LA MER
EURE	GREY ROLL."
WHARTON	

After this bill being committed to a committee of the whole house, the first thing insisted upon by the lords, against the bill, was, that there ought to be passed some previous votes to secure the rights of peerage, and privilege of parliament, before they entered upon the debate or amendments of such a bill as this. And at last two previous votes were obtained, which I need not here set down, because the next protestation had them both in terminis;

" Whereas upon the debate on the bill, entitled,
" An act to prevent the dangers which may arise from
" persons disaffected to the government," it was ordered
" by the house of peers, the 30th of April last, that no
" oath should be imposed, by any bill or otherwise,
" upon the peers, with a penalty, in case of refusal, to
" lose their places, or votes in parliament, or liberty to
" debate therein: and whereas also, upon debate of
" the same, it was ordered, the third of this instant
" May, that there shall be nothing in this bill, which
" shall extend to deprive either of the houses of parlia-
" ment, or any of their members, of their just, ancient

" freedom and privilege of debating any matter or
" business, which shall be propounded or debated in
" either of the said houses, or at any conference or com-
" mittee of both, or either of the said houses of parlia-
" ment; or touching the repeal, or alteration of any
" old, or preparing any new laws; or the redressing
" any public grievance; but that the said members of
" either of the said houses, and the assistants of the
" house of peers, and every of them, shall have the
" same freedom of speech, and all other privileges what-
" soever, as they had before the making of this act;
" both which orders were passed as previous directions,
" unto the committee of the whole house, to whom the
" said bill was committed, to the end that nothing
" should remain in the said bill, which might any ways
" tend towards the depriving of either of the houses of
" parliament, or any of their members, of their ancient
" freedom of debates, or votes, or other privileges what-
" soever; yet the house being pleased, upon the report
" from the committee, to pass a vote, That all persons
" who have, or shall have right to sit and vote in either
" house of parliament, should be added to the first
" enacted clause in the said bill, whereby an oath is to
" be imposed upon them as members of either house;
" which vote, we whose names are underwritten, being
" peers of the realm, do humbly conceive, is not agree-
" able to the said two previous orders; and it having
" been humbly offered and insisted upon by divers
" of us, that the proviso in the late act, entitled, " An
" act for preventing dangers that may happen from
" popish recusants," might be added to the bill depend-
" ing, whereby the peerage of every peer of this realm,
" and all their privileges, might be preserved in this
" bill, as fully as in the said late act; yet the house not
" pleasing to admit of the said proviso, but proceeding
" to the passing of the said vote; we do humbly, upon
" the grounds aforesaid, and according to our undoubted
" right, enter this our dissent from, and protestation
" against, the same:

BUCKS	DENBIGH
BEDFORD	DORSET
WINTON	SHAFTSBURY
SALISBURY	WHARTON
BERKS	EURE
BRIDGEWATER	DE LA MER
STAMFORD	PAGITT
CLARENDON	MOHUN."

This was their last protestation; for, after this, they altered their method, and reported not the votes of the committee, and parts of the bill to the house, as they passed them; but took the same order as is observed in other bills, not to report unto the house, until they had gone through with the bill, and so report all the amendments together. This they thought a way of more dispatch, and which did prevent all protestations, until it came to the house; for the votes of a committee, though of the whole house, are not thought of that weight, as that there should be allowed the entering a dissent of them, or protestation against them.

The bill being read over at the committee, the lord keeper objected against the form of it, and desired that he might put it in another method; which was easily allowed him, that being not the dispute. But it was observable the hand of God was upon them in this whole affair; their chariot wheels were taken off, they drew heavily; a bill so long designed, prepared, and of that moment to all their affairs, had hardly a sensible composure.

The first part of the bill that was fallen upon, was, "whether there should be an oath at all in the bill;" and this was the only part the court-party defended with reason. For, the whole bill being to enjoin an oath, the house might reject it, but the committee was not to destroy it. Yet the lord Halifax did with that quickness, learning, and elegance, which are inseparable from all his discourses, make appear, that as there really was no security to any state by oaths; so also no private person, much less statesman, would ever order his affairs

as relying on it: no man would ever sleep with open doors, or unlockt-up treasure or plate, should all the town be sworn not to rob; so that the use of multiplying oaths had been most commonly to exclude or disturb some honest conscientious men, who would never have prejudiced the government. It was also insisted on by that lord and others, that the oath, imposed by the bill, contained three clauses; the two former assertory, and the last promissory; and that it was worthy the consideration of the bishops, whether assertory oaths, which were properly appointed to give testimony of a matter of fact, whereof a man is capable to be fully assured by the evidence of his senses, be lawful to be made use of to confirm or invalidate doctrinal propositions; and whether that legislative power, which imposes such an oath, does not necessarily assume to itself an infallibility? And as for promissory oaths, it was desired that those learned prelates would consider the opinion of Grotius, "De jure belli & pacis," who seems to make it plain, that those kind of oaths are forbidden by our Saviour Christ, Matt. v. 34, 37 *; and whether it would not become the fathers of the church, when they have well weighed that and other places of the New Testament, to be more tender in multiplying oaths, than hitherto the great men of the church have been? But the bishops carried the point, and an oath was ordered by the major vote.

The next thing in consideration, was about the persons that should be enjoined to take this oath; and

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* Notandum hic est obiter, quod in Christi præceptis, & apud Jacobum de non jurando dicitur, próprie non ad assertorium juramentum, cujus apud Paulum apostolum exempla extant aliquot, sed ad promissorium futuri incerti pertinere. Ostendit hoc evidenter oppositio illa in verbis Christi: "Audistis dictum antiquis, non pejerabis, sed reddes Domino juramentum. Ego vero dico vobis, ne jurate omnino." Et ratio quam Jacobus adjicit: μὴ εἰς ὑπόκρισιν πέσητε, id est "ne fallaces invenimini." Nam eum sensum vox ὑπόκρισις apud Hellenistas habet.... Idem evincit illud in Christi verbis ἔστω δὲ λόγος ὑμῶν, ναὶ ναὶ, οὐ, οὐ, quod sic Jacobus explicat, ἤτω δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ ναὶ, καὶ, τὸ οὐ οὐ,..... Nam prius ναὶ & οὐ promissum significat, posterius ejus implementum, &c. De jure belli & pacis, lib. II. cap. xiii. § 21.

those were to be "all such as enjoyed any beneficial "office or employment, ecclesiastical, civil or military;" and no farther went the debate for some hours, until at last the lord-keeper rises up, and with an eloquent oration, desires to add privy-counsellors, justices of the peace, and members of both houses; the two former particularly mentioned only to usher in the latter, which was so directly against the two previous votes; the first of which was enrolled amongst the standing orders of the house, that it wanted a man of no less assurance in his eloquence to propose it. And he was driven hard, when he was forced to tell the house, that they were masters of their own orders, and interpretation of them.

The next consideration, at the committee, was the oath itself; and it was desired by the country lords that it might be clearly known, whether it were meant all for an oath, or some of it for a declaration, and some an oath? If the latter, then it was desired it might be distinctly parted; and that the declaratory part should be subscribed by itself, and not sworn. There was no small pains taken by the lord-keeper and the bishops to prove that the two first parts were only a declaration, and not an oath. And though it was replied, that to declare upon one's oath, or to abhor upon one's oath, is the same thing with, I do swear; yet there was some difficulty to obtain the dividing of them, and that the declaratory part should be only subscribed, and the rest sworn to.

The persons being determined, and this division agreed to; the next thing was the parts of the declaration; wherein the first was "I A. B. do declare, "that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, "to take up arms against the king." This was liable to great objections; for it was said, it might introduce a great change of government, to oblige all the men in great trust in England to declare that exact boundary and extent of the oath of allegiance, and enforce some things to be stated, that are much better involved in generals, and peradventure are not capable of another way of expression, without great wrong on the one

side or the other. There is a law of 25th Edward III. that "arms shall not be taken up against the king, and "that it is treason to do so;" and it is a very just and reasonable law. But it is an idle question at best, to ask, "whether arms in any case can be taken up against "a lawful prince;" because it necessarily brings in the debate, in every man's mind, how there can be a distinction then left between absolute and bounded monarchies, if monarchs have only the fear of God, and no fear of human resistance to restrain them. And it was further urged, that if the chance of human affairs in future ages should give the French king a just title and investiture in the crown of England, and he should avowedly own a design by force to change the religion, and make his government here as absolute as in France, by the extirpation of the nobility, gentry, and principal citizens of the protestant party; whether in such, or like cases, this declaration will be a service to the government, as it is now established. Nay, and it was farther said, that they overthrow the government, that propose to place any part of it above the fear of man. For in our English government, and all bounded monarchies, where the prince is not absolute, there every individual subject is under the fear of the king and his people; either for breaking the peace, or disturbing the common interest that every man hath in it; for if he invades the person or right of his prince, he invades his whole people, who have bound up in him, and derive from him all their liberty, property, and safety; as also the prince himself is under the fear of breaking that golden chain and contexture between him and his people, by making his interest contrary to that they justly and rightly claim. And therefore neither our ancestors, nor any other country free like ours, whilst they preserved their liberties, did ever suffer any mercenary or standing guards to their prince; but took care that his safety should be in them, as theirs was in him.

Though these were the objections to this head, yet they were but lightly touched, and not fully insisted upon, until the debate of the second head, where the

scope of the design was opened clearer, and more distinct to every man's capacity.

The second was, "And that I do abhor that traitor-"ous position of taking arms by his authority against "his person." To this was objected, that if by this be meant an explanation of the oath of allegiance, to leave men without pretence to oppose where the individual person of the king is; then it was to be considered that the position, as it is here set down, is universal, and yet, in most cases, the position is not to be abhorred by honest or wise men. For there is but one case, and that never like to happen again, where this position is in danger to be traitorous, which was the case of the Long-parliament, made perpetual by the king's own act, by which the government was perfectly altered, and made inconsistent with itself; but it is to be supposed the crown hath sufficient warning, and full power to prevent the falling again into that danger. But the other cases are many, and such as may every day occur, wherein this position is so far from traitorous, that it would prove both necessary and our duty. The famous instance of Henry VI, who being a soft and weak prince, when taken prisoner by his cousin Edward IV, that pretended to the crown, and the great earl of Warwick, was carried in their armies; gave what orders and commissions they pleased; and yet all those, that were loyal to him, adhered to his wife and son; fought in a pitched battle against him in person; and retook him. This was directly, "taking "up arms against his person, and against those that "were commissioned by him:" and yet to this day no man hath ever blamed them, or thought but that, if they had done otherwise, they had betrayed their prince. The great case of Charles VI. of France, who being of a weak and crazy brain, yet governed by himself, or rather by his wife, a woman of a passionate and heady humour, that hated her son the dauphin, a vigorous and brave prince, and passionately loved her daughter; so that she easily (being pressed by the victory of Henry V. of England) complied to settle the crown of France upon him, to marry her daughter to him, and own his

right, contrary to the Salique law. This was directly opposed with arms and force by the dauphin and all good Frenchmen, even in his father's life-time. A third instance is that of king James of blessed memory; who, when he was a child, was seized and taken prisoner, by those, who were justly thought no friends to his crown or safety. And if the case should be put, that a future king of England, of the same temper with Henry VI. or Charles VI. of France, should be taken prisoner by Spaniards, Dutch, or French, whose overgrowing power should give them thoughts of vast empire, and should, with the person and commission of the king, invade England for a conquest; were it not suitable to our loyalty to join with the son of that king, for the defence of his father's crown and dignity, even against his person and commission? In all these and the like cases, it was not justified, but that the strict letter of the law might be otherwise construed; and when wisely considered, fit it should be so, yet that it was not safe either for the kingdom, or person of the king and his crown, that it should be in express words sworn against; for if we shall forswear all distinctions, which ill men have made ill use of, either in rebellion or heresy, we must extend the oath to all the particulars of divinity and politics. To this the aged bishop of Winchester * replied, to take up arms, in such cases, is "not against, but for "the person of the king;" but his lordship was told, that he might then as well, nay much better, have left it upon the old oath of allegiance, than made such a wide gap in this new declaration.

The third and last part of the declaration was, "or "against those that are commissioned by him." Here the mask was plainly plucked off, and arbitrary government appeared bare-faced, and a standing army to be established by act of parliament. For it was said by several of the lords, that, if whatever is by the king's commission be not opposed by the king's authority, then a standing army is law, whenever the king pleases; and

* George Morley. He was then 78 years old.

yet the king's commission was never thought sufficient to protect, or justify any man, where it is against his authority, which is the law. This allowed, alters the whole law of England, in the most essential and fundamental parts of it; and makes the whole law of property to become arbitrary, and without effect whenever the king pleases.

For instance, if in suit with a great favourite, a man recovers house and lands, and by course of law be put into possession by the sheriff; and afterwards a warrant is obtained by the interest of the person to command some soldiers of the standing army to take the possession, and deliver it back; in such a case, the man in possession may justify to defend himself, and killing those, who shall violently endeavour to enter his house. The party, whose house is invaded, "takes up arms by "the king's authority against those who are commis-"sioned by him." And it is the same case, if the soldiers had been commissioned to defend the house against the sheriff, when he first endeavoured to take possession according to law. Neither could any order or commission of the king's put a stop to the sheriff, if he had done his duty in raising the whole force of that county to put the law in execution; neither can the court, from whom that order proceeds, (if they observe their oaths and duty,) put any stop to the execution of the law in such a case, by any command or commission from the king whatsoever; nay, all the guards and standing forces in England cannot be secured by any commission from being a direct riot and unlawful assembly, unless in time of open war and rebellion. And it is not out of the way to suppose, that if any king hereafter shall, contrary to the Petition of Right, demand and levy money by privy seal, or otherwise, and cause soldiers to enter and distrain for such-like illegal taxes; that in such a case any man may by law defend his house against them; and yet this is of the same nature with the former, and against the words of the declaration. These instances may seem somewhat rough, and not with the usual reverence towards the crown; but they alleged, they

were to be excused, when all was concerned; and without speaking thus plain, it is refused to be understood; and, however happy we are now, either in the present prince, or those we have in prospect, yet the suppositions are not extravagant, when we consider kings are but men, and compassed with more temptations than others: and as the earl of Salisbury, who stood like a rock of nobility, and English principles, excellently replied to the lord-keeper, who was pleased to term them remote instances; that they would not hereafter prove so, when this declaration had made the practice of them justifiable.

These arguments enforced the lords for the bill, to a change of this part of the declaration; so that they agreed the second and third parts of it should run thus, "And I do abhor that traitorous position of taking "arms by his authority against his person, or against "those that are commissioned by him according to "law, in time of rebellion or war, acting in pursu-"ance of such commission." Which mends the matter very little; for if they mean the king's authority, and his lawful commission, to be two things, and such as are capable of opposition; then it is as dangerous to the liberties of the nation, as when it ran in the former words, and we are only cheated by new phrasing of it. But if they understand them to be one and the same thing, as really and truly they are; then we are only to abhor the treason of the position of taking arms by the king's authority against the king's authority, because it is nonsense and not practicable. And so they had done little but confessed, that all the clergy, and many other persons, have been forced, by former acts of this present parliament, to make this declaration in other words, that now are found so far from being justifiable, that they are directly contrary to Magna Charta, our properties, and the established law and government of the nation.

The next thing in course was the oath itself, against which the objection lay so plain and so strong at the first entrance, viz. That there was no care taken of the

doctrine, but only the discipline of the church. The papists need not scruple the taking this oath; for episcopacy remains in its greatest lustre, though the popish religion was introduced; but the king's supremacy is justled aside by this oath, and makes better room for an ecclesiastical one. Insomuch that, with this and much more, they were enforced to change their oath, and the next day bring it in as followeth:

> " I do swear, that I will not endeavour to alter the
> " protestant religion, or the government either of
> " church or state."

By this they thought they had salved all, and now began to call their oath, " A security for the pro-
" testant religion, and the only good design to pre-
" vent popery," if we should have a popish prince. But the country lords wondered at their confidence in this, since they had never thought of it before; and had been, but the last preceding day of the debate, by pure shame, compelled to this addition. For it was not unknown to them, that some of the bishops themselves had told some of the Roman catholic lords of the house, that " care had been taken that it might
" be such an oath as might not bear upon them." But let it be whatever they would have it, yet the country lords thought the addition was unreasonable, and of as dangerous consequence as the rest of the oath. And it was not to be wondered at, if the addition of the best things, wanting the authority of an express divine institution, should make an oath not to endeavour to alter, just so much worse by the addition. For, as the earl of Shaftsbury very well urged, that it is a far different thing to believe, or to be fully persuaded of the truth of the doctrine of our church, and to swear never to endeavour to alter; which last must be utterly unlawful, unless you place an infallibility either in the church or yourself; you being otherwise obliged to alter, whenever a clearer or better light comes to you. And he desired leave to ask, where are the boundaries, or

where shall we find how much is meant by the protestant religion?

The lord-keeper, thinking he had now got an advantage, with his usual eloquence, desires, "that it "might not be told in Gath, nor published in the streets "of Askalon," that a lord of so great parts and eminence, and professing himself for the church of England, should not know what is meant by the protestant religion! This was seconded with great pleasantness by divers of the lords the bishops. But the bishop of Winchester, and some others of them, were pleased to condescend to instruct that lord, that the protestant religion was comprehended in XXXIX articles, the liturgy, the catechism, the homilies, and the canons.

To this the earl of Shaftsbury replied, that he begged so much charity of them to believe, that he knew the protestant religion so well, and was so confirmed in it, that he hoped he should burn for the witness of it, if providence should call him to it. But he might perhaps think some things not necessary, that they accounted essential; nay, he might think some things not true, or agreeable to the scripture, that they might call doctrines of the church. Besides, when he was to swear "never to endeavour to alter," it was certainly necessary to know "how far the just extent of this oath was." But since they had told him that the protestant religion was in those five tracts; he had still to ask, whether they meant those whole tracts were the protestant religion; or only that the protestant religion was contained in all those, but that every part of these was not the protestant religion?

If they meant the former of these, then he was extremely in the dark to find the doctrine of predestination, in the 17th and 18th articles, to be owned by so few great doctors of the church, and to find the 19th article to define the church directly, as the independents do. Besides, the 20th article, stating the authority of the church is very dark; and either contradicts itself, or says nothing, or what is contrary to the known laws of the land. Besides several other things in the

XXXIX articles have been preached and writ against, by men of great favour, power, and preferment, in the church.

He humbly conceived the liturgy was not so sacred, being made by men the other day, and thought to be more differing from the dissenting protestants, and less easy to be complied with, upon the advantage of a pretence well known unto us all, of making alterations as might the better unite us; instead whereof, there is scarce one alteration but widens the breach. And no ordination allowed by it here, (as it now stands last reformed in the act of uniformity,) but what is episcopal; insomuch that a popish priest is capable, when converted, of any church preferment, without re-ordination; but no protestant minister not episcopally ordained but is required to be re-ordained; as much as in us lies unchurching all the foreign protestants that have not bishops; though the contrary was both allowed and practised, from the beginning of the reformation till the time of that act, and several bishops made of such as were never ordained priests by bishops. Moreover, the uncharitableness of it was so much against the interest of the crown and church of England, (casting off the dependency of the whole protestant party abroad,) that it would have been bought by the pope and the French king at a vast sum of money; and it is difficult to conceive so great an advantage fell to them merely by chance, and without their help. So that he thought to endeavour to alter and restore the liturgy to what it was in queen Elizabeth's days, might consist with his being a very good protestant.

As to the catechism, he really thought it might be mended; and durst declare to them, it was not well that there was not a better made.

For the homilies, he thought there might be a better book made; and the third homily, of "repairing "and keeping clean of churches," might be omitted.

What is yet stranger than all this, the canons of our church are directly the old popish canons, which are still in force, and no other; which will appear, if

you turn to the stat. 25 Henry VIII. cap. 19. confirmed and received by 1 Eliz. where all those canons are established, until an alteration should be made by the king, in pursuance of that act; which thing was attempted by Edward VI. but not perfected, and let alone ever since; for what reasons, the lords the bishops could best tell. And it was very hard to be obliged by oath "not "to endeavour to alter either the English common-"prayer-book, or the canon of the mass."

But if they meant the latter, that the protestant religion is contained in all those, but that every part of those is not the protestant religion; then he apprehended it might be in the bishops power to declare "ex post facto," what is the protestant religion or not, or else they must leave it to every man to judge for himself, what parts of those books are or are not; and then their oath had been much better let alone.

Much of this nature was said by that lord and others; and the great officers and bishops were so hard put to it, that they seemed willing and convinced to admit of an expedient.

The lord Wharton, an old and expert parliament-man, of eminent piety and abilities, besides a great friend to the protestant religion, and interest of England, offered as a cure to the whole oath, and what might make it pass in all the three parts of it, without any farther debate; the addition of these words, at the latter end of the oath, viz. "as the same is, or shall be established "by act of parliament." But this was not endured at all; when the lord Grey of Rolston, a worthy and true English lord, offered another expedient; which was the addition of these words, "by force or fraud," to the beginning of the oath; and then it would run thus, "I do swear not to endeavour, by force or fraud, to "alter." This was also a cure that would have passed the whole oath, and seemed as if it would have carried the whole house; the duke of York, and bishop of Rochester, both seconding it; but the lord-treasurer, who had privately before consented to it, speaking against it, gave the word and sign to that party; and it being put to the question, the major vote answered all ar-

guments, and the lord Grey's proposition was laid aside.

Having thus carried the question, relying upon their strength of votes, taking advantage that those expedients that had been offered, extended to the whole oath, though but one of the three clauses in the oath had been debated, the other two not mentioned at all; they attempted strongly, at nine of the clock at night, to have the whole oath put to the question; and though it was resolutely opposed by the lord Mohun, a lord of great courage and resolution in the public interest, and one whose own personal merits, as well as his father's, gave him a just title to the best favours of the court; yet they were not diverted, but by as great a disorder as ever was seen in that house, proceeding from the rage those unreasonable proceedings had caused in the country lords; they standing up together, and crying out with so loud a continued voice, adjourn, that when silence was obtained, fear did what reason could not do, cause the question to be put only upon the first clause, concerning the protestant religion, to which the bishops desired might be added, "as it is now established, And one of the eminentest of those who were for the bill, added the words, "by law." So that, as it was passed, it ran, "I A. B. do swear, that I will not endea-
"vour to alter the protestant religion, now by law esta-
"blished in the church of England."

And here observe the words, "by law," do directly take in the canons, though the bishops had never mentioned them.

And now comes the consideration of the latter part of the oath, which comprehends these two clauses, viz, "nor the government either in church or state," wherein the church came first to be considered. And it was objected by the lords against the bill, that it was not agreeable to the king's crown and dignity, to have his subjects sworn to the government of the church equally as to himself; that for the kings of England to swear to maintain the church, was a different thing from enjoining all his officers, and both his houses of parliament, to swear to them; it would be well understood, before

the bill passed, what the "government of the church" (we are to swear to) is, and what the boundaries of it; whether it derives no power nor authority, nor the exercise of any power, authority, or function, but from the king, as head of the church, and from God, as through him, as all his other officers do.

For no church or religion can justify itself to the government, but the state religion, that owes an entire dependency on, and is but a branch of it; or the independent congregations, whilst they claim no other power but the exclusion of their own members from their particular communion; and endeavour not to set up a kingdom of Christ to their own use, in this world, whilst our saviour hath told us, that "his kingdom is "not of it." For otherwise there should be, "impe-"rium in imperio," and two distinct supreme powers inconsistent with each other in the same place, and over the same persons. The bishops alleged that priesthood, and the powers thereof, and the authorities belonging thereunto, were derived immediately from Christ, but that the licence of exercising that authority and power in any country, is derived from the civil magistrate. To which was replied, that it was a dangerous thing to secure, by oath and act of parliament, those in the exercise of an authority and power in the king's country, and over his subjects, which being received from Christ himself, cannot be altered, or limited, by the king's laws; and that this was directly to set the mitre above the crown. And it was farther offered, that this oath was the greatest attempt that had been made against the king's supremacy since the reformation; for the king, in parliament, may alter, diminish, enlarge, or take away, any bishopric; he may take any part of a diocese, or whole diocese, and put them under deans, or other persons. For if this be not lawful, but that episcopacy should be "jure divino," the maintaining the government, as it is now, is unlawful; since the deans of Hereford and Salisbury have very large tracts under their jurisdiction; and several parsons of parishes have episcopal jurisdiction; so that at best that government wants alteration, that is so im-

perfectly settled. The bishop of Winchester affirmed in this debate, several times, that there was no christian church before Calvin, that had not bishops; to which he was answered, that the Albigenses, a very numerous people, and the only visible known church of true believers, of some ages, had no bishops. It is very true what the bishop of Winchester replied, that they had some amongst them who alone had power to ordain; but that was only to commit that power to the wisest and gravest men amongst them, and to secure ill and unfit men from being admitted into the ministry; but they exercised no jurisdiction over the others.

And it was said by divers of the lords that they thought episcopal government best for the church, and most suitable for the monarchy; but they must say, with the lord of Southampton, upon the occasion of this oath in the parliament of Oxford, "I will not be sworn not "to take away episcopacy;" there being nothing that is not of divine precept, but such circumstances may come in human affairs, as may render it not eligible by the best of men. And it was also said, that if episcopacy be to be received as by divine precept, the king's supremacy is over-thrown; and so is also the opinion of the parliaments both in Edward the VIth, and queen Elizabeth's time; and the constitution of our church ought to be altered, as hath been showed. But the church of Rome itself hath contradicted that opinion, when she hath made such vast tracts of ground, and great numbers of men, exempt from episcopal jurisdiction.

The lord Wharton, upon the bishops' claim to a divine right, asked a very hard question, viz. "whether "they then did not claim withal a power of excommu-"nicating their prince?" which they evading to answer, and being pressed by some other lords, said, "they "never had done it." Upon which the lord Halliflax told them, that that might well be; for since the reformation they had hitherto had too great a dependence on the crown, to venture on that or any other offence to it.

And so the debate passed on to the third clause, which had the same exceptions against it with the two former, of being unbounded, how far any man might meddle, and how far not; and is of that extent, that it overthrew all parliaments, aud left them capable of nothing but giving money. For what is the business of parliaments, but the alteration, either by adding, or taking away, some part of the government, either in church or state? And every new act of parliament is an alteration; and what kind of government in church or state must that be, which I must swear, upon no alteration of time, emergency of affairs, nor variation of human things, never to endeavour to alter? Would it not be requisite that such a government should be given by God himself; and that with all the ceremony of thunder and lightning, and visible appearance to the whole people, which God vouchsafed to the children of Israel at Mount Sinai? And yet you shall no-where read that they were sworn to it by any oath like this; nay, on the contrary, the princes and the rulers, even those recorded for the best of them, did make several variations.

The lord Stafford, a nobleman of great honour and candour, but who had been all along for the bill, yet was so far convinced with the debate, that he freely declared, there ought to be an addition to the oath, for preserving the freedon of debates in parliament. This was strongly urged by the never to be forgotten earl of Bridgewater, who gave reputation and strength to this cause of England; as did also those worthy earls, Denbigh, Clarendon, and Ailsbury, men of great worth and honour. To salve all that was said by these and the other lords, the lord-keeper and the bishops urged, that there was a proviso, which fully preserved the privileges of parliament; and, upon farther inquiry, there appearing no such, but only a previous vote, as is before mentioned, they allowed that that previous vote should be drawn into a proviso, and added to the bill; and then, in their opinion, the exception to the oath for this cause was perfectly removed. But on the other side it was offered, that a positive absolute oath being taken, a pro-

viso in the act could not dispense with it, without some reference in the body of the oath unto that proviso. But this also was utterly denied, until the next day, the debate going on upon other matters; the lord treasurer, whose authority easily obtained with the major-vote, reassumed what was mentioned in the debates of the preceding days, and allowed a reference to the proviso; so that it then passed in these words:

> " I A. B. do swear, that I will not endeavour to alter
> " the protestant religion now by law established in
> " the church of England; nor the government of
> " this kingdom in church or state, as it is now by
> " law established; and I do take this oath accord-
> " ing to the meaning of this act, and the proviso
> " contained in the same. So help me God."

There was a passage of the greatest observation in the whole debate, and which with most clearness showed what the great men and bishops aimed at; and should in order have come in before, but that it deserved so particular a consideration, that I thought best to place it here by itself; which was, that upon passing of the proviso for preserving the rights and privileges of parliaments, made out of the previous votes, it was excellently observed by the earl of Bolingbroke, a man of great ability and learning in the laws of the land, and perfectly stedfast in all good English principles; that though that proviso did preserve the freedom of debates and votes in parliaments, yet the oath remained, notwithstanding that proviso, upon all men, that shall take it as a prohibition, either by speech or writing, or address, to " endeavour any alteration in religion, church, or state:" nay, also upon the members of both houses otherwise than as they speak and vote in open parliaments or committees. For this oath takes away all private converse upon any such affairs even with one another. This was seconded by the lord De la Mer, whose name is well known, as also his worth, piety, and learning; I should mention his merits too, but I

know not whether that be lawful, they lying yet unrewarded.

The lord Shaftsbury presently drew up some words for preserving the same rights, privileges, and freedoms, which men now enjoy by the laws established; so that by a side-wind he might not be deprived of the great liberty we enjoy as Englishmen; and desired those words might be inserted in that proviso before it passed. This was seconded by many of the fore-mentioned lords; and pressed upon those terms, that they desired not to countenance, or make in the least degree any thing lawful, that was not already so; but that they might not be deprived, by this dark way of proceeding, of that liberty, which was necessary to them as men, and without which parliaments would be rendered useless.

Upon this all the great officers showed themselves; nay, the duke of Lauderdale himself, though under the load of two addresses*, opened his mouth, and together with the lord-keeper, and the lord treasurer, told the committee in plain terms; that they intended, and designed to prevent caballing and conspiracies against the government; that they knew no reason why any of the king's officers should consult with parliament-men about parliament-business; and particularly mentioned those of the army, treasury, and navy. And when it was objected to them, that the greatest part of the most knowing gentry were either justices of the peace, or of the militia; and that this took away all converse, or discourse of any alteration, which was in truth of any business, in parliament; and that the officers of the navy and treasury might be best able to advise what should be fit in many cases; and that withal none of their lordships did offer any thing to salve the inconvenience of parliament-men being deprived of discoursing one with another, upon the matters that were before them; besides it must be again remembered, that nothing was herein desired to be countenanced, or made lawful, but

* The house of commons addressed the king to remove the duke of Lauderdale from his employments, and from his majesty's presence and councils, for ever; as a man of arbitrary principles, and a person obnoxious and dangerous to the government.

to preserve that which is already law, and avowedly justified by it; for, without this addition to the proviso, the oath rendered parliaments but a snare, not a security, to the people; yet to all this was answered, sometimes with passion and high words, sometimes with jests and raillery, (the best they had,) and at the last the major-vote answered all objections, and laid aside the addition tendered.

There was another thing before the finishing of the oath, which I shall here also mention, which was an additional oath, tendered by the marquis of Winchester; who ought to have been mentioned in the first and chiefest place, for his conduct and support in the whole debate, being an expert parliament-man, and one, whose quality, parts, and fortune, and owning of good principles, concur to give him one of the greatest places in the esteem of good men. The additional oath tendered was as followeth:

> " I do swear that I will never by threats, injunctions,
> " promises, advantages, or invitation, by or from
> " any person whatsoever, nor from the hopes or
> " prospect of any gift, place, office, or benefit
> " whatsoever; give my vote other than according
> " to my opinion and conscience, as I shall be truly
> " and really persuaded upon the debate of any
> " business in parliament. So help me God."

This oath was offered upon the occasion of swearing members of parliament; and upon this score only, that if any new oath was thought fit (which that noble lord declared his own judgment perfectly against) this certainly was (all considerations and circumstances taken in) most necessary to be a part; and the nature of it was not so strange, if they considered the judge's oath, which was not much different from this. To this the lord-keeper seemed very averse, and declared in a very fine speech that it was a useless oath; for all gifts, places, and offices, were likeliest to come from the king; and no member of parliament in either house could do too much for the king, or be too much of his side; and that

men might lawfully and worthily have in their prospect such offices or benefits from him. With this the lords against the bill were in no terms satisfied, but plainly spoke out, that men had been, might, and were likely to be, in either house, too much for the king, as they called it; and that whoever did endeavour to give more power to the king than the law and constitution of the government had given, especially if it tended to the introducing an absolute and arbitrary government, might justly be said to do too much for the king, and to be corrupted in his judgment by the prospect of advantages and rewards; though, when it is considered that every deviation of the crown towards absolute power, lessens the king in the love and affection of his people, making him become less in their interest; a wise prince will not think it a service done him.

And now remains only the last part of the bill, which is the penalty, different according to the qualifications of the persons: "all that are, or shall be privy coun-" sellors, justices of the peace, or possessors of any be-" neficial office, ecclesiastical, civil, or military; are to " take the oath, when summoned, upon pain of 500l. " and being made incapable of bearing office; the mem-" bers of both houses are not made incapable, but liable " to the penalty of 500l. if they take it not." Upon all which, the considerations of the debate were, that those officers, and members of both houses, are, of all the nation, the most dangerous to be sworn into a mistake, or change of the government; and that, as to the members of both houses, the penalty of 500l. was directly against the latter of the two previous votes; and although they had not applied the penalty of incapacity unto the members of both houses, because of the first previous vote in the case of the lords; neither durst they admit of a proposition made by some of themselves, that those that did not come up, and sit as members, should be liable to the taking the oath, or penalty, until they did so; yet their ends were not to be compassed without invading the latter previous vote, and, contrary to the rights and privileges of parliament, enforce them to swear, or pay 500l. every parliament. And this they

carried through with so strong a resolution, that having experienced their misfortunes in replies for several hours, not one of the party could be provoked to speak one word.

Though, besides the former arguments, it was strongly urged, that this oath ought not to be put upon officers with a heavier penalty than the test was in the act of the immediate preceding session against the papists; by which any man might sit down with the loss of his office, without being in the danger of the penalty of 500l. And also that this act had a direct retrospect, which ought never to be in penal laws: for this act punishes men for having an office without taking this oath; which office, before this law pass, they may lawfully enjoy without it. Yet notwithstanding it provides not a power, in many cases, for them to part with it, before this oath overtake them. For the clause, "whoever is "in office the 1st of September," will not relieve a justice of the peace, who being once sworn, is not in his own power to be left out of commission. And so might be instanced in several other cases. As also the members of the house of commons were not in their own power to be unchosen; and as to the lords they were subjected by it to the meanest condition of mankind, if they could not enjoy their birthright, without playing tricks suitable to the humour of every age, and be enforced to swear to every fancy of the present times. Three years ago it was all liberty and indulgence, and now it is strict and rigid conformity; and what it may be, in some short time hereafter, without the spirit of prophesying, might be shrewdly guessed by a considering man.

This being answered with silence, the duke of Buckingham, whose quality, admirable wit, and unusual pains that he took all along in the debate against this bill, makes me mention him in this place, as general of the party, and coming last out of the field; made a speech late at night of eloquent and well-placed nonsense; showing how excellently well he could do both ways, and hoping that might do, when sense (which he often before used with the highest advantage of wit and reason) would not. But the earl of Winchelsea, readily

apprehending the dialect, in a short reply put an end to the debate; and the major-vote, "ultima, ratio senatuum & conciliorum," carried the question as the court and bishops would have it *.

This was the last act of this tragi-comedy, which had taken up sixteen or seventeen whole days debate; the house sitting many times till eight or nine of the clock at night, and sometimes till midnight; but the business of privilege between the two houses † gave such an interruption, that this bill was never reported from the committee to the house.

I have mentioned to you divers lords, that were speakers, as it fell in the debate; but I have not distributed the arguments of the debate to every particular lord. Now you know the speakers, your curiosity may be satisfied, and the lords I am sure will not quarrel about the division. I must not forget to mention those great lords, Bedford, Devonshire, and Burlington, for the countenance and support they gave to the English interest. The earl of Bedford was so brave in it, that

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* Mr. Echard in his History of England (Vol. III. ad. an. 1675, page 383) hath transcribed several paragraphs out of this letter, though he never cites it; and ends his account of the debate thus: "The debate, says he, lasted sixteen or seventeen whole days, the house often sitting till nine at night, and sometimes till midnight; in the conclusion of which, the duke of Buckingham, as general of the party, and last in the field, made a famous speech, consisting of eloquent, regular, and well-placed nonsense, hoping that that might prevail, when nothing else would; and so brought confusion into the house;" where, besides the inaccuracy of bringing into his narrative and making his own the expressions, which the author of the letter hath used, by way of compliment or encomium, and thereby misrepresenting the matter, he affirms, that the debate was put to an end, by the confusion which the duke of Buckingham's speech brought into the house; whereas it appears by the letter itself, that no confusion was brought into the house by that speech; but on the contrary, that after a short reply of the earl of Winchelsea, the question was put regularly to the vote, and carried as the court and bishops would have it.

† Dr. Shirley having brought an appeal in the house of lords, from a decree in chancery against sir John Flagg, a member of the house of commons; the commons looked upon it as an infringement of their privileges; and this occasioned a contest between the two houses, which ran so high, that the king thought fit to put a stop to it, by proroguing the parliament, on the 9th of June, 1675, after they had sat near two months.

he joined in three of the protests; so also did the earl of Dorset; and the earl of Stamford, a young nobleman of great hopes; the lord viscount Say and Seal and the lord Pagitt in two; the lord Audley and the lord Fitzwalter in the third; and the lord Peter, a nobleman of great estate, and always true to the maintenance of liberty and property, in the first. And I should not have omitted the earl of Dorset, lord Audley, and the lord Peter, amongst the speakers; for I will assure you they did their parts excellently well. The lord viscount Hereford was a steady man among the country lords; so also was the lord Townshend, a man justly of great esteem and power in his own country, and amongst all those that well know him. The earl of Carnarvon ought not to be mentioned in the last place; for he came out of the country on purpose to oppose the bill, stuck very fast to the country party, and spoke many excellent things against it. I dare not mention the Roman catholic lords, and some others, for fear I hurt them; but thus much I shall say of the Roman catholic peers, that if they were safe in their estates, and yet kept out of office, their votes in that house would not be the most unsafe to England of any sort of men in it. As for the absent lords, the earl of Rutland, lord Sandys, lord Herbert of Cherbury, lord North, and lord Crew, ought to be mentioned with honour; having taken care their votes should maintain their own interest and opinions. But the earls of Exeter and Chesterfield, that gave no proxies this session; the lord Montague of Boughton, that gave his to the treasurer; and the lord Roberts his to the earl of Northampton; are not easily to be understood. If you ask after the earl of Carlisle, the lord viscount Falconberg, and the lord Berkley of Berkley-Castle, because you find them not mentioned amongst all their old friends; all I have to say is, that the earl of Carlisle stepped aside to receive his pension; the lord Berkley to dine with the lord-treasurer; but the lord viscount Falconberg, like the nobleman in the gospel, went away sorrowful, for he had a great office at court. But I despair not of giving you a better account of them next session, for it is not possible, when they consider, that

Cromwell's major-general, son-in-law, and friend, should think to find their accounts amongst men that set up on such a bottom.

Thus, sir, you see the standard of the new party is not yet set up, but must be the work of another session; though it be admirable to me, how the king can be induced to venture his affairs upon such weak counsels, and of so fatal consequences. For I believe it is the first time in the world, that ever it was thought adviseable, after fifteen years of the highest peace, quiet, and obedience, that ever was in any country, that there should be a pretence taken up, and a reviving of former miscarriages, especially after so many promises and declarations, as well as acts of oblivion, and so much merit of the offending party, in being the instruments of the king's happy return; besides the putting so vast a number of the king's subjects in utter despair of having their crimes ever forgotten. And it must be a great mistake in counsels, or worse, that there should be so much pains taken by the court to debase and bring low the house of peers, if a military government be not intended by some. For the power of the peerage, and a standing army, are like two buckets, in the proportion that one goes down, the other exactly goes up. And I refer you to the consideration of all the histories of ours, or any of our neighbour northern monarchies; whether standing forces, military and arbitrary government, came not plainly in by the same steps that the nobility were lessened; and whether, whenever they were in power and greatness, they permitted the least shadow of any of them. Our own country is a clear instance of it; for though the white rose and the red changed fortunes often, to the ruin, slaughter, and beheading the great men of the other side; yet nothing could enforce them to secure themselves by a standing force. But I cannot believe that the king himself will ever design any such thing; for he is not of a temper robust and laborious enough to deal with such a sort of men, or reap the advantages, if there be any, of such a government. And I think he can hardly have forgot the treatment his father received

from the officers of his army, both at Oxford and Newark; it was an hard, but almost an even choice, to be the parliament's prisoner, or their slave; but I am sure the greatest prosperity of his arms could have brought him to no happier condition, than our king his son has before him, whenever he pleases. However, this may be said for the honour of this session, that there is no prince in Christendom hath, at a greater expence of money, maintained for two months space a nobler or more useful dispute of the politics, mystery, and secrets of government, both in church and state, than this hath been; of which noble design no part is owing to any of the country lords, for several of them begged, at the first entrance into the debate, that they might not be engaged in such disputes as would unavoidably produce divers things to be said, which they were willing to let alone. But I must bear them witness, and so will you, having read this; that they did their parts in it, when it came to it, and spoke plain, like old English lords.

I shall conclude with what, upon the whole matter, is most worthy your consideration, that the design is "to "declare us first into another government more absolute and arbitrary than the oath of allegiance, or old "law, knew;" and then "make us swear unto it," as it is so established. And less than this the bishops could not offer in requital to the crown for parting with its supremacy, and suffering them to be sworn to be equal with itself. Archbishop Laud was the first founder of this device. In his canons of 1640, you shall find an oath very like this, and a declaratory canon preceding, "that monarchy is of divine right[a];" which was also

[a] In the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical; treated upon by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, &c. in the year 1640, and published for the due observation of them, by his majesty's authority, under the great seal of England; the I. canon contains an explanation of the regal power, ordained and decreed to be read by every parson, vicar, curate, or preacher, upon some one Sunday in every quarter of the year at morning prayer; wherein it is said: "The most high and "sacred order of kings is of divine right, being the ordinance of God

affirmed in this debate by our reverend prelates, and is owned in print by no less men than archbishop Usher,

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" himself, founded in the prime laws of nature, and clearly established " by express texts both of the Old and New Testament...."

" For any person or persons to set up, maintain, or avow in " any (king's) realms or territories respectively, under any pretence " whatsoever, any independent co-active power, either papal or popular " (whether directly or indirectly) is to undermine the great royal " office, and cunningly to overthrow that most sacred ordinance, which " God himself hath established: and so is treasonable against God, as " well as against the king."

" For subjects to bear arms against their kings, offensive or defen- " sive, upon any pretence whatsoever, is at the least to resist the " powers, which are ordained of God: and though they do not invade, " but only resist, St. Paul tells them plainly, they shall receive to " themselves damnation."

And, by the VI. canon, an oath against all innovation of doctrine or discipline is decreed and ordained to be taken, not only by all archbishops and bishops, and all other priests and deacons; upon pain, if they refuse to take it, of being deprived of all their ecclesiastical promotions whatsoever, and execution of their functions, which they hold in the church of England; but likewise by all masters of arts, bachelors and doctors in divinity, law, or physic; all schoolmasters, &c. which hath these words: " I A. B. do swear, that I do approve the " doctrine and discipline or government established in the church of " England, as containing all things necessary to salvation..... Nor " will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this church " by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, &c. as it stands " now established, and as by right it ought to stand," &c.

These canons were no sooner published, but there was a general outcry made against them. How they were treated by the puritans, may be seen in a pamphlet printed in 1640, with this title: " England's " complaint to Jesus Christ, against the bishops canons, of the late sin- " ful synod, a seditious conventicle, a packe of hypocrites, a sworn con- " federacy, a traiterous conspiracy against the true religion of Christ, " and the weale publicke of the land, and consequently against the king- " dome and crowne. In this complaint are specified those impieties and " insolencies which are most notorious, scattered through the canons " and constitutions of the said sinful synod. And confuted by argu- " ments annexed hereunto," in 4to. Several petitions being at the same time presented to the king against the new canons, and particularly against the oath before mentioned; his majesty was pleased to suspend their execution: which, however, could not prevent their falling under the censure of the house of commons; for on the 10th of December 1640, they declared that those canons did contain many matters contrary to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of this realm, to the rights of parliament, to the property and liberty of the subject, and matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence. " These " public censures of the canons," says a learned and ingenious historian, " however grounded on prejudice and faction, have made them " ever since reputed null and void, &c." See the Complete History of England, &c. Vol. III. ad ann. 1640. p. 113. Lond. 1719, in fol.

and bishop Sanderson[a]; and I am afraid it is the avowed opinion of much the greater part of our digni-

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[a] Archbishop Usher did, by order of king Charles I. write a treatise, intitled, "The Power communicated by God to the Prince, and the "Obedience required of the Subject, &c." which was published in the year 1660, by Dr. Sanderson, bishop of Lincoln; and in that treatise, after having observed that the commands of princes are either of such things as may and ought to be done, or of such as cannot or ought not to be done, he puts this question: but how are subjects to carry themselves, when such things are enjoined as cannot or ought not to be done? To which he answers, "Surely not to accuse the commander, "but humbly to avoid the command. . . . . And, when nothing else "will serve the turn, as in things that may be done, we are to express "our submission by active, so in things that cannot be done, we are to "declare the same by passive obedience, without resistance and repug-"nancy; such a kind of suffering being as sure a sign of subjection as "any thing else whatsoever." And some pages lower, he proposes an objection, and answers it. "But, says he, if men's hands be thus tied, "will some say, no man's state can be secure; nay, the whole frame "of the commonwealth would be in danger to be subverted and ut-"terly ruined, by the unbridled lust of a distempered governor."

"I answer, God's word is clear in the point, (Rom. xiii. 2, 5.) Who-"soever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they "that resist shall receive to themselves damnation; and thereby a "necessity is imposed upon us of being subject even for conscience "sake; which may not be avoided by the pretext of any ensuing mis-"chief whatsoever. For, by this means we should have liberty given "unto us to (James iv. 11.) speak evil of the law, and to judge the "law. But if thou judge the law, thou art not a doer of the law, "but a judge, saith St. James. It becomes us, in obedience, to per-"form our part; and leave the ordering of events to God, whose part "only that is." The power communicated by God to the Prince, &c. pag. 147, 149, 150, 157. London, 1683, in 8vo.

Dr. Sanderson was of the same opinion, as it appears by his long preface to archbishop Usher's treatise just mentioned; wherein among other things, he says, that a mixt monarchy is an arrant bull, a contradiction in adjecto, and destroyeth itself; but more particularly by that famous passage in a sermon of his preached at Hampton-Court, in the year 1640: "No conjuncture of circumstances whatsoever can "make that expedient to be done at any time, that is of itself, and in "the kind (Οὐ γὰρ ἃ μὴ καλὸν, κἄστ' ἔφυ καλὸν. Eurip. Phœniss. Act. 3.) "unlawful. For a man to blaspheme the holy name of God, to sa-"crifice to idols, to give wrong sentence in judgment, by his power to "oppress those that are not able to withstand him, by subtilty to over-"reach others in bargaining, to take up arms (offensive or defensive) "against a lawful sovereign; none of these, and sundry other things "of like nature, being all of them simply, and de toto genere, un-"lawful, may be done by any man, at any time, in any case, upon "any colour or pretension whatsoever; the express command of God "himself only excepted, as in the case of Abraham for sacrificing his "son. (Gen. xxii.) Not for the avoiding of scandal, not at the in-

fied clergy. If so, I am sure they are the most dangerous sort of men alive to our English government; and it is the first thing ought to be looked into, and strictly examined by our parliaments. It is the leaven that corrupts the whole lump. For if that be true, I am sure monarchy is not to be bounded by human laws; and the 8th chapter of 1 Samuel will prove (as many of our divines would have it) the great charter of the royal prerogative; and our "Magna Charta;" that says, "Our kings may not take our fields, our vineyards, our "corn, and our sheep," is not in force, but void and null; because against divine institution. And you have the riddle out, why the clergy are so ready to take themselves, and to impose upon others, such kind of oaths as these. They have placed themselves and their possessions upon a better and surer bottom (as they think) than "Magna Charta"; and so have no more need of, or concern for it. Nay, what is worse, they have trucked away the rights and liberties of the people, in this and all other countries, wherever they have had opportunity; that they might be owned by the prince to be "jure divino," maintained in that pretension by that absolute power and force they have contributed so much to put into his hands; and that priest and prince may, like Castor and Pollux, be worshipped together as divine, in the same temple, by us poor lay-subjects; and that sense and reason, law, properties, rights, and liberties, shall be understood, as the oracles of those deities shall interpret, or give signification to them; and never be made use of in the world to oppose the absolute and free will of either of them.

Sir, I have no more to say, but beg your pardon for this tedious trouble, and that you will be very careful to whom you communicate any of this.

"stance of any friend, or command of any power upon earth, nor for "the maintenance of the lives or liberties either of ourselves or others; "nor for the defence of religion; nor for the preservation of a church "or state; no, nor yet, if that could be imagined possible, for the sal-"vation of a soul, no, not for the redemption of the whole world. "Sermon XII. ad Aulam, preached at Hampton-Court, July 26, 1640, "on 1 Cor. x. 23. But all things are not expedient. . . . . But all "things edify not." See XXXIV Sermons, &c. by Robert Sanderson, &c. pag. 522, of the 8th edit. London, 1686, in fol.

REMARKS

UPON SOME OF

MR. NORRIS'S BOOKS,

Wherein he asserts P. MALEBRANCHE's Opinion of our seeing all Things in God.

THERE are some, who think they have given an account of the nature of ideas, by telling us, "we see "them in God[a]," as if we understood, what ideas in the understanding of God are, better than when they are in our own understandings; or their nature were better known, when it is said, that "the immediate "object of our understandings are the divine ideas, the "omniform essence of God, partially represented or "exhibited[b]." So that this now has made the matter clear, there can be no difficulty left, when we are told that our ideas are the divine ideas; and the "divine "ideas the omniform essence of God." For what the divine ideas are, we know as plainly, as we know what 1, 2, and 3, is; and it is a satisfactory explication of what our ideas are to tell us, they are no other than the divine ideas; and the divine essence is more familiar, and level to our knowledge, than any thing we think of. Besides, there can be no difficulty

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[a] See Cursory Reflections upon a book called, "An Essay concern-"ing Human Understanding." Written by John Norris, M. A. rector of Newton St. Loe, in Somersetshire, and late fellow of All Souls college: in a letter to a friend; printed at the end of his "Christian "Blessedness, or Discourses upon the Beatitudes of our Lord and Sa-"viour Jesus Christ;" pag. 30. Lond. 1690. in 8vo.

[b] Ibid. pag. 31.

in understanding how the "divine ideas are God's "essence."

2. I am complained of for not having "given an "account of, or defined the nature of our ideas[a]." By "giving an account of the nature of ideas," is not meant, that I should make known to men their ideas; for I think nobody can imagine that any articulate sounds of mine, or any body else, can make known to another what his ideas, that is, what his perceptions are, better than what he himself knows and perceives them to be; which is enough for affirmations, or negations about them. By the "nature of ideas," therefore, is meant here their causes and manner of production in the mind, i. e. in what alteration of the mind this perception consists; and as to that, I answer, no man can tell; for which I not only appeal to experience, which were enough, but shall add this reason, viz. because no man can give any account of any alteration made in any simple substance whatsoever; all the alteration we can conceive, being only of the alteration of compounded substances; and that only by a transposition of parts. Our ideas, say these men, are the "divine ideas, or the "omniform essence of God," which the mind sometimes sees, and sometimes not. Now I ask these men, what alteration is made in the mind upon seeing? for there lies the difficulty, which occasions the inquiry.

For what difference a man finds in himself, when he sees a marygold, and sees not a marygold, has no difficulty, and needs not be inquired after: he has the idea now, which he had not before. The difficulty is, what alteration is made in his mind; what changes that has in itself, when it sees what it did not see before, either the divine idea in the understanding of God, or, as the ignorant think, the marygold in the garden. Either supposition, as to this matter, is all one; for they are both things extrinsical to the mind, till it has that perception; and when it has it, I desire them to explain to me, what the alteration in the mind is, besides saying,

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[a] Cursory Reflections, &c. pag. 3.

as we vulgar do, it is having a perception, which it had not the moment before; which is only the difference between perceiving and not perceiving; a difference in matter of fact agreed on all hands; which, wherein it consists, is, for aught I see, unknown to one side as well as the other; only the one have the ingenuity to confess their ignorance; and the other pretend to be knowing.

3. P. Malebranche says, "God does all things by "the simplest and shortest ways," i. e. as it is interpreted in Mr. Norris's Reason and Religion, "God "never does any thing in vain[a]." This will easily be granted them; but how will they reconcile to this principle of theirs, on which their whole system is built, the curious structure of the eye and ear; not to mention the other parts of the body? For if the perception of colours and sounds depended on nothing but the presence of the object affording an occasional cause to God Almighty to exhibit to the mind the idea of figures, colours, and sounds; all that nice and curious structure of those organs is wholly in vain: since the sun by day, and the stars by night, and the visible objects that surround us, and the beating of a drum, the talk of people, and the change made in the air by thunder; are as much present to a blind and deaf man, as to those who have their eyes and ears in the greatest perfection. He that understands optics ever so little, must needs admire the wonderful make of the eye, not only for the variety and neatness of the parts; but as suited to the nature of refraction, so as to paint the image of the object in the retina; which these men must confess to be all lost labour, if it contributes nothing at all, in the ordinary way of causes and effects, to the producing that idea in the mind. But that only the presence of the object gave occasion to God to show to the mind that idea in

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[a] "Reason and Religion; or, the Grounds and Measures of Devo-"tion, considered from the nature of God, and the nature of man. In "several contemplations. With exercises of devotion applied to every "contemplation." By John Norris, M. A. and fellow of All-souls college in Oxford, Part II. Contemplation II. § 17. p. 195. Lond. 1689, in 8vo.

himself, which certainly is as present to one that has a gutta serena, as to the quicksightedest man living. But we do not know how, by any natural operation, this can produce an idea in the mind; and therefore (a good conclusion!) God, the author of nature, cannot this way produce it. As if it were impossible for the Almighty to produce any thing, but by ways we must conceive, and are able to comprehend; when he that is best satisfied of his omniscient understanding, and knows so well how God perceives, and man thinks, cannot explain the cohesion of parts in the lowest degree of created beings, unorganised bodies.

4. The perception of universals also proves that all beings are present to our minds; and that can only be by the presence of God, because all "created things are "individuals [a]." Are not all things that exist individuals? If so, then say not, all created, but all existing things are individuals; and if so, then the having any general idea proves not that we have all objects present to our minds. But this is for want of considering wherein universality consists; which is only in representation, abstracting from particulars. An idea of a circle, of an inch diameter, will represent, where, or whensoever existing, all the circles of an inch diameter; and that by abstracting from time and place. And it will also represent all circles of any bigness, by abstracting also from that particular bigness, and by retaining only the relation of equidistance of the circumference from the centre, in all the parts of it.

5. We have a "distinct idea of God [b]," whereby we clearly enough distinguish him from the creatures; but I fear it would be presumption for us to say, we have a clear idea of him, as he is in himself.

6. The argument, that "we have the idea of infinite, "before the idea of finite, because we conceive infinite "being, barely by conceiving being, without consider-"ing, whether it be finite or infinite [c];" I shall

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[a] Reason and Religion, &c. Part II. Contemp. II. § 19. p. 197.
[b] Ibid. § 20. p. 198. [c] Ibid. § 21. p. 198.

leave to be considered, whether it is not a mistake, of priority of nature, for priority of conception.

7. "God made all things for himself[a];" therefore, we "see all things in him." This is called demonstration. As if all things were as well made for God, and mankind had not as much reason to magnify him, if their perception of things were any other way than such an one of seeing them in him; as shows not God more than the other, and wherein not one of a million takes more notice of him, than those who think they perceive things, where they are, by their senses.

8. If God should create a mind, and give it the sun, suppose, for its idea, "or immediate object of know-"ledge, God would then make that mind for the sun, "and not for himself[b]." This supposes, that those that see things in God, see at the same time God also, and thereby show that their minds are made for God, having him for the "immediate object of their know-"ledge." But for this I must appeal to common experience, whether every one, as often as he sees any thing else, sees and perceives God in the case; or whether it be not true of men, who see other things every moment, that God is not in all their thoughts? Yet, says he, "when the mind sees his works, it sees him in some "manner[c]." This some manner, is no manner at all to the purpose of being made only for God, for his idea, or for his immediate object of knowledge. A man bred up in the obscurity of a dungeon, where, by a dim and almost no light, he perceives the objects about him; it is true, he owes this idea to the light of the sun; but having never heard, nor thought of the sun, can one say that the idea of the sun is "his immediate object of "knowledge," or that therefore "his mind was made "for the sun?" This is the case of a great part of mankind; and how many can we imagine of those, who have got some notion of God, either from tradition or reason; have an idea of him present in their minds as often as they think of any thing else?

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[a] Reason and Religion, Part II. Contemp. II. § 22. p. 199.
[b] Ibid. § 22. p. 199. [c] Ibid. § 23. p. 200.

9. But if our being made for God necessarily demonstrates that we should "see all things in him;" this, at last, will demonstrate, that we are not half made for him, since it is confessed by our author, that we see no other ideas in God, but those of number, extension, and essences; which are not half the ideas that take up men's minds.

10. "The simple essences of things are nothing else "but the divine essence itself, considered with his con-"notation, as variously representative, or exhibitive of "things, and as variously imitable or participable by "them[a];" and this he tells us are ideas[b]. The meaning, I take it, of all this, put into plain intelligible words, is this; God has always a power to produce any thing that involves not a contradiction. He also knows what we can do. But what is all this to ideas in him, as real beings visible by us? God knew, from eternity, he could produce a pebble, a mushroom, and a man. Were these, which are distinct ideas, part of his simple essence? It seems then we know very well the essence of God, and use the word simple, which comprehends all sorts of variety, in a very proper way. But God knew he could produce such creatures; therefore, where shall we place those ideas he saw of them, but in his own essence? There these ideas existed "eminenter;" and so they are the essence of God. There are things themselves existed too "eminenter," and therefore all the creatures, as they really exist, are the essence of God. For if finite real beings of one kind, as ideas are said to be, are the essence of the infinite God; other finite beings, as the creatures, may be also the essence of God. But after this rate we must talk, when we will allow ourselves to be ignorant of nothing; but will know even the knowledge of God, and the way of his understanding!

11. The "essences of things, or ideas existing in "God[c]." There are many of them that exist in

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[a] Reason and Religion, Part I. Contempl. V. § 19. p. 82.
[b] Ibid. § 20. [c] Ibid. § 21. p. 83.

God; and so the simple essence of God has actually existing in it as great a variety of ideas as there are of creatures; all of them real beings, and distinct one from another. If it be said, this means, God can, and knows he can produce them; what doth this say more than every one says? If it doth say more, and shows us not this infinite number of real distinct beings in God, so as to be his very essence; what is this better than what those say, who make God to be nothing but the universe; though it be covered under unintelligible expressions of simplicity and variety, at the same time, in the essence of God? But those who would not be thought ignorant of any thing to attain it, make God like themselves; or else they could not talk as they do, of "the "mind of God, and the ideas in the mind of God, exhi-"bitive of all the whole possibility of being[a]."

12. It is "in the divine nature that these universal "natures, which are the proper objects of science, are "to be found. And consequently it is in God that we "know all the truth which we know[b]." Doth any universal nature therefore exist? Or can any thing that exists any-where, or any-how, be any other than singular? I think it cannot be denied that God, having a power to produce ideas in us, can give that power to another. or, to express it otherwise, make any idea the effect of any operation on our bodies. This has no contradiction in it, and therefore is possible. But you will say, you conceive not the way how this is done. If you stand to that rule, that it cannot be done, because you conceive not the manner how it is brought to pass; you must deny that God can do this, because you cannot conceive the manner how he produces any idea in us. If visible objects are seen only by God's exhibiting their ideas to our minds, on occasion of the presence of these objects, what hinders the Almighty from exhibiting their ideas to a blind man, to whom, being set before his face, and as near his eyes, and in as good

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[a] Reason and Religion, Part I. Contempl. V. § 30. p. 92, 93.
[b] Ibid. Part II. Contempl. II. § 30. p. 206.

a light as to one not blind, they are, according to this supposition, as much the occasional cause to one as the other? But yet under this equality of occasional causes, one has the idea, and the other not; and this constantly; which would give one reason to suspect something more than a presential occasional cause in the object.

13. Farther, if light striking upon the eyes be but the occasional cause of seeing; God, in making the eyes of so curious a structure, operates not by the simplest ways; for God could have produced visible ideas upon the occasion of light upon the eye-lids or fore-head.

14. Outward objects are not, when present, always occasional causes. He that has long continued in a room perfumed with sweet odours, ceases to smell, though the room be filled with those flowers; though, as often as after a little absence he returns again, he smells them afresh. He that comes out of bright sunshine into a room where the curtains are drawn, at first sees nothing in the room; though those who have been there some time, see him and every thing plainly. It is hard to account for either of these phenomena, by God's producing these ideas upon the account of occasional causes. But by the production of ideas in the mind, by the operation of the object on the organs of sense, this difference is easy to be explained.

15. Whether the ideas of light and colours come in by the eyes, or no; it is all one as if they did; for those who have no eyes, never have them. And whether, or no, God has appointed that a certain modified motion of the fibres, or spirits in the optic nerve, should excite or produce, or cause them in us; call it what you please: it is all one as if it did; since where there is no such motion, there is no such perception or idea. For I hope they will not deny God the privilege to give such a power to motion, if he pleases. Yes, say they, they be the occasional, but not the efficient cause; for that they cannot be, because that is in effect to say, he has given this motion in the optic nerve a power to operate on himself, but cannot give it a power to operate on the mind of man; it may by this appointment operate on himself, the impassible infinite spirit, and put him in mind when he is to operate on the mind

of man, and exhibit to it the idea which is in himself of any colour. The infinite eternal God is certainly the cause of all things, the fountain of all being and power. But, because all being was from him, can there be nothing but God himself? or, because all power was originally in him, can there be nothing of it communicated to his creatures? This is to set very narrow bounds to the power of God, and, by pretending to extend it, takes it away. For which (I beseech you, as we can comprehend) is the perfectest power; to make a machine, a watch, for example, that when the watchmaker has withdrawn his hands, shall go and strike by the fit contrivance of the parts; or else requires that whenever the hand by pointing to the hours, minds him of it, he should strike twelve upon the bell? No machine of God's making can go of itself. Why? because the creatures have no power; can neither move themselves, nor any thing else. How then comes about all that we see? Do they do nothing? Yes, they are the occasional causes to God, why he should produce certain thoughts and motions in them. The creatures cannot produce any idea, any thought in man. How then comes he to perceive or think? God upon the occasion of some motion in the optic nerve, exhibits the colour of a marygold or a rose to his mind. How came that motion in his optic nerve? On occasion of the motion of some particles of light striking on the retina, God producing it, and so on. And so whatever a man thinks God produces the thought; let it be infidelity, murmuring, or blasphemy. The mind doth nothing; his mind is only the mirrour that receives the ideas that God exhibits to it, and just as God exhibits them; the man is altogether passive in the whole business of thinking.

16. A man cannot move his arm or his tongue; he has no power; only upon occasion, the man willing it, God moves it. The man wills, he doth something; or else God, upon the occasion of something, which he himself did before, produced this will, and this action in him. This is the hypothesis that clears doubts, and brings us at last to the religion of Hobbes and Spinosa,

by resolving all, even the thoughts and will of men, into an irresistible fatal necessity. For whether the original of it be from the continued motion of eternal all-doing matter, or from an omnipotent immaterial being which, having begun matter, and motion, continues it by the direction of occasions which he himself has also made; as to religion and morality, it is just the same thing. But we must know how every thing is brought to pass, and thus we have it resolved, without leaving any difficulty to perplex us. But perhaps it would better become us to acknowledge our ignorance, than to talk such things boldly of the Holy One of Israel, and condemn others for not daring to be as unmannerly as ourselves.

17. Ideas may be real beings, though not substances; as motion is a real being, though not a substance; and it seems probable that, in us, ideas depend on, and are some way or other the effect of motion: since they are so fleeting; it being, as I have elsewhere observed, so hard, and almost impossible, to keep in our minds the same unvaried idea, long together, unless when the object that produces it is present to the senses; from which the same motion that first produced it being continued, the idea itself may continue.

18. This therefore may be a sufficient excuse of the ignorance I have owned of what our ideas are, any farther than as they are perceptions we experiment in ourselves; and the dull unphilosophical way I have taken of examining their production, only so far as experience and observation lead me; wherein my dim sight went not beyond sensation and reflection.

19. Truth [a] lies only in propositions. The foundation of this truth is the relation that is between our ideas. The knowledge of truth is that perception of the relation between our ideas to be as it is expressed.

20. The immutability of essences lies in the same sounds, supposed to stand for the same ideas. These

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[a] See Reason and Religion, &c. Part II. Contempl. II. § 29. p. 204.

things consider, would have saved this learned discourse.

21. Whatever exists, whether in God, or out of God, is singular [a].

22. If no proposition should be made, there would be no truth nor falsehood; though the same relations still subsisting between the same ideas, is a foundation of the immutability of truth [b] in the same propositions, whenever made.

23. What wonder is it that the same idea [c] should always be the same idea? For if the word triangle be supposed to have the same signification always, that is all this amounts to.

24. "I desire to know [d] what things they are "that God has prepared for them that love him." Therefore I have some knowledge of them already, though they be such as "eye hath not seen, nor ear "heard, nor have entered into the heart of man to "conceive."

25. If I "have all things actually present to my "mind;" why do I not know all things distinctly?

26. He that considers [e] the force of such ways of speaking as these, "I desire it, pray give it me, she was "afraid of the snake, and ran away trembling;" will easily conceive how the meaning of the words "de-"sire" and "fear," and so all those which stand for intellectual notions, may be taught by words of sensible significations.

27. This, however otherwise in experience, should be so on this hypothesis; v. g. the uniformity of the ideas, that different men have when they use such words as these, "glory, worship, religion," are clear proofs that, "God exhibited to their minds that part of the "ideal world, as is signified by that sign."

28. Strange! that truth being, in any question, but one; the more we discover of it, the more uniform our judgment should be about it [f].

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[a] See Reason and Religion, Part II. Contempl. II. § 30. p. 206.
[b] Ibid. § 32. p. 207.
[c] Ibid. § 33. p. 208, 209.
[d] Ibid. § 34. p. 210.
[e] Ibid. § 35. p. 211, 212, 213.
[f] Ibid. § 36. p. 214.

29. This argues that the ground of it is the always immutable relations of the same ideas. Several ideas that we have once got acquainted with, we can revive; and so they are present to us when we please. But the knowledge of their relations, so as to know what we may affirm or deny of them, is not always present to our minds; but we often miss truth, even after study. But in many, and possibly not the fewest, we have neither the ideas, nor the truth, constantly, or so much as at all, present to our minds.

And I think I may without any disparagement to the author, doubt whether he ever had, or, with all his application, ever would have, the ideas of truth present to the mind, that Mr. Newton had in writing his book.

30. This section [g] supposes we are better acquainted with God's understanding than our own. But this pretty argument would perhaps look as smilingly thus: We are like God in our understandings: he sees what he sees, by ideas in his own mind; therefore we see what we see, by ideas that are in our own minds.

31. These texts [h] do not prove that we shall "hereafter see all things in God." There will be objects in a future state, and we shall have bodies and senses.

32. Is he, whilst we see through the veil of our mortal flesh here, intimately present to our minds?

33. To think of any thing [i] is to contemplate that precise idea. The idea of Being, in general, is the idea of Being abstracted from whatever may limit or determine it to any inferior species; so that he that thinks always of being in general, thinks never of any particular species of being; unless he can think of it with and without precision at the same time. But if he means, that he thinks of being in general, whenever he thinks of this or that particular being, or sort of being; then it is certain he may always think of being

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[g] See Reason and Religion, Part II. Contempl. II. § 37. p. 215.
[h] Ibid. § 38. p. 216, 217. [i] Ibid. § 39. p. 217, 218.

in general, till he can find out a way of thinking on nothing.

34. Being in general, is being [k] abstracted from wisdom, goodness, power, and any particular sort of duration; and I have as true an idea of being, when these are excluded out of it, as when extension, place, solidity, and mobility, are excluded out of my idea. And therefore, if being in general, and God, be the same, I have a true idea of God, when I exclude out of it power, goodness, wisdom, and eternity.

35. As if there was no difference [l] between "man's being his own light," and "not seeing things "in God." Man may be enlightened by God, though it be not by "seeing all things in God."

The finishing of these hasty thoughts must be deferred to another season.

Oates, 1693. JOHN LOCKE.

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[k] Reason and Religion, Part II. Contempl. II. § 40. p. 219.
[l] Ibid. § 43. p. 223.

SEVERAL

LETTERS

TO

ANHT. COLLINS, Esq.

AND

OTHER PERSONS.

A Letter from Mr. Locke to Mr. Oldenburgh, concerning a poisonous Fish about the Bahama Islands.

SIR,

I HEREWITH send you an account, I lately received from New Providence, one of the Bahama Islands, concerning a fish there; which is as followeth:

" I have not met with any rarities here, worth your " acceptance, though I have been diligent in inquiring " after them. Of those, which I have heard of, this " seems most remarkable to me. The fish, which are " here, are many of them poisonous, bringing a great " pain on their joints who eat them, and continue " for some short time; and at last, with two or three " days itching, the pain is rubbed off. Those of the " same species, size, shape, colour, taste, are, one of " them poison; the other not in the least hurtful: and " those that are, only to some of the company, The " distemper to men never proves mortal. Dogs and " cats sometimes eat their last. Men, who have once

" had that disease, upon the eating of fish, though it " be those which are wholesome, the poisonous ferment " in their body is revived thereby, and their pain in- " creased."

Thus far the ingenious person, from whom I had this relation, who having been but a very little while upon the island, when he writ this, could not send so perfect an account of this odd observation, as one could wish, or as I expect to receive from him, in answer to some queries I lately sent him by a ship bound thither. When his answer comes to my hand, if there be any thing in it, which may gratify your curiosity, I shall be glad of that or any other occasion to assure you that I am,

SIR, Your most humble servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

A Letter to Anthony Collins, Esq.

SIR, Oates, 4 May, 1703.

NONE of your concerns are of indifference to me. You may from thence conclude I take part in your late great loss. But I consider you as a philosopher, and a christian; aud so spare you the trouble of reading from me, what your own thoughts will much better suggest to you.

You have exceedingly obliged me, in the books of yours that you have sent me, and those of mine you have been at so much trouble about. I received but just now the packet, wherein they and your obliging letter were; that must be my excuse for so tardy a return of my thanks.

I am overjoyed with an intimation I have received also, that gives me hopes of seeing you here the next week. You are a charitable good friend, and are resolved to make the decays and dregs of my life the pleasantest part of it. For I know nothing calls me so

much back to a pleasant sense of enjoyment, and makes my days so gay and lively, as your good company. Come then, and multiply happy minutes upon, and rejoice here in the good you do me. For I am, with a perfect esteem and respect,

SIR,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

To the same.

SIR, Oates, 3 June, 1703.

IT is not enough to have heard from my cousin King[m] that you got safe to town, or from others that you were since well there. I am too much concerned in it, not to inquire of yourself, how you do. Besides that I owe you my thanks, for the greatest favour I can receive, the confirmation of your friendship, by the visit I lately received from you. If you knew what satisfaction I feel spread over my mind by it, you would take this acknowledgment as coming from something beyond civility; my heart goes with it, and that you may be sure of; and so useless a thing as I am have nothing else to offer you.

As a mark that I think we are past ceremony, I here send you a new book[n] in quires, with a desire you will get it bound by your binder. In the parts of good binding, besides folding, beating, and sewing, will I count strong pasteboards, and as large margins as the paper will possibly afford; and, for lettering, I desire it should be upon the same leather blacked, and barely the name of the author, as, in this case, Vossius.

Pardon this liberty, and believe me with perfect sincerity and respect, &c.

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[m] Sir Peter King.

[n] "G. J. Vossii Etymologicum Linguæ Latinæ." Amstelodami 1695.

To the same.

SIR, Oates, 18 June, 1703.

IT would be strange, if after all those marks of friendship and esteem I have received from you, in the little time I have had the honour of your acquaintance, I should quarrel with you; and should repay the continuance of your good offices, employed even in things beneath you, with grumbling at you; and yet this I can hardly forbear to do. Do not, I beseech you, take this to be altogether ill-nature, but a due estimate of what I enjoy in you. And, since upon just measures I count it the great treasure of my life, I cannot with patience hear you talk of condescension in me, when I stick not to waste your time in looking after the binding of my books. If you please let us live upon fairer terms; and when you oblige me, give me leave to be sensible of it. And pray remember, that there is one Mr. Collins, with whom, if I desire to live upon equal terms, it is not that I forget how much he is superiour to me, in many things wherein he will always have the precedency; but I assume it upon the account of that friendship that is between us; friendship levelling all inequalities between those whom it joins, that it may leave nothing that may keep them at a distance, and hinder a perfect union and enjoyment.

This is what I would be at with you; and were I not in earnest in it, out of a sincere love of you, I would not be so foolish to rob myself of the only way wherein I might pretend to enter the lists with you. I am old and useless, and out of the way; all the real services are then like to be on your side. In words, expressions, and acknowledgment, there might have been perhaps some room to have made some offers of holding up to you. But I desire that nothing of the court guise may mix in our conversation. Put not, I beseech you, any thing into your letters to make me forget how much I am obliged to you by the liberty you allow me to tell you that I am, &c.

To the same.

SIR, Oates, 24 June, 1703.

MR. BOLD[o], who leaves us to-day, intends to see you; and I cannot forbear going, as far as I can, to make the third in the company. Would my health second my desires, not only my name, and a few words of friendship, should go with him to you; but I myself would get to horse; and had I nothing else to do in town, I should think it worth a longer journey than it is thither, to see and enjoy you. But I must submit to the restraints of old age, and expect that happiness from your charity.

It is but six days since, that I writ to you; and see here another letter. You are like to be troubled with me. If it be so, why do you make yourself beloved? Why do you make yourself so necessary to me? I thought myself pretty loose from the world, but I feel you begin to fasten me to it again. For you make my life, since I have had your friendship, much more valuable to me than it was before.

You thanked me in your last, for the employment I gave you; I wish I do not make you repent it; for you are likely to have my custom. I desire you would do me the favour to get me Dr. Barrow's English works, bound as Vossius's Etymologicum was. I am in no manner of haste for them, and therefore you may get them from your bookseller in quires, when you go to his shop upon any other occasion; and put them to your binder at leisure. I have them for my own use

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[o] Mr. Samuel Bold died in August 1737, aged 88. He had been rector of Steeple, in Dorsetshire, 56 years. He was author of several books; and among others, some in defence of Mr. Locke's "Essay "concerning Human Understanding," and his "Reasonableness of "Christianity." He was imprisoned and persecuted in the reign of James II. for a sermon against persecution, and for a pamphlet intitled, "A Plea for Moderation;" doctrines which neither the court nor prelates of those times could bear. He was a man of true learning and genuine piety, of sound doctrine and most exemplary life; a most useful man in his station, and a zealous promoter of true religion.

already; these are to give away to a young lady here in the country. When they are bound, I desire your binder would pack them up carefully, and cover them with paper enough to keep their corners and edges from being hurt in the carriage. For carriers are a sort of brutes, and declared enemies to books. I am, &c.

To the same.

SIR, Oates, 9 July, 1703.

YOURS, of the 30th of June, I received just now, and cannot forbear a moment to tell you, that if there were any thing in my last letter, that gave you an occasion, after having mentioned disguise, to say, you "have made use of no way to show your esteem of me, "but still your heart went with it," I am very sorry for it. For, however I might think the expressions in your letter above what I could deserve, yet my blaming your excess of civility to me tended not to any doubt of the sincerity of your affection. Had I not been secure of that, I could not have talked to you with the same freedom I did, nor have endeavoured to persuade you, that you were lodged so near my heart as you are. Though my friendship be of very little value, or use; yet being the best thing I have to give, I shall not forwardly bestow it, where I do not think there is worth and sincerity; and therefore, pray, pardon me the forwardness wherewith I throw my arms about your neck; and holding you so, tell you, you must not hope, by any thing that looks like compliment, to keep me at a civiler, and more fashionable distance.

You comply with me, I see, by the rest of your letter; and you bear with my treating you with the familiarity of an established friendship. You pretend you have got the advantage by it. I wish it may be so; for I should be very glad there were any thing, wherein I could be useful to you. Find it out, I beseech you; and tell me of it, with as little ceremony and scruple, as you see I use with you.

The New Testament, you mention [p], I shall be glad to see, since Mr. Bold has told you how desirous I was to see it. I have expected one of them from Holland ever since they have been out; and so I hope to restore it to you again in a few days.

The other book, you mentioned [q], I have seen; and am so well satisfied, by his 5th section, what a doughty 'squire he is like to prove in the rest, that I think not to trouble myself to look farther into him. He has there argued very weakly against his adversary, but very strongly against himself.

But this will be better entertainment for you when we meet, than matter for a letter, wherein I make it my business to assure you, that I am, &c.

To the same.

SIR, Oates, 10 September, 1703.

YOURS of the 7th, which I just now received, is the only letter I have a long time wished for, and the welcomest that could come; for I longed to hear that you were well, that you were returned, and that I might have the opportunity to return you my thanks for the books you sent me, which came safe; and to acknowledge my great obligations to you for one of the most villainous books, that, I think, ever was printed [r]. It is a present that I highly value. I had heard something of it, when a young man in the university; but

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[p] Mr. Le Clerc's French Translation of the New Testament.

[q] "Psychologia; or, an Account of the Nature of the Rational Soul," &c. By John Broughton, M. A. Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough. Lond. 1703, in 8vo.

[r] Chillingworthi Novissima. Or the sickness, heresy, death, and burial of William Chillingworth, (in his own phrase,) clerk, of Oxford, and in the conceit of his fellow-soldiers, the Queen's arch-engineer and grand-intelligencer.... By Francis Cheynell, late fellow of Merton College. Lond. 1644, in 4to. See the article of Mr. Chillingworth, in my "Attempt towards an historical and critical "English Dictionary."

possibly should never have seen this quintessence of railing, but for your kindness. It ought to be kept as the pattern and standard of that sort of writing, as the man he spends it upon, for that of good temper, and clear and strong arguing. I am, &c.

To the same.

SIR, Oates, 1 October, 1703.

YOU are a good man, and one may depend upon your promise. This makes me pass my days in comfortable hopes, when I remember you are not far off. I have your word for it, and that is better than city-security. But for fear villainous business should impertinently step in again, between you and your kind purposes to us here; give me leave to beg the favour of you, that if you write again, before I have the happiness to see you, you will do me the favour to send me a note of what you have laid out for me, that I may pay you that part of the debt I am able, of what I owe you, and may not have so much to interrupt the advantages I am to reap from your conversation, when you honour me with your company, as an apology to be made, if I am not out of your debt before we meet.

Doth Mr. Le Clerc's New Testament make any noise amongst the men of letters or divinity in your town? The divines of Brandenburg or Cleve have got the king of Prussia to prohibit it in his dominions; and the Walloon divines in Holland are soliciting the same at the Hague, but it is thought will not prevail[a]. I have not yet heard what are the exceptions made in particular, either by the one, or the other. If there be need of authentic interpreters of the word of God, what is the way to find them out? That is worth your thinking of, unless you would have every one interpret for himself;

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[a] See Mr. Bayle's "Entretiens de Maxime et de Themiste; ou "Response à ce que Mr. Le Clerc a ecrit dans son X. tome de la "Bibliotheque Choisie contre Mr. Bayle." A Rotterdam 1707, in 8vo. page 70 & suiv.

and what work would that make? Betwixt these two, find something if you can; for the world is in want of peace, which is much better than everlasting Billingsgate.

I thought not to have troubled you with hard questions, or any thing that should have required a serious thought, any farther than what day you should pitch on to come hither. But everlasting wrangilng, and calling of names, is so odious a thing, that you will pardon me, if it puts me out of temper a little. But I think of you, and some few such as you in the world, and that reconciles me to it; or else it would not be worth staying in an hour. I am, &c.

A Letter to the Lady Calverley in Yorkshire.

MADAM,

WHATEVER reason you have to look on me, as one of the slow men of London, you have this time given me an excuse for being so; for you cannot expect a quick answer to a letter, which took me up a good deal of time to get to the beginning of it. I turned and turned it on every side; looked at it again and again, at the top of every page; but could not get into the sense and secret of it, till I applied myself to the middle.

You, madam, who are acquainted with all the skill and methods of the ancients, have not, I suppose, taken up with this hieroglyphical way of writing for nothing; and since you were going to put into your letter things that might be the reward of the highest merit, you would, by this mystical intimation, put me into the way of virtue, to deserve them.

But whatever your ladyship intended, this is certain, that, in the best words in the world, you gave me the greatest humiliation imaginable. Had I as much vanity as a pert citizen, that sets up for a wit in his parish, you have said enough in your letter to content me; and if I could be swoln that way, you have taken a great deal of pains to blow me up, and make me the finest gaudy

bubble in the world, as I am painted by your colours. I know the emperors of the East suffer not strangers to appear before them, till they are dressed up out of their own wardrobes; is it so too in the empire of wit? and must you cover me with your own embroidery, that I may be a fit object for your thoughts and conversation? This, madam, may suit your greatness, but doth not at all satisfy my ambition. He, who has once flattered himself with the hopes of your friendship, knows not the true value of things, if he can content himself with these splendid ornaments.

As soon as I had read your letter, I looked in my glass, felt my pulse, and sighed; for I found, in neither of those, the promises of thirty years to come. For at the rate I have hitherto advanced, and at the distance, I see, by this complimental way of treatment, I still am, I shall not have time enough in this world to get to you. I do not mean to the place where you now see the pole elevated, as you say, 54 degrees. A post-horse, or a coach, would quickly carry me thither. But when shall we be acquainted at this rate? Is that happiness reserved to be completed by the gossiping bowl, at your grand-daughter's lying-in?

If I were sure that, when you leave this dirty place, I should meet you in the same star where you are to shine next, and that you would then admit me to your conversation, I might perhaps have a little more patience. But, methinks, it is much better to be sure of something, than to be put off to expectations of so much uncertainty. If there be different elevations of the pole here, that keep you at so great a distance from those who languish in your absence; who knows but, in the other world, there are different elevations of persons? And you, perhaps, will be out of sight, among the seraphims, while we are left behind in some dull planet. This the high flights of your elevated genius give us just augury of, whilst you are here. But yet, pray take not your place there before your time; nor keep not us poor mortals at a greater distance than you need. When you have granted me all the nearness that acquaintance and friendship can give, you have

other advantages enough still to make me see how much I am beneath you. This will be only an enlargement of your goodness, without lessening the adoration due to your other excellencies.

You seem to have some thoughts of the town again. If the parliament, or the term, which draw some by the name and appearance of business; or if company, and music meetings, and other such entertainments, which have the attractions of pleasure and delight, were of any consideration with you; you would not have much to say for Yorkshire, at this time of the year. But these are no arguments to you, who carry your own satisfaction, and I know not how many worlds always about you. I would be glad you would think of putting all these up in a coach, and bringing them this way. For though you should be never the better; yet there be a great many here that would, and amongst them

The humblest of your ladyship's servants,

JOHN LOCKE.

A Letter to Anthony Collins, Esq.

SIR, Oates, October 29, 1703.

YOU, in yours of the 21st, say a great many very kind things: and I believe all that you say; and yet I am not very well satisfied with you. And how then is it possible to please you? will you be ready to say. Think that I am as much pleased with your company, as much obliged by your conversation, as you are by mine; and you set me at rest, and I am the most satisfied man in the world. You complain of a great many defects; and that very complaint is the highest recommendation I could desire, to make me love and esteem you, and desire your friendship. And if I were now setting out in the world, I should think it my great happiness to have such a companion as you, who had a true relish of truth, would in earnest seek it with me, from whom I might receive it undisguised, and to whom I might communicate what I thought true freely.

Believe it, my good friend, to love truth, for truth's sake, is the principal part of human perfection in this world, and the seed-plot of all other virtues; and if I mistake not, you have as much of it as ever I met with in any body. What then is there wanting to make you equal to the best; a friend for any one to be proud of? Would you have me take upon me, because I have the start of you in the number of years, and be supercilious, conceited, for having in a long ramble travelled some countries, which a young voyager has not yet had time to see, and from whence one may be sure he will bring larger collections of solid knowledge?

In good earnest, Sir, when I consider how much of my life has been trifled away in beaten tracts, where I vamped on with others, only to follow those that went before us; I cannot but think I have just as much reason to be proud, as if I had travelled all England, and (if you will) France too, only to acquaint myself with the roads, and be able to tell how the highways lie, wherein those of equipage, and even the herd too, travel.

Now, methinks, (and these are often old men's dreams,) I see openings to truth, and direct paths leading to it; wherein a little industry and application would settle one's mind with satisfaction, even in those matters which you mention, and leave no darkness or doubt, even with the most scrupulous. But this is at the end of my day, when my sun is setting. And though the prospect it has given me be what I would not, for any thing, be without; there is so much irresistible truth, beauty, and consistency, in it; yet it is, for one of your age, I think I ought to say for yourself, to set about it, as a work you would put into order, and oblige the world with.

You see whither my just thoughts of you have led me; and that I shall have no quarrel with you, if you will cease to set me, as you do, on the higher ground, and to think that I have not as much pleasure and satisfaction from your company as you have from mine. If I were able to live in your neighbourhood in town, I should quickly convince you of that; and you escape being haunted by me only by being out of my reach.

A little better acquaintance will let you see that, in the communication of truth, between those who receive it in the love of it, he that answers, is no less obliged, than he who asks the question; and therefore you owe me not those mighty thanks you send me, for having the good luck to say something that pleased you. If it were good seed, I am sure it was soon in good ground, and may expect great increase.

I think you have a familiar, ready to dispatch what you undertake for your friends. How is it possible else, you should so soon procure for me Kircher's Concordance? "Show me the man, and I will show you his "cause;" will hold now-a-days almost in all other cases, as well as that of προσκυνεῖν[t]; and yet they must be all thought lovers and promoters of truth. But my letter is too long already, to enter into so copious a subject.

I am, &c.

To the same.

SIR, Oates, Nov. 16, 1703.

IF I ask you, how you do; it is because I am concerned for your health. If I ask you, whether you have sent me any books since you went to town; it is not that I am in haste for them, but to know how the carrier uses me. And if I ask, whether you are of Lincoln's-Inn; it is to know of what place you write yourself, which I desire you to tell me in your next, and what good new books there are. I am, &c.

To the same.

SIR, Oates, Nov. 17, 1703.

THE books I received from you to-night, with the kind letter accompanying them, far more valuable than

[t] Mr. Locke had been informed that one of the objections of the Walloon divines, against Mr. Le Clerc's New Testament, was his translating προσκυνεῖν in St. Matthew (Chap. II. v. 2.) so as to signify the civil, but not religious, worship of the wise men.

the books, give matter of enlarging myself this evening. The common offices of friendship, that I constantly receive from you, in a very obliging manner, give me scope enough, and afford me large matter of acknowledgment. But when I think of you, I feel something of nearer concernment that touches me; and that noble principle of the love of truth, which possesses you, makes me almost forget those other obligations, which I should be very thankful for to another.

In good earnest, sir, you cannot think what a comfort it is to me to have found out such a man; and not only so, but I have the satisfaction that he is my friend. This gives a gusto to all the good things you say to me, in your letter. For though I cannot attribute them to myself, (for I know my own defects too well,) yet I am ready to persuade myself you mean as you say; and to confess the truth to you, I almost loathe to undeceive you, so much do I value your good opinion.

But to set it upon the right ground, you must know that I am a poor ignorant man, and, if I have any thing to boast of, it is that I sincerely love and seek truth, with indifferency whom it pleases or displeases. I take you to be of the same school, and so embrace you. And if it please God to afford me so much life as to see you again, I shall communicate to you some of my thoughts tending that way.

You need not make any apology for any book that is not yet come. I thank you for those you have sent me; they are more, I think, than I shall use; for the indisposition of my health has beaten me almost quite out of the use of books; and the growing uneasiness of my distemper[a] makes me good for nothing. I am, &c.

To the same.

SIR, Oates, January 24, 1703-4.

TILL your confidence in my friendship, and freedom with me, can preserve you from thinking you have need

[a] An asthma.

to make apologies for your silence, whenever you omit a post or two, when in your kind way of reckoning, you judge a letter to be due; you know me not so well as I could wish; nor am I so little burthensome to you as I desire. I could be pleased to hear from you every day; because the very thoughts of you, every day, afford me pleasure and satisfaction. But I beseech you to believe, that I measure not your kindness by your opportunities of writing; nor do suspect that your friendship flattens, whenever your pen lies a little still. The sincerity you profess, and I am convinced of, has charms in it, against all the little phantoms of ceremony. If it be not so, that true friendship sets one free from a scrupulous observance of all those little circumstances, I shall be able to give but a very ill account of myself to my friends; to whom, when I have given possession of my heart, I am less punctual in making of legs, and kissing my hand, than to other people to whom that out-side civility is all that belongs.

I received the three books you sent me. That which the author sent me [a] deserves my acknowledgment more ways than one; and I must beg you to return it. His demonstrations are so plain, that, if this were an age that followed reason, I should not doubt but his would prevail. But to be rational is so glorious a thing, that two-legged creatures generally content themselves with the title; but will not debase so excellent a faculty, about the conduct of so trivial a thing, as they make themselves.

There never was a man better suited to your wishes than I am. You take a pleasure in being troubled with my commissions; and I have no other way of commerce with you, but by such importunities. I can only say, that, were the tables changed, I should, being in your place, have the same satisfaction; and therefore confidently make use of your kind offer. I therefore beg the favour of you to get me Mr. Le Clerc's "Harmony "of the Evangelists" in English, bound very finely in

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[a] "Reasons against restraining the press." Lond. 1704, in 4to.

calf, gilt, and lettered on the back, and gilt on the leaves. So also I would have Moliere's works (of the best edition you can get them) bound. These books are for ladies; and therefore I would have them fine, and the leaves gilt as well as the back. Moliere of the Paris edition, I think is the best, if it can be got in London in quires. You see the liberty I take. I should be glad you could find out something for me to do for you here. I am perfectly, &c.

To the same.

SIR, Oates, Feb. 7, 1703-4.

IT is with regret I consider you so long in Essex, without enjoying you any part of the time. Essex, methinks, (pardon the extravagancy, extraordinary passions and cases excuse it,) when you are to go into it, should all be Oates; and your journey be no whither, but thither. But land and tenements say other things, whilst we have carcases that must be clothed and fed; and books, you know, the fodder of our understandings. cannot be had without them. What think you? are not those spirits in a fine state that need none of all this luggage; that live without ploughing and sowing; travel as easy as we wish; and inform themselves, not by a tiresome rummaging in the mistakes and jargon of pretenders to knowledge, but by looking into things themselves?

Sir, I forgot you had an estate in the country, a library in town, friends every-where, amongst which you are to while away, as pleasantly, I hope, as any one of this our planet, a large number of years (if my wishes may prevail) yet to come; and am got, I know not how, into remote visions, that help us not in our present state, though they show us something of a better. To return therefore to myself and you, I conclude, by this time, you are got to town again, and then, in a little time, I shall hear from you. I am, &c.

To the same.

SIR, Oates, Feb. 21, 1703-4.

I MUST acknowledge it as an effect of your zeal to serve me, that you have sent me Le Clerc's Harmony, and Moliere's works, by the Bishop-Stortford coach; and I return you my thanks as much as if it exactly answered my purpose. I ought not to think it strange, that you in town, amidst a hurry of business, should not keep precisely in mind my little affairs; when I here, where I have nothing to disturb my thoughts, do so often forget. When I wrote to you to do me the favour to get these books for me carefully bound, I think I made it my request to you, I am sure I intended it, to write word when they were done, and then I would acquaint you how they were to be disposed of; for the truth is, they were to be disposed of in town. But whether I only meant this, and said nothing; or you forgot it; the matter is not much. I expect to receive the books to-morrow, and shall do well enough with them.

I should not have taken notice of this to you at all, did I not intend it for an excuse for an ill-mannered thing, very necessary in business, which perhaps you will find me use with you for the future; which is, to repeat the little circumstances of business which are apt to be forgotten in every letter till the danger be over. This, if you observe to do, will prevent many cross accidents in your affairs; I assure it you upon experience.

I desire you to stop your hand a little, and forbear putting to the press the two discourses you mention [a]. They are very touchy subjects at this time; and that good man, who is the author, may, for aught I know, be crippled by those, who will be sure to be offended

[a] "A discourse concerning the resurrection of the same body, with "two letters concerning the necessary immateriality of a created think-"ing substance." These pieces, written by Mr. Bold, were printed at London, 1705, in 8vo.

at him, right or wrong. Remember what you say, a little lower in your letter, in the case of another friend of yours, " that in the way of reason they are not to be " dealt with."

It will be a kindness to get a particular account of those proceedings[a]; but therein must be contained the day, the names of those present, and the very words of the order or resolution; and to learn, if you can, from whence it had its rise. When these particulars are obtained, it will be fit to consider what use to make of them. In the mean time I take what has been done, as a recommendation of that book to the world, as you do; and I conclude, when you and I meet next, we shall be merry upon the subject. For this is certain, that because some men wink, or turn away their heads, and will not see, others will not consent to have their eyes put out. I am, &c.

To the same.

SIR, Oates, Feb. 24, 1703-4.

YOU know me not yet as you ought, if you do not think I live with you with the same confidence I do with myself, and with the same sincerity of affection too. This makes me talk to you with the same freedom I think; which though it has not all the ceremony of good breeding, yet it makes amends with something more substantial, and is of better relish in the stomach. Believe it, therefore, that you need not trouble yourself with apologies for having sent the books hither. You have obliged me as much by it, as you could by any thing of that nature, which I had desired; neither need you be concerned for the future. It

[a] It was proposed, at a meeting of the heads of the houses of the university of Oxford, to censure and discourage the reading of Mr Locke's " Essay concerning Human Understanding;" and, after various debates among themselves, it was concluded, that each head of a house should endeavour to prevent its being read in his college, without coming to any public censure.

is convenient to make it a rule not to let one's friends forget little circumstances, whereby such cross purposes sometimes happen; but when they do happen between friends, they are to be made matter of mirth.

The gentleman that writ you the letter, which you sent to me, is an extraordinary man, and the fittest in the world to go on with that inquiry. Pray, let him, at any rate, get the precise time, the persons present, and the minutes of the register taken of their proceedings; and this without noise, or seeming concern to have them, as much as may be; and I would beg you not to talk of this matter, till we have got the whole matter of fact, which will be a pleasant story, and of good use.

I wish the books, you mentioned[a], were not gone to the press, and that they might not be printed; for when they are printed, I am sure they will get abroad; and then it will be too late to wish it had not been so. However, if the fates will have it so, and their printing cannot be avoided; yet, at least, let care be taken to conceal his name. I doubt not of his reasoning right, and making good his points; but what will that boot, if he and his family should be disturbed or diseased?

I shall, as you desire, send Moliere, and Le Clerc, back to you, by the first opportunity. I am, with perfect sincerity and respect, &c.

To the same.

SIR, Oates, 28 February, 1703-4.

I SAW the packet was exactly well made up, and I knew the books in it were well bound; whereupon I let it alone, and was likely to have sent it back to you unopened; but my good genius would not suffer me to lose a letter of yours in it, which I value more than all the books it accompanied. Since my last therefore to you, I opened the packet, and therein found yours of the 16th instant, which makes me love and value you, if it were

[a] Mr. Bold's Treatises mentioned in the preceding letter.

possible, more than I did before: you having therein, in short, so well described, wherein the happiness of a rational creature in this world consists; though there are very few that make any other use of their half employed and undervalued reason, but to bandy against it. It is well as you observe, that they agree as ill with one another as they do with common sense. For when, by the influence of some prevailing head, they all lean one way; truth is sure to be borne down, and there is nothing so dangerous, as to make any inquiry after her; and to own her, for her own sake, is a most unpardonable crime.

You ask me how I like the binding of Moliere, and Le Clerc. You will wonder to hear me say, not at all; but you must take the other part of my answer, which is, nor do I dislike it. It is probable, that this yet doth not satisfy you, after you have taken such especial care with your binder, that they should be exactly well done. Know then, that upon moving the first book, having luckily espied your letter, I only just looked into it to see the Paris print of Moliere; and without so much as taking it out of the paper it was wrapped up in, cast my eye upon the cover, which looked very fine, and curiously done, and so put it up again, hasting to your letter. This was examining more than enough, of books whose binding you had told me you had taken care of; and more than enough, for a man who had your letter in his hand unopened.

Pray send me word what you think or hear of Dr. Pitt's last book [a]. For as for the first of the other authors you mention [b], by what I have seen of him already, I can easily think his arguments not worth your reciting. And as for the other, though he has parts, yet that is

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[a] "The Antidote; or the preservative of health and life, and the "restorative of physic to its sincerity and perfection; &c. By R. Pitt, "M. D. fellow and censor of the college of physicians, &c." Lond 1704, 8vo.

[b] "The grand essay; or a vindication of reason and religion, against "the imposture of philosophy, &c." Lond. 1704, in 8vo.

not all which I require in an author I am covetous of, and expect to find satisfaction in.

Pray, forget not to write to your friend in Oxford, to the purpose I mentioned in my last to you. I am, &c.

To the same.

SIR, Oates, 6 March, 1703-4.

WERE you of Oxenford itself, bred under those sharp heads, which were for damning my book, because of its discouraging the staple commodity of the place; which in my time was called hogs-shearing, (which is, as I hear, given out for the cause of their decree); you could not be a more subtle disputant than you are. You do every thing that I desire of you, with the utmost care and concern; and because I understand and accept it so, you contend that you are the party obliged. This, I think, requires some of the most refined logic to make good; and if you will have me believe it, you must forbid me too to read my own book, and oblige me to take to my help more learned and scholastic notions. But the mischief is, I am too old to go to school again; and too resty now to study arts, however authorized, or wherever taught, to impose upon my own understanding. Let me therefore, if you please, be sensible of your kindness; and I give you leave to please yourself, with my interpreting them as I ought, as much as you think fit. For it would be hard in me to deny you so small a satisfaction, where I receive so great and real advantage.

To convince you, that you are not like to lose what you so much value, and is all you can expect in our commerce, I put into your hands a fresh opportunity of doing something for me, which I shall have reason to take well. I have this day sent back the bundle of books. I have taken what care I can to secure them from any harm, that might threaten them in the carriage. For I should be extremely vexed that books, so curiously finished by your care, should be in the least

injured, or lose any thing of their perfect beauty, till they came to the hands, for whom they are designed.

You have you see by your kind offer drawn upon yourself a farther trouble with them, which was designed for my cousin King. But he setting out for the circuit to-morrow morning, I must beg you that may be my excuse for taking this liberty with you. Moliere's works are for the countess of Peterborough, which I desire you to present to her from me, with the enclosed for her, and my most humble service. I am in truth, &c.

To the same.

SIR, Oates, 13 March, 1703-4.

IF the disputers of this world were but half so good at doing as you, the mart of logic and syllogisms would no doubt be the only place for the young fry "ad capiendum ingenii cultum;" (pardon, I beseech you, this scrap of Latin, my thoughts were in a place that authorises it, and one cannot chop logic half so well in unlearned modern vulgar languages.) But the traders in subtilty have not your way of recommending it, by turning it into substantial solidity, whereby you prevail so much on me, that I can scarce avoid being persuaded by you, that when I send you of a jaunt beyond Piccadilly, you are the person obliged, and I ought to expect thanks of you for it. Excuse me, I entreat you, if, for decency's sake, I stop a little short of that; and let it satisfy you, that I believe, nay such is the power of your logic, that I cannot help believing, that you spare no pains for your friends, and that you take a pleasure in doing me kindness. All that remains for me to ask of you, is to do me this right in your turn, to believe I am not insensible of your favours, and know how to value such a friend.

Though you saw not my lady, when you delivered Moliere and my letter at her house; yet had you no message from her? Or did you not go in, or stay, when you heard she was indisposed?

Mr. Le Clerc's Harmony is for Mr. Secretary Johnston's lady. The book sent to his lodgings, with a note to inform him, that it is for his lady from me, will do the business; so that for this errand, I am glad your servant is sufficient without sending you; for you must give me leave sometimes on such occasions to be a little stingy, and sparing of my favours.

I perceive, by the enclosed you did me the favour to send me, that those worthy heads are not yet grown up to perfect infallibility. I am sorry however that their mighty thoughts wanted utterance. However, I would very gladly know the true matter of fact, and what was really proposed, resolved, or done; this, if possible, I would be assured of, that I might not be mistaken in what gratitude I ought to have.

You baulked my having the bishop of St. Asaph's [a] sermon, by telling my cousin King, that I care not for sermons; and, at the same time, you send my lady plays. This has raised a dispute between her ladyship and me, which of us two it is, you think best of. Methinks you are of opinion, that my lady is well enough satisfied with the unreformed stage; but that I should be glad, that some things were reformed in the pulpit itself. The result is, that my lady thinks it necessary for you to come, and appease these broils you have raised in the family. I am, &c.

To the same.

SIR, Oates, 21 March, 1703-4.

GIVE me leave to tell you, sir, that you are mistaken in me. I am not a young lady, a beauty, and a fortune. And unless you thought me all this, and designed your addresses to me; how is it possible you should be afraid you acquitted not yourself well in my commission beyond Piccadilly? Your waiting in the parlour a quarter of an hour was more than any reasonable man could de-

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[a] Dr. George Hooper.

mand of you; and if either of us ought to be troubled in the case, it is I, because you did so much; and not you, because you did so little. But the reality of your friendship has so blended our concerns into one, that you will not permit me to observe, whether I do, or receive the favour, in what passes between us; and I am almost persuaded by you to believe, that sitting here by the fire I trudge up and down for you in London. Give me leave however to thank you, as if you had delivered Mr. Le Clerc's Harmony to Mr. Secretary Johnston for me, and sent me the two bibles, which I received.

As for the rummaging over Mr. Norris's late book [a], I will be sworn, it is not I have done that; for however I may be mistaken in what passes without me, I am infallible in what passes in my own mind; and I am sure, the ideas that are put together in your letter out of him, were never so in my thoughts, till I saw them there. What did I say, "put ideas together?" I ask your pardon, it is "put words together without ideas;' just as I should suspect I did, if I should say you disparaged a very good straight ruler I had, if you told me it would not enable me to write sense, though it were very good and useful, to show me whether I writ straight or no.

Men of Mr. Norris's way seem to me to decree, rather than to argue. They, against all evidence of sense and reason, decree brutes to be machines, only because their hypothesis requires it; and then with a like authority, suppose, as you rightly observe, what they should prove: viz. that whatsoever thinks, is immaterial. Cogitation, says Mr. Norris, "is more excellent than motion, or "vegetation; and therefore must belong to another "substance than that of matter, in the idea whereof, "motion and vegetation are contained." This latter part, I think, would be hard for him to prove, viz.

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[a] "An essay towards the theory of the ideal or intelligible world. "Being the relative part of it. Wherein the intelligible world is "considered, with relation to human understanding. Whereof some "account is here attempted, and proposed. Part II. by John Norris, "rector of Bemerton, near Sarum." Lond. 1704, in 8vo.

" that motion and vegetation are contained in the idea " of the substance of matter." But to let that pass at present; I ask, whether if this way of arguing be good, it will not turn upon him thus: " If the idea of a spirit " does not comprehend motion and vegetation; then " they must belong to another substance than a spirit: " and therefore are more excellent than cogitation, or " the affections of a spirit." For if its greater excellency proves any mode or affection to " belong to an- " other substance;" will not its " belonging to another " substance," by the same rule, prove it to be more excellent? But this is only to deal with these men of logic and subtilty, in their own way, who use the term " excellent," to prove a material question by, without having, as you remark, a clear and determined idea of what they mean by more or less excellent.

But not to waste your time, in playing with the arguments of men, that examine not strictly the meaning of the words they use; I will show you the fallacy whereby they impose on themselves; for such talkers commonly cozen themselves, as well as others. Cogitation, say they, " is not comprehended in the idea of ex- " tension and solidity;" for that is it which they mean, when they say, the " idea of matter:" from whence they conclude right, that " cogitation belongs not to " extension or solidity; or is not included in either of " them, or both together;" but this is not the consequence that they draw, but infer a conclusion that is not contained in the premises, and is quite besides them; as Mr. Norris, if he would make use of syllogism to its proper purpose, might see. Extension, and solidity, we have the ideas of; and see, that cogitation has no necessary connexion with them, nor has any consequential result from them; and therefore is not a proper affection of extension and solidity, nor doth naturally belong to them; but how doth it follow from hence, that it may not be made an affection of, or be annexed to that substance, which is vested with solidity and extension? Of this substance we have no idea that excludes cogitation, any more than solidity. Their conclusion, therefore, should be the exclusion of cogitation from

the substance of matter, and not from the other affections of that substance. But they either overlook this, which is the true state of that argument, or else avoid to set it in its clear light; lest it show too plainly, that their great argument either proves nothing, or, if it doth, it is against them.

What you say about my Essay of Human Understanding, that nothing can be advanced against it, but upon the principle of innate ideas, is certainly so; and therefore all who do not argue against it, from innate ideas, in the sense I speak of innate ideas; though they make a noise against me, yet at last they so draw and twist their improper ways of speaking, which have the appearance and sound of contradiction to me, that at last they state the question so, as to leave no contradiction in it to my Essay; as you have observed in Mr. Lee [a], Mr. Lowde [b], and Mr. Norris in his late treatise. It is reward enough for the writing my book, to have the approbation of one such a reader as you are. You have done me and my book a great honour, in having bestowed so much of your thoughts upon it. You have a comprehensive knowledge of it, and do not stick in the incidents: which I find many people do; which, whether true or false, make nothing to the main design of the Essay, that lies in a little compass; and yet I hope, may be of great use to those who see and follow that plain and easy method of nature, to carry them the shortest and clearest way to knowledge. Pardon me this vanity; it was with a design of inquiring into the nature and powers of the understanding, that I writ it; and nothing but the hope that it might do some service to truth and knowledge, could excuse the publishing of it.

I know not, whether I ever showed you an occasional sketch of mine, about "seeing all things in God." If

[a] "Anti-Scepticism; or notes upon each chapter of Mr. Locke's Essay concerning Human Understanding, with an explanation of all the particulars of which he treats, and in the same order. In four books. By Henry Lee, B. D. formerly fellow of Emanuel College in Cambridge, now rector of Tichmarsh in Northamptonshire." Lond. 1702, in fol.

[b] In his "Discourse concerning the Nature of Man," &c. and his "Moral Essays," &c.

I did not, if it please God I live to see you here again, I will show it you [a]; and some other things. If you will let me know before-hand, when you design us that favour; it will be an addition to it. I beg your pardon for holding you so long from better employment. I do not, you see, willingly quit your conversation. If you were nearer me, you would see it more, for I am, &c.

To the same.

SIR, Oates, 3 April, 1704.

IN good sooth, sir, you are an obstinate lover; there is no help for it, you must carry your point. Only give me leave to tell you, that I do not like the puling fit you fall into, at the lower end of the page; where you tell me, "I have given you an argument against "presuming so far again upon the liberty I allow "you." That is to say, you may give me books, you may buy books for me, you may get books bound for me, you may trudge up and down with them on my errand to ladies; but my book you may not presume to read, use your judgment about, and talk to me freely of; though I know nobody that understands it so well, nor can give me better light concerning it. Away with this squeamishness, I beseech you; and be assured, that among the many good offices you daily do for me in London, there is none whereby I shall reap so much profit and pleasure, as your studying for me; and let us both, without scruple or reserve, help one another the best we can, in the way to truth and knowledge. And whenever you find me presume, that I know all that belongs to the subject of my own book, and disdain to receive light and instruction from another, though of much lower form than you; conclude that I am an arrant coxcomb, and know nothing at all.

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[a] That dissertation was published in Mr. Locke's Posthumous Works; Lond. 1706, in 8vo.

You will see by the enclosed, that I can find business for you at Oxford, as well as at London. I have left it open, that you may read it before you seal and deliver it. In it you will see what he writ to me, on that affair. He is well acquainted with them in the university; and if he has not, may be prevailed on by you to fish out the bottom of that matter, and inform you in all the particulars of it. But you must not take his conjectures for matter of fact; but know his authors, for any matter of fact he affirms to you. You will think I intend to engage you in a thousand disputes with him; quite the contrary. You may avoid all dispute with him; if you will but say after him; though you put him upon things that show you question all he says.

If Mr. Wynne of Jesus-College, who epitomised my book[a], be in the university, it is like you will see him, and talk to him of the matter. Pray, give him my service. But be sure, forget me not, with all manner of respect, to Mr. Wright, for whom I have, as I ought, a very peculiar esteem.

I hope you will be pleased with me: for you see I have cut out work for you; and that is all that is left for me to do, to oblige you. I am, &c.

To the same.

DEAR SIR, Oates, 19 May, 1704.

NOTHING works so steadily and effectually as friendship. Had I hired a man to have gone to town in my business, and paid him well, my commissions would not have been so soon, nor so well dispatched, as I find, by yours of the 16th, they have been by you. You speak of my affairs, and act in them with such an air of interest and satisfaction, that I can hardly avoid thinking, that I oblige you with employing you in them. It is no small advantage to me, to have found such a

[a] Mr. Wynne, afterwards lord bishop of St. Asaph, was the author of "An Abridgment of Mr. Locke's Essay concerning Human Under-"standing." Lond. 1696, in 8vo.

friend, at the last scene of my life; when I am good for nothing, and am grown so useless, that I cannot but be sure that, in every good office you do me, you can propose to yourself no other advantage but the pleasure of doing it.

Every one here finds himself obliged, by your late good company. As for myself, if you had not convinced me by a sensible experiment, I could not have believed I could have had so many happy days together. I shall always pray that yours may be multiplied. Could I, in the least, contribute any thing thereunto, I should think myself happy in this poor decaying state of my health; which, though it affords me little in this world to enjoy, yet I find the charms of your company make me not feel the want of strength, or breath, or any thing else.

The bishop of Glocester came hither the day you went from hence, and in no very good state of health. I find two groaning people make but an uncomfortable concert. He returned yesterday, and went away in somewhat a better state. I hope he got well to town.

Enjoy your health, and youth, whilst you have it, to all the advantages and improvements of an innocent and pleasant life; remembering that merciless old age is in pursuit of you, and when it overtakes you, will not fail, some way or other, to impair the enjoyments both of body and mind. You know how apt I am to preach. I believe it is one of the diseases of old age. But my friends will forgive me, when I have nothing to persuade them to, but that they should endeavour to be as happy as it is possible for them to be; and to you I have no more to say, but that you go on in the course you are in. I reflect often upon it, with a secret joy, that you promised I should, in a short time, see you again. You are very good, and I dare not press you. But I cannot but remember how well I passed my time, when you were here. I am, &c.

To the same.

DEAR SIR, Oates, 25 May, 1704.

WHEN you come to my age, you will know that, with us old fellows, convenient always carries it before ornamental. And I would have as much of the free air when I go abroad in it[a], as is possible. Only I ask whether those, which fall back, so as to give as free a prospect behind as before, be as easily managed, and brought over you again, in case of need, as in a shower; as one that falls back, upon two standing corner pillars? And next, whether that which falls back so well, doth, when it is drawn up over you, come so far over your head, when it is erected, as to shelter it from the dew, without shutting you up from the free open air? For I think sometimes in the evening of a warm day to sit abroad in it, to take the fresco; but would have a canopy over my head, to keep the dew off. If this be so, I am plainly, and without balancing, for that which falls flattest. One question more, and I have done. Pray what place is there for a footman in any of them? Most of my time being spent in sitting, I desire special care may be taken, in making the seat broad enough, and the two cushions soft, plump, and thick enough.

You know I have great liking to be canonical; but I little thought, that you, of all others, was the man to make me so. I shall love it the better for your sake; and wish that canonical were ready, that you might have the handselling of it hither speedily. If I did not take you for myself, as you have taught me to do, I should not be thus free with you. Count me in your turn all yourself, except my age and infirmities, those I desire to keep to myself; all the rest of me is yours.

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[a] That is, in a chaise, which Mr. Locke desired to have made for him.

To the same.

DEAR SIR, Oates, 26 May, 1704.

MY letter yesterday went away without an answer to one of your demands; and that was, whether I would have any brass on the harness? To which, give me leave to tell you, that, in my whole life, I have been constantly against any thing that makes a show; no maxim being more agreeable to my condition and temper, than "qui bene latuit bene vixit." I like to have things substantially good of their kind, and useful, and handsomely made, and fitly adapted to their uses; for, if either were necessary, I had rather be taken notice of for something that is fashionably gaudy, than ridiculously uncouth, or for its poorness and meanness remarkable. Therefore, if you please, let the harness, and all the whole accoutrements be of as good materials, and as handsomely made and put together as may be; but for ornaments of brass, or any such thing, I desire it may be spared.

One question more comes into my mind to ask you, and that is, whether the back of those, that fall down so flat, are so made that, when it is up, one may lean and loll against it at one's ease, as in a coach or a chariot; for I am grown a very lazy fellow, and have now three easy chairs to lean and loll in, and would not be without that relief in my chaise.

You see I am as nice as a young fond girl, that is coming into the world, with a face and a fortune, as she presumes, to command it. Let not this, however, deter you; for I shall not be so hard to be pleased. For what you do will be as if I did it myself. I am, &c.

To the same.

DEAR SIR, Oates, 29 May, 1704.

HOW should I value the chaise you take so much ains about, if I could hope I could have your company

with me abroad in it, every two or three days. However, it wears the signature of your friendship, and so will always have something in it to please me.

I know not whether it be worth while to clog it with any thing, to make a place for a footman. That must, I suppose, make it bigger and heavier, which I would avoid; and I think, upon the whole matter, there will be no great need of it. But when I hear from you again, I shall know that. In the mean time, all the rest, I think, is resolved; for, I suppose of course, you will choose a cloth for the lining of a dust colour; that is the proper colour for such a priest as you mention in your letter.

If poor Psalmanassar be really a convert from paganism (which I would be glad to be assured of); he has very ill luck, not to herd any-where among the variety of sorts that are among us. But I think it so, that the parties are more for doing one another harm, than for doing any body good. I am, &c.

To the same.

DEAR SIR, Oates, 9 June, 1704.

I MIGHT number my days (and it is a pleasant sort of almanac) by the kindnesses I receive from you. Your packet I received, and have reason to thank you for all the particulars in it; however, you thought fit to prepare me for being disappointed, in the binding my Greek Testament. There is nothing in it that offends me, but the running of his paring knife too deep into the margin; a knavish and intolerable fault in all our English book-binders.

Books seem to me to be pestilent things, and infect all that trade in them; that is, all but one sort of men, with something very perverse and brutal. Printers, binders, sellers, and others that make a trade and gain out of them; have universally so odd a turn and corruption of mind, that they have a way of dealing peculiar to them-

selves, and not conformed to the good of society, and that general fairness that cements mankind.

Whether it be, that these instruments of truth and knowledge will not bear being subjected to any thing but those noble ends, without revenging themselves on those who meddle with them to any other purpose, and prostitute them to mean and misbecoming designs; I will not inquire. The matter of fact, I think, you will find true; and there we will leave it to those who sully themselves with printer's ink, till they wholly expunge all the candour that nature gives, and become the worst sort of black cattle.

To the same.

DEAR SIR, Oates, June 29, 1704.

IF the chaise you have had so much trouble about gives me as much satisfaction afterwards, as it will in the first service I shall receive from it; the conquerors of the world will not ride in their triumphant chariots with more pleasure, than I shall in my little tumbrel. It will bring me what I prefer to glory. For, methinks, he understands but little of the true sweetness of life, that doth not more relish the conversation of a worthy and ingenuous friend in retirement, than the noise and rout of the crowd in the streets, with all their acclamations and huzzas. I long, therefore, that the machine should be dispatched; and expect it as greedily as a hungry merchant doth a ship from the East-Indies, which is to bring him a rich cargo. I hope the coach-maker doth not live far from you; for if he be a slow man of London, I would have him quickened once a day, that he may make as much haste as if the satisfaction of two lovers depended on his dispatch. In the mean time, give me leave to desire you to bestow some of your spare hours on the epistles to the Corinthians, and to try whether you can find them intelligible or no.

You will easily guess the reason of this[a]; and when I have you here, I hope to convince you it will not be lost labour; only permit me to tell you, you must read them with something more than an ordinary application.

The samples you have sent me[b], I must conclude, from the abilities of the author, to be very excellent. But what shall I be the better for the most exact and best proportioned picture that ever was drawn, if I have not eyes to see the correspondence of the parts? I confess the lines are too subtile for me, and my dull sight cannot perceive their connections. I am not envious, and therefore shall not be troubled, if others find themselves instructed with so extraordinary and sublime a way of reasoning. I am content with my own mediocrity. And though I call the thinking faculty in me, mind; yet I cannot, because of that name, equal it in any thing to that infinite and incomprehensible being, which, for want of right and distinct conceptions, is called mind also, or the eternal mind. I endeavour to make the best use I can of every thing; and therefore, though I am in despair to be the wiser for these learned instructions; yet I hope I shall be the merrier for them, when you and I take an air in the calash together. I am, &c.

To the same.

DEAR SIR, Oates, July 23, 1704.

THE gentlemen you speak of, have a great deal of reason to be pleased with the Discourse[c] you mention;

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[a] Mr. Locke writ this to Mr. Collins, in order to prepare him to read afterwards with him his "Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of "St. Paul to the Corinthians;" which have been published since his death.

[b] That is, out of Dr. Sherlock's "Digression concerning Connate "Ideas, or Inbred Knowledge," against Mr. Locke; inserted in the 3d section of the 2d chapter of his "Discourse concerning the hap-"piness of good men, and the punishment of the wicked, in the next "world, &c." Lond. 1704, in 8vo.

[c] Dr. Sherlock's "Digression concerning Connate Ideas, &c." mentioned in the foregoing letter.

there being nothing ever writ in their strain and way more perfectly than it is; and it may stand for a pattern to those that have a mind to excel in their admirable use of language and method of talking; if, at least, there be any need of a pattern to those, who so naturally, and by a peculiar genius of their own, fall into that, which the profane illiterate vulgar, poor wretches, are strangers to, and cannot imitate. But more of this to make us merry, when the chaise brings us together.

I now every moment wish the chaise done; not out of any impatience I am for the machine, but for the man; the man, I say, that is to come in it. A man, that has not his fellow; and, to all that, loves me. If I regret my old age, it is you that make me, and call me back to the world just as I was leaving it, and leaving it as a place that has very little valuable in it; but who would not be glad to spend some years with you? Make haste, therefore, and let me engross what of you I can. I am, &c.

To the same.

DEAR SIR, Oates, August 2, 1704.

THOUGH I cannot, by writing, make you a surer title to myself than you have already; yet I cannot forbear to acknowledge, under my hand and seal, the great sense I have of the late favour you did me. Whether that, or any thing else, will be able to add any duration to my mouldering carcase, I cannot say; but this I am sure, your company and kindness have added to the length of my life, which, in my way of measuring, doth not lie in counting of minutes, but tasting of enjoyments. I wish the continuance and increase of yours, without stint, and am, &c.

To the same.

DEAR SIR, Oates, August 11, 1704.

KIND and good-natured friends do, like you, bestow their favours, and thank those that receive them. I was

never more obliged, nor better entertained, than by your company here; and you heap upon me your acknowledgments, as if I had made a journey to London for your sake, and there done you I know not how many courtesies. This, however, has the effect you could wish upon me. I believe all that you would have me. And since one naturally loves as well those that one has done good to, as those whom one has received good from; I leave it to you, to manage the account as you please. So the affection and good-will between us doth but increase, whose hands lay most fuel on the fire, that warms us both, I shall not be nicely solicitous; since I am sure you cannot impute to me more than I really wish, but at the same time know that wishing in me is all, for I can do just nothing. Make no apologies to me, I beseech you, for what you said to me about the digression[a]. It is no more, but what I find other people agree with you in; and it would afford as much diversion as any hunting you could imagine, had I strength and breadth enough to pursue the chace.

But of this we may, perhaps, have better opportunity to talk, when I see you next. For this I tell you beforehand, I must not have you be under any restraint to speak to me, whatever you think fit for me to do; whether I am of the same mind or no. The use of a friend is to persuade us to the right, not to suppose always that we are in it. I am, &c.

To the same.

DEAR SIR, Oates, August 16, 1704.

WHICH way soever I turn myself, I meet on all sides your friendship, in all manner of shapes, and upon all sorts of occasions, besetting me. Were I as averse, as I am pleased, with my happiness in your kindness; I must, however, yield to so powerful and constant at-

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[a] See above, page 293.

tacks[a]. But it is past that time of day. I have long since surrendered myself to you. And I am as certainly in your coach, as count Tallard in the duke of Marlborough's, to be disposed as you please; only with this difference, that he was a prisoner of war against his will; I am your captive, by the soft, but stronger, force of your irresistible obligations, and with the consent and joy of my own mind.

Judge then, whether I am willing my shadow should be in possession of one with whom my heart is; and to whom all that I am, had I any thing besides my heart, worth the presenting, doth belong. Sir Godfrey, I doubt not, will make it very like. If it were possible for his pencil to make a speaking picture, it should tell you every day how much I love and esteem you; and how pleased I am to be, so much as in effigy, near a person with whom I should be glad to spend an age to come. I am, &c.

To the same.

DEAR SIR, Oates, September 11, 1704.

HE that has any thing to do with you, must own that friendship is the natural product of your constitution; and your soul, a noble soil, is enriched with the two most valuable qualities of human nature, truth and friendship. What a treasure have I then in such a friend, with whom I can converse, and be enlightened about the highest speculations! When one hears you upon the principles of knowledge, or the foundations of government, one would hardly imagine your thoughts ever descended to a brush, or a curry-comb, or other such trumpery of life; and yet, if one employ you but to get a pair of shoe-buckles, you are as ready and dexterous at it, as if the whole business of your life had been with nothing but shoe-buckles.

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[a] Mr. Collins had desired Mr. Locke to let sir Godfrey Kneller come down into the country, to draw Mr. Locke's picture; which sir Godfrey did.

As to my lady's picture, pray, in the first place, see it, and tell me how you like it. In the next place, pray get Sir Godfrey to write upon it, on the back-side, lady Masham, 1704; and on the back-side of mine, John Locke, 1704. This he did on Mr. Molyneux's and mine, the last he drew; and this is necessary to be done, or else the pictures of private persons are lost in two or three generations; and so the picture loses of its value, it being not known whom it was made to represent.

To the same.

DEAR SIR, Oates, October 1, 1704.

TO complete the satisfaction I have lately had here, there has been nothing wanting but your company. The coming of his father-in-law [a], joined with the straitness of the lodging in this house, hindered me from having my cousin King and you together; and so cut off one part of the enjoyment, which you know is very valuable to me. I must leave it to your kindness and charity, to make up this loss to me. How far the good company I have had here has been able to raise me into a forgetfulness of the decays of age, and the uneasiness of my indisposition, my cousin King is judge. But this I believe he will assure you, that my infirmities prevail so fast on me, that, unless you make haste hither, I may lose the satisfaction of ever seeing again a man, that I value in the first rank of those that I leave behind me [b].

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[a] Sir Peter King's father-in-law.

[b] Mr. Locke died on the 28th of October, 1704; that is, 27 days after the writing of this letter.

To the same. [Directed thus:]

For ANTHONY COLLINS, Esq.

To be delivered to him after my decease.

DEAR SIR, Oates, August 23, 1704.

BY my will, you will see that I had some kindness for * * * *. And I knew no better way to take care of him, than to put him, and what I designed for him, into your hands and management. The knowledge I have of your virtue, of all kinds, secures the trust which, by your permission, I have placed in you; and the peculiar esteem and love I have observed in the young man for you, will dispose him to be ruled and influenced by you, so that of that I need say nothing.

But there is one thing, which it is necessary for me to recommend to your especial care and memory * * * * * *

May you live long and happy in the enjoyment of health, freedom, content, and all those blessings which providence has bestowed on you, and your virtue entitles you to. I know you loved me living, and will preserve my memory now I am dead. All the use to be made of it is, that this life is a scene of vanity, that soon passes away; and affords no solid satisfaction, but in the consciousness of doing well, and in the hopes of another life. This is what I can say upon experience; and what you will find to be true, when you come to make up the account. Adieu; I leave my best wishes with you.

JOHN LOCKE.

A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Richard King.

SIR, Oates, July 23, 1703.

I CANNOT but think myself beholden to any occasion that procures me the honour of a letter from you.

I return my acknowledgments for those great expressions of civility, and marks of friendship, I received in yours of the 8th instant; and wish I had the opportunity to show the esteem I have of your merit, and the sense of your kindness to me, in any real service.

The desire of your friend, in the enclosed letter you sent me, is what of myself I am inclined to satisfy; and am only sorry, that so copious a subject has lost, in my bad memory, so much of what heretofore I could have said concerning that great and good man, of whom he inquires [a]. Time, I daily find, blots out apace the little stock of my mind, and has disabled me from furnishing all that I would willingly contribute, to the memory of that learned man. But give me leave to assure you, that I have not known a fitter person than he, to be preserved as an example, and proposed to the imitation of men of letters. I therefore wish well to your friend's design, though my mite be all I have been able to contribute to it.

I wish you all happiness, and am, with a very particular respect,

SIR,

Your most humble servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

A Letter to * * * *

SIR, Oates, July 23, 1703.

I HAVE so great a veneration for the memory of that excellent man, whose life you tell me you are writing [b], that when I set myself to recollect what memoirs

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[a] Dr. Pococke. See the following letter.

[b] Dr. Edward Pococke, regius professor of Hebrew, in the university of Oxford. He was born at Oxford on the 8th of November 1603, and he died on the 10th of September 1691.

I can (in answer to your desire) furnish you with; I am ashamed I have so little in particular to say, on a subject that afforded so much. For I conclude you so well acquainted with his learning and virtue, that I suppose it would be superfluous to trouble you on those heads. However, give me leave not to be wholly silent upon this occasion. So extraordinary an example, in so degenerate an age, deserves, for the rarity, and, as I was going to say, for the incredibility of it, the attestation of all that knew him, and considered his worth.

The christian world is a witness of his great learning, that the works he published would not suffer to be concealed. Nor could his devotion and piety lie hid, and be unobserved in a college; where his constant and regular assisting at the cathedral service, never interrupted by sharpness of weather, and scarce restrained by downright want of health, showed the temper and disposition of his mind.

But his other virtues and excellent qualities, had so strong and close a covering of modesty and unaffected humility; that, though they shone the brighter to those who had the opportunities to be more intimately acquainted with him, and eyes to discern and distinguish solidity from show, and esteem virtue that sought not reputation; yet they were the less taken notice, and talked of, by the generality of those to whom he was not wholly unknown. Not that he was at all close and reserved; but, on the contrary, the readiest to communicate to any one that consulted him.

Indeed he was not forward to talk, nor ever would be the leading man in the discourse, though it were on a subject that he understood better than any of the company; and would often content himself to sit still and hear others debate matters which he himself was more a master of. He had often the silence of a learner, where he had the knowledge of a master; and that not with a design, as is often, that the ignorance any one betrayed might give him the opportunity to display his own knowledge, with the more lustre and advantage, to their shame; or censure them when they were gone. For these arts of triumph and ostentation, frequently

practised by men of skill and ability, were utterly unknown to him. It was very seldom that he contradicted any one; or if it were necessary at any time to inform any one better, who was in a mistake, it was in so soft and gentle a manner, that it had nothing of the air of dispute or correction, and seemed to have little of opposition in it. I never heard him say any thing that put any one that was present the least out of countenance; nor ever censure, or so much as speak diminishingly, of any one that was absent.

He was a man of no irregular appetites. If he indulged any one too much, it was that of study, which his wife would often complain of, (and, I think, not without reason,) that a due consideration of his age and health could not make him abate.

Though he was a man of the greatest temperance in himself, and the farthest from ostentation and vanity in his way of living; yet he was of a liberal mind, and given to hospitality; which considering the smallness of his preferments, and the numerous family of children he had to provide for, might be thought to have out-done those who made more noise and show.

His name, which was in great esteem beyond sea, and that deservedly, drew on him visits from all foreigners of learning, who came to Oxford, to see that university. They never failed to be highly satisfied with his great knowledge and civility, which was not always without expence.

Though at the restoration of king Charles, when preferment rained down upon some men's heads, his merits were so overlooked or forgotten, that he was barely restored to what was his before, without receiving any new preferment then, or at any time after; yet I never heard him take any the least notice of it, or make the least complaint in a case that would have grated sorely on some men's patience, and have filled their mouths with murmuring, and their lives with discontent. But he was always unaffectedly cheerful; no marks of any thing that lay heavy at his heart, for his being neglected, ever broke from him. He was so far from having any displeasure lie concealed there, that whenever any expres-

sions of dissatisfaction, for what they thought hard usage, broke from others in his presence, he always diverted the discourse; and if it were any body with whom he thought he might take that liberty, he silenced it with visible marks of dislike.

Though he was not, as I said, a forward, much less an assuming talker; yet he was the farthest in the world from being sullen or morose. He would talk very freely, and very well, of all parts of learning, besides that wherein he was known to excel. But this was not all; he could discourse very well of other things. He was not unacquainted with the world, though he made no show of it.

His backwardness to meddle in other people's matters, or to enter into debates, where names and persons were brought upon the stage, and judgments and censure were hardly avoided; concealed his abilities, in matters of business and conduct, from most people. But yet I can truly say, that I knew not any one in that university, whom I would more willingly consult, in any affair that required consideration, nor whose opinion I thought it better worth the hearing than his, if he could be drawn to enter into it, and give his advice.

Though in company he never used himself, nor willingly heard from others, any personal reflections on other men, though set off with a sharpness that usually tickles, and by most men is mistaken for the best, if not the only seasoning of pleasant conversation; yet he would often bear his part in innocent mirth, and, by some apposite and diverting story, continue and heighten the good-humour.

I shall give you an instance of it in a story of his, which on this occasion comes to my mind; and I tell it you not as belonging to his life, but that it may give you some part of his character; which, possibly, the very serious temper of this good man may be apt to make men oversee. The story was this: There was at Corpus Christi college, when he was a young man there, a proper fellow, with a long grey beard, that was porter of the college. A waggish fellow-commoner of the house would be often handling and stroking this grey beard,

and jestingly told the porter, he would, one of these days, fetch it off. The porter, who took his beard for the great ornament that added grace and authority to his person, could scarce hear the mention, in jest, of his beard being cut off, with any patience. However, he could not escape the mortal agony that such a loss would cause him. The fatal hour came; and see what happened. The young gentleman, as the porter was standing at the college-gate, with other people about him, took hold of his beard with his left hand, and with a pair of scissars, which he had ready in his right, did that execution, that the porter and by-standers heard the cutting of scissars, and saw a handful of grey hairs fall to the ground. The porter, on that sight, in the utmost rage, ran immediately away to the president of the college; and there, with a loud and lamentable outcry, desired justice to be done on the gentleman-commoner, for the great indignity and injury he had received from him. The president demanding what harm the other had done, the porter replied, an affront never to be forgiven; he had cut off his beard. The president, not without laughing, told him that his barber was a bungler, and that therefore he would do him that justice, that he should have nothing for his pains, having done his work so negligently; for he had left him, for aught he could see, after all his cutting, the largest and most reverend beard in the town. The porter, scarce able to believe what he said, put up his hand to his chin, on which he found as full a grown beard as ever. Out of countenance for his complaint for want of a beard, he sneaked away, and would not show his face for some time after.

The contrivance of the young gentleman was innocent, and ingenious. He had provided a handful of white horse-hair, which he cut, under the covert of the other's beard, and so let it drop; which the testy fellow, without any farther examination, concluded to be of his own growth; and so, with open mouth, drew on himself every one's laughter; which could not be refused to such sad complaints, and so reverend a beard.

Speaking of the expedite way of justice in Turkey, he told this pleasant story; whereof he was an eye-witness at Aleppo. A fellow, who was carrying about bread to sell, at the turn of a street spying the cadee coming towards him, set down his basket of bread, and betook himself to his heels. The cadee coming on, and finding the basket of bread in his way, bid some of his under officers weigh it; (for he always goes attended, for present execution of any fault he shall meet with;) who finding it as it should be, left it, and went on. The fellow watching, at the corner of the street, what would become of his bread; when he found all was safe, returned to his basket. The by-standers asked him why he ran away, his bread being weight? That was more than I knew, says he; for though it be not mine, but I sell it for another; yet if it had been less than weight, and taken upon me, I should have been drubbed.

Many things of this nature, worth notice, would often drop from him in conversation; which would inform the world of several particularities; concerning that country and people, among whom he spent several years. You will pardon me, if on the sudden my bad memory cannot, after such a distance of time, recollect more of them. Neither perhaps had this now occurred, had I not, on an occasion that revived it in my memory some time since by telling it to others, refreshed it in my own thoughts.

I know not whether you find amongst the papers of his, that are, as you say, put into your hands, any Arabic proverbs, translated by him. He has told me that he had a collection of 3000, as I remember; and that they were for the most part very good. He had, as he intimated, some thoughts of translating them, and adding some notes, where they were necessary to clear any obscurities; but whether he ever did any thing in it before he died, I have not heard. But to return to what I can call to mind, and recover of him.

I do not remember that, in all my conversation with him, I ever saw him once angry, or to be so far provoked as to change colour or countenance, or tone of voice.

Displeasing actions and accidents would sometimes occur; there is no help for that; but nothing of that kind moved him, that I saw, to any passionate words; much less to chiding or clamour. His life appeared to me one constant calm.

How great his patience was in his long and dangerous lameness (wherein there were very terrible and painful operations) you have, no doubt, learnt from others. I happened to be absent from Oxford most of that time; but I have heard, and believed it, that it was suitable to the other parts of his life.

To conclude, I can say of him, what few men can say of any friend of theirs, nor I of any other of my acquaintance; that I do not remember I ever saw in him any one action that I did, or could in my own mind blame, or thought amiss in him.

Sir, if I had been put upon this task soon after his death, I might possibly have sent you a paper better furnished than this is, and with particularities fitter for your purpose, to fill up the character of so good and extraordinary a man, and so exemplary a life. The esteem and honour I have still for him would not suffer me to say nothing; though my decaying bad memory did ill second my desire to obey your commands. Pray accept this, as a mark of my willingness, and believe that I am

Your most humble servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Richard King.

SIR, Oates, 25 Aug. 1703.

YOURS of the 4th instant I received; and though I am conscious I do not deserve those advantageous things, which your civility says of me in it; yet give me leave to assure you, that the offers of my service to you, which you are pleased to take notice of, is that part, which I shall not fail to make good on all occasions.

You ask me, "what is the shortest and surest way, "for a young gentleman to attain a true knowledge "of the christian religion, in the full and just extent of "it?" For so I understand your question; if I have mistaken in it, you must set me right. And to this I have a short and plain answer: "Let him study the holy "scripture, especially the New Testament." Therein are contained the words of eternal life. It has God for its author; salvation for its end; and truth, without any mixture of errour, for its matter. So that it is a wonder to me, how any one professing christianity, that would seriously set himself to know his religion, should be in doubt where to employ his search, and lay out his pains for his information; when he knows a book, where it is all contained, pure and entire; and whither, at last, every one must have recourse, to verify that of it, which he finds any-where else.

Your other question, which I think I may call two or three, will require a larger answer.

As to morality, which, I take it, is the first in those things you enquire after; that is best to be found in the book that I have already commended to you. But because you may perhaps think that the better to observe those rules, a little warning may not be inconvenient, and some method of ranging them be useful for the memory; I recommend to you the "Whole "Duty of Man," as a methodical system; and if you desire a larger view of the parts of morality, I know not where you will find them so well and distinctly explained, and so strongly enforced, as in the practical divines of the church of England. The sermons of Dr. Barrow, archbishop Tillotson, and Dr. Whichcote, are masterpieces in this kind; not to name abundance of others, who excel on that subject. If you have a mind to see how far human reason advanced in the discovery of morality, you will have a good specimen of it in "Tully's offices;" unless you have a mind to look farther back into the source from whence he drew his rules; and then you must consult Aristotle, and the other Greek philosophers.

Though prudence be reckoned among the cardinal

virtues, yet I do not remember any professed treatise of morality, where it is treated in its full extent, and with that accuracy that it ought. For which possibly this may be a reason, that every imprudent action does not make a man culpable "in foro conscientiæ." The business of morality I look upon to be the avoiding of crimes; of prudence, inconveniencies, the foundation whereof lies in knowing men and manners. History teaches this best, next to experience; which is the only effectual way to get a knowledge of the world. As to the rules of prudence in the conduct of common life, though there be several that have employed their pens therein; yet those writers have their eyes so fixed on convenience, that they sometimes lose the sight of virtue; and do not take care to keep themselves always clear from the borders of dishonesty, whilst they are tracing out what they take to be, sometimes, the securest way to success; most of those that I have seen on this subject having, as it seemed to me, something of this defect. So that I know none that I can confidently recommend to your young gentleman, but the son of Sirach.

To "complete a man in the practice of human of-"fices," (for to that tend your inquiries,) there is one thing more required; which, though it be ordinarily considered, as distinct both from virtue and prudence, yet I think it so nearly allied to them, that he will scarce keep himself from slips in both, who is without it. That, which I mean, is good breeding. The school, for a young gentleman to learn it in, is the conversation of those who are well-bred.

As to the last part of your inquiry, which is after "books that will give an insight into the constitution "of the government, and real interest of his country;" to proceed orderly in this, I think the foundation should be laid in inquiring into the ground and nature of civil society; and how it is formed into different models of government; and what are the several species of it. Aristotle is allowed a master in this science, and few enter upon the consideration of government, without reading his "Politics." Hereunto should be added,

true notions of laws in general; and property, the subject matter about which laws are made. He, that would acquaint himself with the former of these, should thoroughly study the judicious Hooker's first book of "Ecclesiastical Polity." And property I have nowhere found more clearly explained, than in a book intitled, "Two Treatises of Government." But not to load your young gentleman with too many books on this subject, which require more meditation than reading; give me leave to recommend to him Puffendorf's little Treatise, "De Officio Hominis & Civis."

To get an insight into the particular constitution of the government of his own country, will require a little more reading; unless he will content himself with such a superficial knowledge of it as is contained in Chamberlayne's "State of England:" or Smith "De Republica Anglicana." Your inquiry manifestly looks farther than that; and to attain such a knowledge of it, as becomes a gentleman of England to have, to the purposes that you mention, I think he should read our ancient lawyers; such as Bracton, "Fleta," "The Mirror "of Justice," &c. which our cousin King[a] can better direct you to, than I; joining with them the "History "of England under the Normans," and so continuing it down quite to our times; reading it always in those authors who lived nearest those times; their names you will find, and characters often, in Mr. Tyrrel's "His-"tory of England." To which if there be added a serious consideration of the laws made in each reign, and how far any of them influenced the constitution; all these together will give him a full insight into what you desire.

As to the interest of any country, that, it is manifest, lies in its prosperity and security. Plenty of well employed people, and riches within, and good alliances abroad, make its strength. But the ways of attaining these comprehend all the arts of peace and war; the management of trade; the employment of the poor; and all those other things that belong to the administration of

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[a] Sir Peter King.

the public; which are so many, so various, and so changeable, according to the mutable state of men, and things, in this world; that it is not strange, if a very small part of this consists in book-learning. He, that would know it, must have eyes open upon the present state of affairs; and from thence take his measures of what is good, or prejudicial, to the interest of his country.

You see how ready I am to obey your commands, though in matters wherein I am sensible of my own ignorance. I am so little acquainted with books, especially on these subjects relating to politics, that you must forgive, if perhaps I have not named to you the best in every kind. And you must take it as a mark of my readiness to serve you, that I have ventured so far out of what lay in my way of reading, in the days that I had leisure to converse with books. The knowledge of the bible and the business of his calling, is enough for an ordinary man; a gentleman ought to go farther.

Those of this place return their service and thanks, for the honour of your remembrance.

I am, &c.

To the same.

DEAR SIR,

I AM sorry to find, that the question, which was the most material, and my mind was most upon, was answered so little to your satisfaction, that you are fain to ask it again. Since therefore you ask me a second time, "what is the best method to study religion?" I must ask you, "what religion you mean?" For if it be, as I understood you before, the "christian religion "in its full extent and purity;" I can make you no other answer but what I did, viz. that "the only way to at-"tain a certain knowledge of that, is the study of the "holy scripture." And my reason is, because the christian religion is a revelation from God Almighty, which

is contained in the bible; and so all the knowledge we can have of it must be derived from thence. "But if "you ask, which is the best way to get the knowledge "of the Romish, Lutheran, or reformed religion, of "this or that particular church, &c." each whereof intitles itself to be the true christian religion, with some kind of exclusion or diminution to the rest; that will not be hard to tell you. But then it is plain that the books, that best teach you any one of these, do most remove you from all the rest; and in this way of studying, you pitch upon one as the right, before you know it to be so: whereas that choice should be the result of your study of the christian religion, in the sacred scriptures. And the method I have proposed would, I presume, bring you the surest way to that church, which, I imagine, you already think most conformable to the word of God.

I find the letter you last honoured me with contains a new question, and that a very material one, viz. "what "is the best way of interpreting the sacred scripture?" Taking "interpreting" to mean "understanding," I think the best way for understanding the scripture, or the New Testament, (for of that the question will here be in the first place,) is to read it assiduously and diligently; and, if it can be, in the original. I do not mean, to read every day some certain number of chapters, as is usual; but to read it so, as to study and consider, and not to leave till you are satisfied that you have got the true meaning.

To this purpose, it will be necessary to take the assistance of interpreters and commentators; such as are those called the critics, and Pool's "Synopsis Criticorum;" Dr. Hammond on the New Testament, and Dr. Whitby, &c.

I should not think it convenient to multiply books of this kind, were there any one that I could direct you to, that was infallible. But you will not think it strange, if I tell you, that after all, you must make use of your own judgment; when you consider that it is and always will be, impossible to find any expositor, whom you can blind-fold rely upon, and cannot be mistaken in follow-

ing. Such a resignation as that is due to the holy scriptures alone; which were dictated by the infallible spirit of God.

Such writings also as Mr. Mede's and Dr. Lightfoot's are very much conducing to lead us into a true sense of the sacred scriptures.

As to the method of reading them, order requires that the four Evangelists should, in the first place, be well studied, and thoroughly understood. They all treating of the same subject do give great light to one another; and, I think, may, with the greatest advantage, be read in harmony. To this purpose, Monsieur Le Clerc's, or Mr. Whiston's "Harmony of the four Evangelists," will be of use, and save a great deal of time and trouble, in turning the bible. They are now both in English, and Le Clerc's has a paraphrase. But if you would read the Evangelists in the original, Mr. Le Clerc's edition of his "Harmony" in Greek and Latin will be the best.

If you find that, by this method, you advance in the knowledge of the gospel; when you have laid a foundation there to your satisfaction, it will not be hard to add what may help you forwards, in the study of other parts of the New Testament.

But I have troubled you too much already, for which I beg your pardon; and am, &c.

To the same.

SIR, Oates, 20 January, 1703-4.

THE small acknowledgments I was able to make, for the honour of your visit, and enjoyment of your company here, left the debt on my side, and deserve not the notice you are pleased to take of them.

In your obliging letter of the 13th, you do me favours, and you thank me too. If you intend by this a perfect acquisition of so inconsiderable a thing as I am, your worth and virtue dispose me to be as much at your service as you please; I wish I found any thing in myself that might promise you any usefulness from me. That

defect I shall endeavour to make up the best I can, with a perfect esteem, and a readiness of will; which must supply the want of abilities of doing.

I thank you for the printed paper you sent me[a], and am very glad to see such a spirit raised, for the support and enlargement of religion. Protestants, I think, are as much concerned now, as ever, to be vigorous in their joint endeavours for the maintenance of the reformation. I wish all, that call themselves so, may be prevailed with by those, whom your paper intimates, to imitate the zeal, and pursue the principles of those great and pious men, who were instrumental to bring us out of Roman darkness and bondage. I heartily pray for good success on all such endeavours.

If I may guess at the intention of the society, by the only man you let me know of it, I may be confident that the glory of God, and the propagation of true religion, is the only aim of it. May God eminently prosper all endeavours that way, and increase the number of those who seriously lay it to heart.

Sir Francis[b], my lady, and the rest of this family, return you their humble service. I am, &c.

RULES of a SOCIETY,

Which met once a week, for their improvement in useful knowledge, and for the promoting of truth and christian charity.

I. THAT it begin at six in the evening, and end at eight; unless a majority of two thirds present are inclined to continue it longer.

II. That no person be admitted into this society, without the suffrage of two thirds of the parties present, after the person, desiring such admission, hath subscribed to the rules contained in this paper, and answered in the affirmative to the following questions;

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[a] "An account of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge."
[b] Sir Francis Masham.

1. Whether he loves all men, of what profession or religion soever?

2. Whether he thinks no person ought to be harmed in his body, name, or goods, for mere speculative opinions, or his external way of worship?

3. Whether he loves and seeks truth for truth's sake; and will endeavour impartially to find and receive it himself, and to communicate it to others?

III. That no person be admitted occasionally, without a good testimony from some of the society that knows him, and he answering in the affirmative to the above-mentioned questions.

IV. That every member in his course, if he please, be moderator; (and the course here meant, is that of their sirnames, according to the alphabet;) whose care must be to keep good order, to propose the question to be debated, recite what may have been said to it already, briefly deliver the sense of the question, and keep the parties close to it; or, if he please, he may name one to be moderator for him. The question for the ensuing conference to be always agreed, before the company departs.

V. That no person or opinion be unhandsomely reflected on; but every member behave himself with all the temper, judgment, modesty, and discretion he is master of.

VI. That every member place himself to the left hand of the moderator, in order, as he happens to come in; and in his turn speak as plainly, distinctly, and concisely as he can to the question proposed, directing his discourse to the moderator.

VII. That no more than one person speak at once; and none object, till it come to his turn to speak.

VIII. That, the question having gone round, if the time will permit, and the company pleases, it may be discoursed again in the same order; and no weighty question to be quitted, till a majority of two-thirds be satisfied, and are willing to proceed to a new one. That when a controversy is not thought, by two-thirds of the company, likely to be ended in a convenient time; then those two-thirds may dismiss it, and, if they please, an-

other question may be proposed. That two-thirds of the company may adjourn the ordinary subject in question, for good and sufficient reasons.

IX. That no question be proposed, that is contrary to religion, civil government, or good manners; unless it be agreed to debate such question, merely and only the better to confute it.

We whose names are here under-written, proposing to ourselves an improvement in useful knowledge, and the promoting of truth and christian charity, by our becoming of this society, do hereby declare our approbation of, and consent to, the rules before written.

A Letter to Mrs. Cockburn.

MADAM,

THERE was nothing more public than the obligation I received from you, nor any thing more concealed than the person I was obliged to. This is a generosity above the strain of this groveling age, and like that of superior spirits, who assist without showing themselves. I used my best endeavours to draw from you by your bookseller the confession of your name, for want whereof I could, whilst you kept yourself under that reserve, no more address myself directly to you with good manners, than I could have pulled off your mask by force, in a place where you were resolved to conceal yourself. Had not this been so, the bearer hereof would not the first time have come to you without a letter from me to acknowledge the favour you had done me. You not affording me an opportunity for that, I designed to make you some small acknowledgment, in a way that chance had opened to me, without your consent. But this gentleman transgressed my order in two main points of it. The one was in delaying it so long. The other was in naming me to you, and talking of matters which he had no commission from me to mention. What he

deserves from you for it, must be left to your mercy. For I cannot in earnest be angry with him for procuring me, without any guilt of mine, an opportunity to own you for my protectress, which is the greatest honour my Essay could have procured me. Give me leave therefore to assure you, that as the rest of the world take notice of the strength and clearness of your reasoning, so I cannot but be extremely sensible that it was employed in my defence. You have herein not only vanquished my adversary, but reduced me also absolutely under your power, and left no desires more strong in me than those of meeting with some opportunity to assure you with what respect and submission I am, Madam,

Your most humble,

and most obedient servant,

Oates, 30 Dec. 1702. J. LOCKE.

A Letter from Mr. Locke to Mr. Samuel Bold.

SIR, Oates, 16 May, 1699.

YOURS of the 11th of April I received not till the last week. I suppose Mr. Churchill staid it till that discourse wherein you have been pleased to defend my Essay was printed, that they might come together, though neither of them need a companion to recommend it to me. Your reasonings are so strong and just, and your friendship to me so visible, that every thing must be welcome to me that comes from your pen, let it be of what kind soever. I promise myself that to all those who are willing to open their eyes and to enlarge their minds to a true knowledge of things, this little treatise of yours will be greatly acceptable and useful; and for those who will shut their eyes for fear they should see more than others have seen before them, or rather for fear they should make use of them, and not blindly and lazily follow the sayings of others; what can be

done to them? They are to be let alone to join in the cry of the herd they have placed themselves in, and take that for applause which is nothing but the noise that of course they make to one another, which way ever they are going: so that the greatness of it is no manner of proof that they are in the right.—I say not this because it is a discourse wherein you favour any opinions of mine, (for I take care not to be deceived by the reasonings of my friends,) but I say it from those who are strangers to you, and who own themselves to have received light and conviction from the clearness and closeness of your reasonings, and that in a matter at first sight very abstruse and remote from ordinary conceptions.—There is nothing that would more rejoice me than to have you for my neighbour. The advantages that you promise yourself from mine, I should receive from your conversation. The impartial lovers and searchers of truth are a great deal fewer than one could wish or imagine. It is a rare thing to find any one to whom one can communicate one's thoughts freely, and from whom one may expect a careful examination and impartial judgment of them. To be learned in the lump by other men's thoughts, and to be in the right by saying after others, is the much easier and quicker way; but how a rational man that should inquire and know for himself, can content himself with a faith or religion taken upon trust, or with such a servile submission of his understanding, as to admit all and nothing else but what fashion makes at present passable amongst some men, is to me astonishing. I do not wonder that concerning many points you should have different apprehensions from what you meet with in authors; with a free mind, that unbiassedly pursues truth, it cannot be otherwise; 1st, because all authors did not write unbiassedly for truth's sake; and, 2dly, because there are scarce any two men that have perfectly the same views of the same thing till they come with attention, and perhaps mutual assistance, to examine it. A consideration that makes conversation with the living much more desirable and useful than consulting the dead, would the living but be inquisitive after truth, apply their

thoughts with attention to the gaining of it, and be indifferent with whom it was found, so they could but find it. The first requisite to the profiting by books is not to judge of opinions by the authority of the writers. None have the right of dictating but God himself, and that because he is truth itself. All others have a right to be followed as far as I have, and no farther, i. e. as far as the evidence of what they say convinces, and of that my own understanding alone must be judge for me, and nothing else. If we made our own eyes our own guides, admitted or rejected opinions only by the evidence of reason, we should neither embrace nor refuse any tenet, because we find it published by another, of what name or character soever he was.

You say you lose many things because they slip from you. I have had experience of that myself, but for that my lord Bacon has provided a sure remedy. For, as I remember, he advises somewhere never to go without pen and ink, or something to write with, and to be sure not to neglect to write down all thoughts of moment that come into the mind. I must own I have omitted it often, and often repented it. The thoughts that come often unsought, and, as it were, drop into the mind, are commonly the most valuable of any we have, and therefore should be secured, because they seldom return again.

You say also that you lose many things, because your own thoughts are not steady and strong enough to follow and pursue them to a just issue. Give me leave to think that herein you mistake yourself, and your own abilities. Write down your thoughts upon any point as far as you have at any time pursued them, and go on with them again some other time, when you find your mind disposed to it, and so till you have carried them as far as you can, and you will be convinced that, if you have lost any, it has not been for want of strength of mind to bring them to an issue, but for want of memory to retain a long train of reasonings which the mind, having once beat out, is loth to be at the pains to go over again, and so the connexion and train having slipped the memory, the pursuit stops, and the reasoning is ne-

glected before it comes to the last conclusion. If you have not tried it, you cannot imagine the difference there is in studying with and without a pen in your hand. Your ideas, if the connexions of them that you have traced be set down, so that, without the pains of recollecting them in your memory, you can take an easy view of them again, will lead you farther than you could expect. Try, and tell me if it be not so. I say not this that I should not be glad to have any conversation with you, upon any points you shall employ your thoughts about. Propose what you have of this kind freely, and do not suspect it will interfere with any of my affairs. Know that besides the pleasure it is to converse with a thinking man, and a lover of truth, I shall profit by it more than you. This you would see by the frequency of my visits, if you were within the reach of them.

That which I think of Deut. xii. 15. is this, that the reason why it is said, *as the roebuck and the hart*, is, because, Lev. xvii. to prevent idolatry in offering the blood to other gods, they were commanded to kill all the cattle that they ate at the door of the Tabernacle, as a peace-offering, and sprinkle the blood on the altar. But wild beasts that were clean might be eaten, though their blood were not offered to God, ver. 13, because being commonly killed before they were taken, their blood could not be sprinkled on the altar, and therefore it sufficed in such cases to pour out their blood whereever they were killed, and cover it with dust, and for the same reason, when the camp was broken up, wherein the whole people was in the neighbourhood of the Tabernacle, during their 40 years passage from Egypt to Canaan, and the people were scattered in their habitations through all the Land of Promise, those who were too far off from the Temple were excused (Deut. xii. 21, 22.) from killing their tame cattle at Jerusalem and sprinkling their blood on the altar. No more was required of them than was required in killing a roebuck, or any other clean wild beast: they were only to pour out the blood, and cover it with dust, and so they might eat of the flesh.

These are my thoughts concerning that passage. What you say about critics and critical interpretations, particularly of the holy scriptures, is not only in my opinion very true, but of great use to be observed on reading learned commentators, who not seldom make it their business to show in what sense a word has been used by other authors; whereas the proper business of a commentator is barely to show in what sense it was used by the author in that place; which in the scripture we have reason to conclude was most commonly in the ordinary vulgar sense of that word or phrase known in that time, because the books were writ, as you justly observe, and adapted to the people. If the critics had observed this, we should have had in their works less ostentation, and more truth, and a great deal of the darkness and doubtfulness now spread upon the scriptures had been avoided. I have had a late proof of this in myself, who have lately found in some large passages of scripture a sense quite different from what I understood it in before, and from what I find in commentators; and yet it appears so clear to me, that when I see you next I shall dare to appeal to you in it. But I read the word of God without prepossession or bias, and come to it with a resolution to take my sense from it, and not with a design to bring it to the sense of my system. How much that had made men wind and twist and pull the text in all the several sects of christians, I need not tell you. I desire to take my religion from the scriptures, and then whether it suits or suits not any other denomination, I am not much concerned; for I think at the last day it will not be inquired whether I were of the church of England, or church of Geneva, but whether I sought and embraced the truth in the love of it. The proofs I have set down in my book, of one infinite, independent, eternal Being, satisfied me; and the gentleman that desired others, and pretended that the next proposition to that of the existence of a self-sufficient, independent Being, should be this, that such a Being is but one, and that he could prove it antecedent to his attributes, v. g. of infinity, omnipotence, &c. I am pretty well satisfied, pretended to what he had not, and

therefore trouble not myself any farther about that matter. As to what you say upon this occasion, I agree with you, that the ideas of the modes and actions of substances are usually in our minds before the idea of substance itself; but in this I differ from you, that I do not think the ideas of the operations of things are antecedent to the ideas of their existence, for they must exist before they can any way affect us, or make us sensible of their operations, and we must suppose them to be before they operate. My essay is going to be printed again: I wish you were near me, that I might shew you the several alterations and additions I have made, before they go to the press.

The warm weather that begins now with us makes me hope I shall now speedily get to town; if any business draws you thither this summer, I hope you will order it so that I may have a good share of your company. Nobody values it more than I do; and I have a great many things to talk with you. I am, Sir,

Your most affectionate,

and most humble Servant,

For Mr. Samuel Bold, J. LOCKE.
at Steeple.

DEAR COLL, Oates, April 24, 1696.

I SEE by the temper the country is in, (and I doubt not but there are those who will blow the coal,) that if London does not set them a good example, the act will be broken through, and clipping will be continued upon us.—I am sure the trade goes on as brisk as ever; a company was lately taken at or about Ware. Somebody ready, as soon as the day comes, to arrest a goldsmith that refused to pay money according to the law, would spoil the trick, especially if several of them were made examples.—If clipped money once get but currency

in London amongst those blades, but for the first week after the 4th of May, I look upon it as irretrievable, but if it be stopped there, the rest of the kingdom will fall into it, especially if receiving clipped money by weight be introduced. These are at present my thoughts, which I trouble those with who I know are able to make use of them, if they may be of any. Duty and service from all here.

I am, dear Col, &c.

J. LOCKE.

Lord Ashley to Dr. Fell.

SIR, Dec. 8, 1670.

YOU are well acquainted with the kindnesse I have great reason to have to Mr. Locke, in whose behalf I had prevailed with the duke of Ormond for his assistance towards the attaining his doctor's degree, at the reception of the prince of Aurange; and I am apt to think the instance of your chancellor, and the relation he has to me, would not have been denied by the university. But Mr. Locke understanding the provost of Eaton declared himself, and you, dissatisfied with it, has importuned me to give him leave to decline it, which, upon conference with my worthy friend the bishop of Rochester, I have donne, and returned his grace's letter, though my lord bishop of Rochester can tell you I could not but complain to him, that your chapter had not been so kinde to me, in Mr. Locke's affairs, as I thought I might justly expect, considering him a member of their house, having done both my life and family that service I owne from him, and I being of that quality I am under his Majestie, under which title only I pretend to any favour from them. All that I request now, of you and them, is, that since he will not allow me to doe him this kindnesse, you will give me leave to bespeake your favour for the next faculty place, and that a more powerful hand may not take it from him.

I rely very much on my lord Rochester's mediation, and your own kindnesse to me, that may induce you to believe, that an obligation will not be absolutely cast away on,

SIR,

Your affectionate friend and servant.

MY LORD,

I DOUBT not but your lordship hath before this time heard of the death of Mr. Locke, who was in the full possession of his reason and understanding to the last minute of his life; he hath made me his executor, by means whereof his writings are come to my hands, amongst which I find three or four sheets of memoirs of your grandfather's life, with an epitaph on your grandfather. Mr. Locke designed, if he had lived longer, to have gone on farther with those memoirs. I beg your lordship's pardon that I have not acquainted your lordship herewith sooner; but Mr. Locke happening to dye in the term, I had not leisure to look into his concerns, beyond what was absolutely necessary, till within these few days. These papers properly belong to your lordship, and I thought it my duty to acquaint your lordship therewith, and shall dispose of them as your lordship shall direct.

I am, with all sincerity,

Your Lordship's most dutiful,

and affectionate servant,

PETER KING.

Inner Temple,
Dec. 9, 1704.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

GROWTH AND CULTURE

OF

VINES AND OLIVES:

THE

PRODUCTION OF SILK:

THE

PRESERVATION OF FRUITS.

Written at the REQUEST of

The EARL of SHAFTSBURY.

To whom it is inscribed.

(FIRST PUBLISHED in M.DCC.LXVI.)

THE

EDITOR TO THE READER.

AT this time, when every improvement of the garden is so much the study and delight of our countrymen; when artificial means have been discovered to supply every defect of climate, and the vegetable productions of every other region of the globe have been raised in our own soil; it is presumed the following small tract, printed from a manuscript very neatly written by Mr. John Locke, with his usual accuracy, will be no unwelcome present to the public.

Subjects of curiosity and instruction, to the inquisitive philosopher and his noble patron, will, doubtless, be entertaining to every reader.

Should it gain a passage to America, it will be of far more extensive use both to that country and to Britain.

No union, no alliance, is so firm and lasting as that which is founded upon the solid basis of a mutual interest.

Necessity, natural or artificial, is the real cause and support of trade and navigation. Our commerce with Spain and Portugal, and other countries, will subsist under every change of government or inhabitants, whilst we are in want of the productions of their soil and industry.

Politicians, who ought to know how commerce, and consequently naval force, has fluctuated in the world, will take care not to oppress, by very heavy and impro-

vident taxations, their manufactures, and other articles of trade at home, nor such commodities imported from abroad, as may dispose other nations to cultivate those very articles among themselves, which they have hitherto received from us.

However populous and great, industrious and rich, the settlements in the vast continent of America may hereafter become, this the mother-country may for ever be connected with it more intimately than the southern nations, by encouraging the growth and produce of vines and olives, silk and fruits, which cannot advantageously be raised in England: and sound policy will always engage the subjects in England and America not to be rivals in trade, by setting up such manufacturers in one country as must necessarily distress the other.

The wisdom of this country will instruct governors to do all that is possible to promote the linen manufacture in Ireland; and the wise and good in both kingdoms will never desire such use of their wool and their ports as must be directly prejudicial to England.

The most perfect harmony will subsist between Great Britain and her colonies, as long as British subjects, cemented by blood, by mutual interest and commerce, continue friends to liberty and the protestant religion, and succession in the present royal family; this is a true and lasting family-compact: all which inestimable blessings will be rendered permanent and inviolable by the fleets of England, which, whilst the British empire is united, will be superiour to all other powers in the world.

The editor cannot take his leave of the reader without observing, that very important services have been done to America, by a plan of government drawn up for the province of Carolina by Mr. Locke, under the direction of that eminent and able statesman the first earl of Shaftsbury; and by the present earl of Shafts-

bury, as an active and zealous trustee for the colony of Georgia; from which, in time, we may expect a considerable quantity of raw silk will be imported into England.

Vines are natural to the soil of many parts in America; and, if olive-trees are planted in such provinces as are most proper for the growth of them, the planters will soon be enriched, and England relieved in several articles made from this profitable fruit, and which are necessary to the support of every individual and every manufacture in the kingdom.

Temple, March 1766.

G. S.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

ANTHONY EARL OF SHAFTSBURY.

MY LORD,

THE country, where these observations were made, hath vanity enough to over-value every thing it produces; and it is hard to live in a place, and not take some tincture from the manners of the people. Yet I think I should scarce have ventured to trouble your lordship with these French trifles, had not your lordship yourself encouraged me to believe, that it would not be unacceptable to you, if I took this way (for I ought all manner of ways) to express that duty and observance wherewith I am,

MY LORD,

Your lordship's most humble,

and most obedient servant,

Ch. Ch. Feb. 1,
1679.

JOHN LOCKE.

W I N E.

In Languedoc they plant their vineyards in February; and they choose the quarter before the full, as the fittest time of the moon to do it in.

They set the cuttings they plant exactly in quincunx, and the rows at four and a half, five, and six pans distance.—A pan is $9\frac{1}{6}$ inches.

About Tholoun in Provence, and also about Bourdeaux, I have seen vines and corn interchangeably; viz. two or three rows of vines, and then a ridge or two of corn.

They set their plants about a spit deep, and always leave two knots above ground.

In setting the vines, they dig the ground sometimes all over, sometimes only in trenches.

They plant their vineyards both in plains and on hills, with indifferency; but say that on hills, especially opening to the east or south, the wine is best; in plains they produce most. The soil about Frontignan, where the best muscat grows, is so stony, that one can see no earth at all. And the vine de Pontac, so much esteemed in England, grows on a rising open to the west, in a white sand mixed with a little gravel, which one would think would bear nothing; but there is such a particularity in the soil, that at Mr. Pontac's, near Bourdeaux, the merchants assured me that the wine growing in the very next vineyards, where there was only a ditch between, and the soil, to appearance, perfectly the same, was by no means so good. The same also they observe about Montpelier, where two vineyards, bounding one

upon another, constantly produce the one good and the other bad wine.

A vineyard, from its planting, will last fifty, eighty, or an hundred years. The older the vineyard, the fewer the grapes, but the better the wine. New planted vineyards produce more, but the wine not so good: it is generally green, i. e. more inclining to verjuice.

The vineyard thus planted, the next year at pruning they cut them, so that (if conveniently there can) there may be four shoots next year, near the ground, at least three, spreading several ways, which may come to be so many standing branches, out of which the shoots are to sprout. There being thus left the beginnings of three or four branches spreading different ways, ever afterwards, when they come to prune, they leave about an inch of that last year's shoot, which grew strait out of the top of each of the four standing branches; all the rest they cut off clean to the old stock.

If by chance they find (when they are pruning) a vine decayed, or gone in any place, they dig a trench from the next stock to that place, and laying the old stock along in the trench, order it so that one last year's shoot of the said stock shall come out just where the laid stock grew, and another where there was one wanting: these they cut off about eight or nine inches above the ground, which being fed by the great old root (which they move not when they lay the old stock, but so loosen it only as it may let the old stock be gently bent down, and so be buried in the trench) will bear the next vintage: whereas, if they planted a cutting in the place where they found a stock wanting, it would not bear in three or four years. By these young plants, they stick in a good strong branch, a pretty deal longer than the plant, which they leave there to defend it.

They prune their vines in December, January, February, and March; they that do it so late as the latter end of February, or the month of March, are such as have vineyards apt to shoot early in the spring; and, if cold weather nip the young shoots, they have the fewer grapes at the vintage. And in pruning their vines they

observe to do it in one year in the new and another in the old of the moon, or else they say they will grow too much to wood.

They turn the ground of their vineyards twice a year; about the end of February or in March, and again in May; they do it either by ploughing betwixt the rows of vines, or, which they count better, by digging, in which they sometimes use little spades, but most commonly large houghs, the usual way of delving in this country; in which way they turn up the earth as deep and much faster than our men do with spades in England.

Pigeons dung and hens dung they make use of in their vineyards, as an improvement that will increase the quantity without injuring the goodness of their wine: but horse dung, or that of any beast, they say, spoils the goodness of their wine. This they have so strong an opinion of at Galliac, a place about thirty leagues from Montpelier, that, if a peasant there should use any but birds dung about his vines, his neighbours would burn his house; because they would not have the wine of that place lose its reputation.

I have been told that a sheep's horn buried at the root of a vine will make it bear well even in barren ground. I have no great faith in it, but mention it, because it may so easily be tried.

But I suppose the husbandry in their vineyards differs much, both according to the fashion of several countries, and the difference of soil; for I remember that, at Mr. Pontac's vineyard near Bourdeaux, the vines in some parts of the vineyard grew four or five feet high, and were tied to stakes; and in another part of the same vineyard they were directed along upon the ground, not above a foot from it, between little low stakes or laths, so that the old branches stand on each side the root like a pair of arms spread out, and lying open towards the south. The reason of this different way of culture I could not learn of the labourers for want of understanding Gascoin. In Languedoc they use no stakes at all to support their vines, but they trust them to the strength of their own growth, pruning them as I have above

mentioned; which makes them say in the more northerly parts of France, that in Languedoc they have wine without taking pains for it.

When the grapes are ready to turn, they go into the vineyards, and there taking four, five, or six of the neighbour shoots, twist them together at the top; and thus the shoots all through the vineyard, being as it were tied together, stand upright, whereby the grapes have more sun, and perhaps the sap too is hindered from running into the wood and leaves.

They have about Montpelier these following sorts of grapes:

1. Epiran.
2. Espiran verdau.
3. Tarret.
4. Barbarous.
5. Grumeau negre.
6. Grumeau blanc.
7. Grumeau blanc muscat.
8. Laugeby.
9. L'ougré.
10. Raisin de St. Jean.
11. Marroquin.
12. Marroquin gris.
13. Marroquin bleu.
14. Clarette.
15. Clarette rouge.
16. Ovilla de negre.
17. Ovilla de blanc.
18. Covilla de Gal.
19. Ramounen.
20. Unio negro.
21. Unio blanquo.
22. Corinth.
23. Effouimu.
24. Iragnou.
25. Piquepoul.
26. Farret.
27. Piquardan.
28. Musquat negre.
29. Musquat blanc.
30. Musquat d'Espagne.
31. Palofedo.
32. Servan.
33. Damas violet.
34. Raison de la fon.
35. Sadoulo boyyier.
36. Sergousan.
37. L'ambrusque.
38. Rovergas.
39. Coltort.
40. Masquadassas.
41. Crispata.

These are the names of grapes they have about Montpelier, as they are called in the pattoy of that country.

1. The espiran, a round, black, very sweet and very wholesome grape: they eat them in great quantities when thorough ripe (which is about the middle of August stylo novo) without any fear of surfeit; and they

are often prescribed by physicians to be eaten plentifully. I think them one of the best fruits in the world. These alone, of all the red grapes, make good wine by themselves; but they plant them not in so great quantities as the other sorts, because in hot and dry seasons they will dry up before they are ripe.

2. Espiran verdau, or the green espiran, called so from its colour; an admirable grape also to eat, though not altogether so delicate as the black espiran; but its excellency is, that it will keep long in the winter for eating; and I have eat very good of them at Christmas. Their way of keeping them is to gather them when ripe, and so hang them up, every bunch single, to the roof of a close room.

3. Tarret is a black, very large, but not very sweet grape, and therefore used only for wine; wherein it gives a very large quantity, but not much strength.

5. Grumeau negre, or the black grumeau, is an excellent large grape, very fleshy, and well enough tasted, of the fashion of a pear. I have seen one single grape of this sort which was in compass above 3½ inches English measure, and in compass the long way 3¾, and weighed of their weights ℥ss. ℈j. gr. iij. and all the rest of the grapes of the same bunch proportionable; but I have not observed them ordinarily planted in their vineyards.

10. Raisin de St. Jean is a sort of grape which they have only at the physic-garden at Montpelier: it came from India; it is a black grape, very good, ripe at Midsummer (and therefore called St. John's grape) two months before any of the other sorts.

11. Marroquin, a very black, large, fleshy, round grape, very good to eat, but seldom used in wine.

14. Clarette, white, longish, middle-sized, sweet, good to eat, and good for wine.

19. Ramounen, black, very sweet, middle-sized, good for wine, and eating.

22. Corinth; this we have in England; and I do not find they use it much there for wine.

25. Piquepoul, black and very sweet, good for wine and for eating.

27. Piquardan, white, long, large, very sweet, with a very little of the muscat taste in it; makes very good wine alone or mingled.

29. Musquat blanc, or white muscat; this is usually planted and pressed alone, and makes the wine we usually call Frontiniac, from Frontignan, a town on the Mediterranean, near two or three leagues from Montpelier, where the most and best sort of this wine is made. It is a pleasant grape, and early ripe, before the ordinary sorts; but they are not near so good to eat as the espiran, being apt to fume to the head and make it ache.

32. Servan, a long, large, white, fleshy, sweet grape, called so, because they keep well, and you have of these always latest in winter.

41. Crispata: this I saw no-where but in the physic-garden at Montpelier: a good sweet white grape; called so from its jagged leaves, and I suppose the same with our parsley grape in England.

At Marmoustier, the great abbey of benedictins near Tours, I saw in their garden a sort of grapes pretty ripe, which they called raisins de Ste. Magdalene, because they used to be ripe about that time, which is the 22d of July.

Upon the skilful mixture of these several sorts of grapes, as well as on the propriety of the soil, depends in a great measure the goodness of their wine: though, as far as I could observe, it was not so far improved as it might; nor any other great care taken, but that there should be always a mixture of white grapes when they made their red wine, which will otherwise be too thick and deep-coloured: and therefore, if they have a sufficient quantity of claret or piquardin grapes in their vineyards, they seem not over curious of an exact proportion of the other sorts, which are planted there promiscuously.

When their grapes are ripe, and they have leave, they cut them, carry them home, and tread them immediately; for they will not keep without spoiling: this is the reason they must have leave; for, the parson being to have his tithe, and of that make his wine, if the parishioners were not obliged to vintage all at the

same time, he could not make wine of his share, since one parcel of grapes could not stay till the other was cut to be pressed with them.

The grapes being brought in great tubs, either on mules or men's backs, to the place where the wine is to be made, they put them in a kind of grate over the kuve, and there tread them till they are all broken, and then they throw them husks, stalks, and all, into the kuve: and thus till all their whole crop of grapes are trod.

When all the mass is in the kuve, they let it work there one, two, or three days, as they think fit to have their wine: the longer it works, and the more stalks are in it (for sometimes they put them not all in) the rougher and deeper-coloured will the wine be, but keep the longer.

When it has wrought its time in the kuve, they put it into buts, and there let it work as long as it will, filling up the working vessel every day with some of the same must kept on purpose, for it wastes much in working.

Of the marc (which is husks, stalks, and other sediment, left at the bottom of the kuve when the must is taken out) they make a worse and coarse sort of wine for the servants, and this they press as we do our apples, to make cyder.

The stones, after pressing, some people cleanse from the rest of the marc, and sell for food for pigeons: the stalks also cleansed they use in making of verdigris. And in some places they take the remaining marc after pressing, put it in great tubs, and cover it with water, keeping the marc down with weights, and of this they give to their horses, which very much cools and refreshes them there in the hot season. This may give one reason to consider, whether any such use might be made of the marc of our apples, after making cyder.

When they have a mind to have their wine fine sooner than ordinary, they put into the cask a pretty good quantity of shavings of fir, and in some places of hazel, and with it they sometimes put some whole white grapes.

A little bread or oil (they say ever so little, and therefore they are very careful in this point) mixed with the

must, turns the wine to vinegar; and so does thunder: but they say iron laid upon the vessels will keep wine from souring by thunder.

The kuve is, in some places, a great vessel made of wood (witness the great kuve that is yet to be seen at Marmoustier, which, they say, will hold two hundred tun of wine), as our brewers vessels for the working of their kuve is in England. But, at Montpelier, it is usually a place made in the ground in some part of the house, proportionably big accordingly to the quantity they ordinarily make, and lined with plaster of Paris, to keep it from leaking. In the kuve (which is made use of but once a year) as well as all other parts of their making wine, they are, according to their manner, sufficiently nasty: the grapes often are also very rotten, and always full of spiders. Besides that, I have been told by those of the country, that they often put salt, dung, and other filthiness, in their wine to help, as they think, its purging. But, without these additions, the very sight of their treading and making their wine (walking without any scruple out of the grapes into the dirt, and out of the dirt into grapes they are treading) were enough to set one's stomach ever after against this sort of liquor.

In some parts of Languedoc, out of the great roads, their wine is so cheap, that one may ordinarily buy three pints a penny.

It is usual to set fig-trees, pear-trees, &c. up and down in their vineyards, and sometimes I have seen olive-trees. Here at Montpelier, as in other parts of France, it is no discredit for any man to hang out a bush at his door, and sell his wine by retail, either to those that fetch it out of doors, or will come and drink it at his house; for which they usually, for that time, set apart a room or quarter of the house, and have a servant on purpose to attend it. This I have known both gentlemen and churchmen do. But, whoever, in Languedoc, sells his own wine at his house, must not afford his customers so much as a bit of bread, or any thing else, to eat with it; for then it will come under the notion of a cabaret, or common drinking-house, and their tax or

excise overtake them. I mention Languedoc, because in other parts of France they who sell their own wine by retail, are not excused from paying the king a part of what they sell it for. At Saumur, I remember I was told, they then sold their wine (which is a very good sort of white wine) at their bushons, i. e. private houses, for 18 deniers per pint, which is more than our quart; out of which 18d. the king had 10d. and the proprietor the remaining 8d.

OIL.

THE sorts of olives, as well as grapes, are very various about Montpelier: the names of some of them are as followeth:

1. Groosau, a large olive.
2. Pichulina, little.
3. Verdal, middle-sized.

These three sorts are good to eat, and the last also is good for oil, and a great bearer.

4. Olivera.
5. Corneau.
6. Salierna.
7. Clarmontesa.
8. Redonau.

} Good bearers.

9. Bootiliau.
10. Argentau.
11. Moorau.
12. Marsiliesa.
13. Pigau.

All these are little olives, and used only for oil: they plant them promiscuously in their olive-yards, and mingled the olives in making oil. That which they principally regard in the plants is, that they be of the sorts that are the best bearers, and if they have not enough of those, they plant others, and inoculate them. The slips will grow, but they commonly use off-sets from the roots.

Their time of planting is February, March, and April. Their olive-treës last to a great age; they say two hundred years. When the old stocks are faulty or decayed, they let up young off-sets from the roots round about,

and when they are grown up to any considerable bigness, cut away the old stock close to the ground; and when the remaining young trees have not room to spread, because of their neighbourhood, they transplant them, till they leave at last but one standing.

They set their olive-trees ordinarily in quincunx, the rows at thirty or forty feet distance in their arable ground; for this hinders them not from ploughing and sowing corn in the same ground.

They dig about their olive-trees every year, and about the same time they dig their vineyards, and sometimes at others; and lay soil in the trenches they open about their roots; this is usually done in March, and the soil they use is horse-dung.

In pruning their olive-trees, which they do about the beginning of March, I observed them to cut off the top branches, I suppose to make them spread.

About the beginning of October they gather the olives, yet green, that they intend to pickle for eating, (for about the end of October they turn black;) and having carefully picked out those that have worms, they soak the sound ones, in the strongest ley they can get, four, six, or eight hours, according as they design to eat them sooner or later: the longer they soak in the ley, the more of their bitterness is taken away, but they will keep the less while. This ley they buy for this purpose at the soap-boilers. After they have been soaked in ley, they put them into water, which, for the three or four first days, they change two or three times a day, and afterwards once; in all a fortnight: this they do to take away the taste of the ley. The ley and water they use both cold. When this is done, they put them into pickle of salt and water, and so keep them.

I have been told, that cutting each olive in two or three places to the stone, and so soaking them in fair water seven or eight days, changing it every day, will take away their bitterness, and prepare them well enough for the pickle: but they count the ley the better way.

They often pickle them also after they are turned black, cutting them in two or three places to the stone,

and then soaking them about a fortnight in water changed every day, and then boiling them in salt and water, which is the pickle they keep them in. These have a much worse taste than the green, having no very pleasant mixture of bitter and oily: but the good housewives think they will go much farther, (for they are oftener food than sauce there,) and so in their private families are commonly used.

They count their olives ripe enough for oil about St. Catharine's day, the 25th of November; and about that time they begin to gather them: though I have seen them let them hang on the trees, and not gathered till the latter end of January.

In the gathering there will be leaves and branches mixed with them; to separate these they lay them down in a heap in a field, and a workman, taking up a few in a shovel, throws them into a winnowing sheet set up at a good distance from him, whither the olives come alone, the leaves and branches falling by the way.

The manner of making oil is this;

They take four septiés of olives a little heaped, and put them into a mill, which is drawn by a mule, where they grind them, as tanners grind bark, to a fine pulp, one standing by as the mill goes round, and shovelling in a little of the olives or pulp towards the centre, and clearing a part of the stone at the bottom, where he stands with a shovel, which he doth so by degrees and in succession, that I believe the mule goes round forty or fifty times for his once.

They being sufficiently ground, they put them into a stone trough, two whereof stand between the mill and the press; out of these troughs they take the pulp, and put it into frails, and spread it in them equally, so that they may lay them plain one upon another. Of these frails there were, when I saw them press, twenty-four upon each pedestal; viz. in all forty-eight; in which were contained ten septiés of olives. Sometimes they press twelve septiés of olives at once, and then they use more frails proportionably.

The frails being filled with pulp, and placed evenly and upright upon the two pedestals in equal number,

they set the press a-working, first lifting up the screw end, and so the other end of the beam, sinking upon the hinder pile of frails, and pressing them, may make way for the putting in the wedges into the great mortise, and discharge the wedge in a little mortise, which, whilst they were placing the frails upon the pedestals, supported the beam; which being taken out, they work the screw the other way, and so bringing down the screw end of the beam press both on the fore and hinder pile of frails; a man attending in the mean time at each pile of frails with a lever in his hand, which resting in the groove or gutter where the oil runs, he thrusts against the side of the pile of frails, whenever he perceives it begin to swell out on any side, and thus keeps it upright from leaning any way whilst it is pressing, especially at the beginning; another man in the mean time not ceasing to turn the screw till the great stone at the end of it be clear off from the ground.

When the oil ceases to run, or but in small quantity, they lift up the screw end of the beam, and then putting a wedge in the little mortise, bring down the screw end of the beam again, and so lift up the great end that pressed the frails, and so bringing the beam to a level (the whole weight whereof lies upon the wedge in the little mortise, which supports it in the middle) discharge it clear from the frails.

Then they take off all the frails, except the eight or ten lower, on each pedestal, and stirring the pulp in one of the frails taken off, replace it again upon those that remained still on the pedestal; and then one pours on it a bucket of scalding water; after which he stirs the pulp again, and lays it flat and equal as at first, and then stirs and puts on another frail as before, with a bucket of scalding water poured on it; and so they serve them all, till all the frails that were taken off are replaced on the two piles as at first; and then they set the press a-working again as long as any quantity will run; and then lifting up the beam again, take off all the frails, stir the pulp, and pour on fresh hot water upon every frail, a little bucket-full as at first, and then press as long as any thing will run, screwing the stone up clear from the

ground, and letting it hang so a good while. When not one jot more of liquor will be pressed from the frails, and they perfectly cease running, they let down the stone, and that pressing is done; and then one with a broad, but very shallow skimming-dish of brass, skims off the oil from the water, puts it into a brass vessel like a tumbler, but holding, as I guess, about three pints, and out of that pouring it into the vessels of the owners by a brass funnel.

When the oil is well skimmed off from the water, they pull out a stopple in the bottom of the cistern, and so let go the water, which runs into a great cistern, called hell, which is locked up and out of sight; into this hell all the water that hath served in pressing the oil runs, and is made so, that though it be always full of this water, yet the water alone runs out, and the oil that swims on top stays behind, by which means all the oil that escaped the skimming-dish is here caught: but this I suppose belongs to the master of the oil-press, for every body's water runs in here to the former oil and water.

N. B.

1°. That the mill which grinds the olives is much after the same fashion with that which our tanners use to grind bark, only with some difference.

As 1°, that in the centre of the oil-mill there stands up a round stone, very smooth and true wrought, about two feet English in diameter, and about the same height, which the inside of the great grinding stone touches in its going round about it, so that no olives can escape the great stone towards the centre, nor get beside it that way.

2°. That the floor of the mill, upon which the great turning stone bears in its turning round, is also of hard stone and smooth, and a little shelving, the declivity being towards the centre; to answer which, the edge of the turning stone which is to grind the olives, that it may bear in its whole breadth upon the stones in the floor, is not cut with a direct perpendicular to the sides, but the line of the inside of the said grinding stone, and of the edge or circumference, make an angle something

less than a right one, and on the outside there is left no angle, but it is cut off with a round; by which means, I suppose the great grinding stone slides constantly towards and is kept close to the round stone that stands fixed in the centre described N° 1°, upon which the perpendicular turning beam stands.

3°. So much of the floor or inside of the mill as the grinding stone does not touch, or is a little without his breadth, is covered with boards lying more shelving than the stone-floor within it; on which board-floor the olives to be ground are at first laid, which are not thrown all at once under the grinding stone, but are by small parcels shovelled down under the grinding stone by the man that attends the mill; every passing round of the stone a few; and here lies also the pulp which the stone works out in its grinding, which is also shovelled in its turn; for the floor of the mill, where the grinding stone bears on it, has always very little upon it, its great weight working is still out towards the circumference of the floor, for the stone in the middle hinders it from going inwards.

4°. The grinding stone is about six feet diameter, and about eleven inches thick, and on the edge and inside is wrought very smooth, and stands upright without leaning, that I could perceive; though, as I have said, the edge be not square to the sides, which is recompensed in the sinking of the floor towards the centre. The stone whereof it is made seems to be very hard, and it need be hard and heavy to break olive-stones and grind them to powder.

II°. That the shovels which they use to shovel in the pulp under the grinder, and when it is fine enough to take it out, and put it in the stone troughs, and then into the frails, are more like bakers peels than shovels, and there is not any iron upon any of them.

III°. That there are between the mill and the press two great stone troughs to put the pulp in when ground; two pedestals and two stone cisterns, into which the oil runs from the two pedestals by distinct passages, so that two peoples oil may be pressed at once, without the danger of mingling a drop.

IV°. The press is made thus: there are two pedestals about nineteen or twenty inches asunder, which lie just under the great end of the great beam; that which I call a pedestal is a round plain stone about twenty-six inches diameter, round about which is cut a groove or little trench in the same stone nine or ten inches broad; from the groove of each pedestal there is made a distinct passage for the oil to run to the two cisterns: upon these pedestals the frails are laid, and into these grooves or trenches the oil runs when pressed out of the frails, and so is conveyed separately to the two cisterns.

V°. Behind the hindmost pedestal stand erect in the ground two great beams, well fastened in the ground, as far on sunder from each other as the breadth of the pressing beam which is to pass up and down between them. From the nearest side of the nearest pedestal to the middle of the thickness of these beams horizontally is about twenty-nine inches: in the middle of each of these beams, in respect of their thickness, is cut a mortise or slit quite through, about forty-four or forty-five inches long, and about five or six inches broad; the bottom of this mortise is about forty-four inches higher than the pedestal.

VI°. This which I call the great mortise, they fill with several pieces of wood reaching quite athwart from outside to outside, and more, of the two erect beams; these pieces of wood, or, as I call them, wedges, are as thick as just easily to go into the mortise, and somewhat broader; with these they fill up this mortise when this end of the pressing beam is sunk below the lowest part of it, and thereby pin down the great end of the said beam to keep it down upon the frails, when the other end is drawn down by the screw; for by more or less of the wedges put into this mortise, they keep down the great end of the beam to the height that is fittest to press with.

VII°. The pressing beam is thirty-eight pans, or about thirty-two feet long, and about thirty-four inches broad; and, to increase its weight and strength, another great beam was fastened to it all along with bands of iron.

VIII°. At the little end is a screw, whereof the very screw (for it standing upright I could not measure it) was, as I guess, about thirteen or fourteen feet; the square of it, wherein the holes for the levers were cut, something above a yard; and at the bottom was a great round stone, in which this lower end of the screw is fastened with iron-work, so as to have the liberty to turn. The screw, when it is turned faster than this end of the pressing beam sinks, lifts up this great stone from the ground, which is as broad, thick, and heavy as an ordinary mill-stone.

IX°. Between the screw and the two erect beams placed behind the pedestals before described, stand two other beams, erect as the former, with a mortise in them long enough to hold only one wedge; this I call the little mortise, the top whereof is higher than the level of the highest frail, when they lay on most: upon this wedge the beam is to rest, when they are laying in or taking out the frails. So that the length of the great beam is thus divided: behind the pinning wedges three pans, from the pinning to the supporting wedge twenty pans, from the supporting wedge to the screw fifteen pans.

There is a piece of wood fastened on to the great beam, cross it, hanging over on each side, and placed just by the middle erect beams on the side towards the pedestals, to keep the great beam from sliding towards the screw.

X°. The ground where the great screw-stone lies is much lower than the level of the pedestals, which affords also a convenience for the placing the two cisterns, which are just under the great beam, and a little distance from the outmost pedestal.

XI°. The matter of the frails they use in pressing, and the texture, is the same with the frails that bring raisins to England; but the figure just the same with that of an hat-case, the crown being taken away: they are exactly all of a breadth, and scarce discernibly narrower than the pedestal; the whole to put in the pulp about one third of the breadth or diameter.

XII°. The oil that runs at first pressing, before the mixture of water, they call virgin oil, which is better than the other; but they all say it will not keep, but spoil in a month or two, unless you put to it salt or sugar, salt is the better of the two, and then it will keep six months: as much as you can hold in your two hands is enough to put into a septié of oil.—A septié is thirty-two pots, and their pot is more than our quart.

XIII°. They usually, therefore, let the virgin and other oil, of the second and third pressing, mingle all together in the cistern, which being afterwards put up in jars, and kept in cool cellars, will keep good seven years: but the mingling of some of the hot water, after pressing with the virgin oil, will not preserve it. So that it seems to be something either in the skins or stones of the olives, that comes not out but by the mixture of hot water and hard pressing, that serves to preserve it.

XIV°. They begin to gather their olives, as I have said, about St. Catharine's day, i. e. the 25th of November.

XV°. All confess that oil is better which is made of olives fresh gathered, than those that have keen kept a month or two: but some tell me they delay so long (for when I saw them making oil, it was almost the middle of February) because olives that are kept yield the more oil; others say, the reason why they are not pressed sooner is, because every body's grist cannot be ground at once, and they must stay till they can get a turn; and by keeping, they say also, they grind better, for the new gathered spirt away from the mill.

XVI°. After they have gathered their olives, they lay them in heaps in the corner of a cellar, or some such other place, upon little faggots of dried vine branches (a good part of the fuel of the country) between the olives and the ground, where sometimes a black water will run from them; this they call purging them. In these heaps they lie till they press them; none lie less than fifteen days; but, for the reasons above mentioned, they sometimes lie two months.

XVII°. Though they begin to gather their olives about the end of November, as has been said; yet they never set their mills on work till after Twelfth-day, or New-year's-day, at soonest: the reason whereof is this: the master of the mill hires a great many men, for the time that oil is made, who keep the mill going day and night. Those whose oil is making give these workmen meat and drink, whilst they are employed about their olives; so that if the master should entertain them before Christmas, he must not only pay them for so many holidays, whilst they stand still, but maintain them too.

XVIII°. Four septiés of olives usually yield one septié of oil; but I observed they were somewhat heaped.

XIX°. The goodness of the oil depends exceedingly on the property of the soil; this makes the oil of Aramont in Provence, not far from Avignon, the best in France.

XX°. When they are either filling the frails, or new stirring the pulp in them, there are two men at work at each pedestal, besides a fifth, that takes the pulp out of the trough thereby, wherein it lies ready ground, and with a shovel puts it into the frails as they bring them; or else lades boiling water out of the furnace (which is also by, and the top of it level with the ground, with a trap-door over) and pours it into the frails as they are ready for it.

XXI°. When the oil is made, carried home, and has settled, they usually take three-fourths of the upper part; this they call the flower, and put it into earthen pots for eating; the remainder, being thicker, is kept for lamps and such other uses: and the very thick sediment they put in the sun, to get as much oil out as they can.

XXII°. The pulp, that is left after all the pressing and affusion of boiling water, belongs to the master of the mill, who sells it for a groat, or five-pence a mill-full, to others, who press it again, and make a coarse oil for soap, and other such uses.

XXIII°. The remaining pulp the bakers use to throw

a little of it into their ovens as they are heating, it making a very violent fire.

XXIV°. Oil they count one of the best and surest commodities of their country. The ordinary rate of good oil at Montpelier is some years three, some four, and some years four livres and a half per quartal, i. e. one fourth of a septié, or eight pots.

FRUIT.

PLUMS.

THE best plums are,

1. Perdrigon.
2. D'Apricot.
3. Diapré.
4. Ste. Catherine.
5. Vert & long.
6. Damar violett.
7. Roche corbon.
8. Mirabell.
9. Catalane.

Of these the best to dry is the roche corbon, a large red plum; and the next to that the Ste. Catherine, large and yellow; because they are large and fleshy: not but that they dry of the other sorts too.

The way they take in drying them is this:

1°. They let them be so ripe, they drop off from the tree of themselves, which is best; or else fall with a little shaking.

2°. When you have them thus ripe, the best way (though not always observed) is to put them two or three days in the hot sun-shine, which will dry up gently some part of the superfluous moisture.

3°. When they have been thus a little dried in the sun, you must heat the oven gently; one little brush faggot is enough the first time; and having placed them singly upon wicker driers about two feet broad, and four or five feet long, (or of a round figure so large as will go into the oven's mouth,) put them into the oven, and so let them dry there till the oven is cold; and then they must be taken out and turned, whilst the oven is heating again. The oven may be thus heated twice a day, at eight in the morning, and at eight at night.

4°. The second time the oven may be made a little hotter than the first; and thus the heating of the oven,

and turning the plums, be repeated till they are dry enough, which is when they are of a due consistence and brownish colour.

5°. When they are so far dried as to be capable of pressing, the best way is to press them gently with the fingers, not into a flat, but round figure, for that way they keep best.

6°. The great care to be taken is in the first putting them into the oven, that the oven be not too hot; for if it be, it makes them crack their skins and run out, which makes them much worse.

PEACHES.

After the same manner one dries peaches, with this difference, that after the first time they have been in the oven, one peels them with a knife, for the skin will easily strip; and the stone then is to be taken out, and, if one will, a little peach thrust into its place, which makes the other large and better. This also they often do in drying their plums, when they take out the stone of a great one, thrust a little plum into the place of it.

PEARS.

Thus also pears are to be dried; but that the oven may be made a little hotter for pears than plums; they are to be stripped also after their first coming out of the oven.

The best pears to be dried, are the rouselette de Champagne.

The pears in most esteem amongst them about Tours and Saumur (for this is the part of France where are the best pears, plums, peaches, and melons) are,

1. Moule bouche.
2. Vigoleuse.
3. Martin sec.
4. Double fleur.
5. Rouselette.
6. Colmar.
7. St. Marsiac.
8. Vert & long.
9. Burée Blanche.
10. Rouselette de Champagne.
11. La poire de citron.
12. La citron de carmes.
13. La poire de monsieur.
14. La verate.
15. L'amadote musquée.
16. La muscate d'Almagne.

The 10, 11, 12, 13, are their best summer pears.

The Virgoleuse, Amadote musquée,
Verate, Muscate d'Almagne,

are their best winter pears.

In the recollets garden at Saumur there is abundance of good fruit, amongst the rest a sort of pear, which they call,

17. Poire sans peau,

which is ripe at the same time cherries are. They told me it was a very good pear, and a great bearer. Before the middle of August, when I was there, they were all gone.

They have in the same garden another pear, which they call

18. Poire de jasmin,

which, as they say, hath something of the flavour of jasmin.

MELONS.

The melons of Langers (a town upon the Loire, six leagues above Saumur) are counted the best in France; and from hence the court is supplied with them. Here, and at Saumur (where they are loth to give any preference to the melons of Langers), they set them in the common earth of their gardens without dung, or any other art, but barely nipping the tops of the branches when the young melons are knit, to hinder the sap from running too much into leaves and branches.

PRUNES.

The prunes we have from France are a great black plum, that grows about Montauban and those parts: they dry them as much as they can in the sun, and what wants to dry them perfectly, they make out by the heat of the oven.

Prunellas, or rather brignols, are a sort of plums that grow in Provence, not far from Aix: they gather them thorough ripe, and having stripped off the skins, they stick them on scuers about six inches long, and very slender; they take care not to put them too close to one

another on these scuers. These little spits, loaded thus with plums, they fasten one above another, either in a cane, or a rope of straw like that we make for onions; and as we hang them up in our houses to keep, so do they those in the sun to dry.

When they are a little hardened, or half dry, they take out the stones, and press them with their fingers into that flat figure we see them, wetting their fingers a little to hinder them from sticking to them in handling: when this is done, they put them to dry again in the sun till they are quite cured; some say on the scuers again, others on boards. Those that grow at Brignol are the best, and hence they have their name.

They sometimes dry them with their stones in, and so they are better, as some that have eaten of them have told me.

S I L K.

THEY usually put the eggs a hatching in the holy week, i. e. the week before Easter; but that which best regulates the time is the budding of the mulberry-trees, that when the worms are hatched, they may have food.

To hatch them, they commonly wrap them up in a linen rag, and so wear them in some warm place about them night and day till they are hatched, which will be in about three days.

When they are hatched, they feed them with the leaves of the white mulberry-tree: the leaves of the young trees are best whilst the worms are young; but when they are grown pretty big, and towards the latter end of their feeding, they must be fed with the leaves of old trees, else they will not be strong to get up into the branches to work. The leaves of young trees given them in the beginning make the silk the finer: they take care also not to give them yellow or withered leaves; but to avoid the trouble of gathering fresh leaves, every day, they will keep two or three days well enough in an earthen pot covered; or in a cellar.

They take great care also that no wet leaves or other moisture come to them, for that will kill them; and in feeding them they throw away the tender deep coloured young leaves at the top of the branches, because these, they say, will make the worms very big and yellow, and die also without working.

Whilst they are young, they keep them up in some box or chest from the cold, which will kill them: they say also that thunder will kill them, if it happen when they begin to work.

They change their skins four times, from ten days to ten days, or thereabouts; this they call their sickness; for about the time they change their skins they forbear to eat, and therefore they feed them but once a day; but at other times they give them fresh leaves oftener. At the time also of their sickness they change them, taking away the cake of dry leaves and dung that was under them, by removing them with fresh leaves, which they will stick to: but after the fourth sickness is over, they change them every day till they begin to work, which is about ten days after.

The woman of the house where I lay, put her eggs to hatch on Good Friday, April the 3rd; they were hatched the Monday following, and they began to work on Tuesday, June the 2nd: so that, allowing one day for every sickness, it fell out pretty near according to their reckoning.

When the worms are ripe as they call it, they cull out the ripe ones, i. e. those that are ready to work, from among those that are feeding, and put them upon shelves, where they are to work. They know those that are ripe by their clearness; for if you hold them up against the light with their bellies upwards, you will find them clear about the fore legs, some yellow, some white, according to the several colours of the silk they will spin; and by this clearness one may easily distinguish them from those that are not yet ripe.

The shelves they put them on to work are thus ordered: they place deal shelves one over another, as if they were for books; they make them about thirty inches broad, and the distance between them is about twenty-two inches: betwixt these shelves they set rows of a small brushy plant, somewhat like our heath, which reaching from one shelf to another are at the top turned partly one way, partly the other; so that the tops of the branches of these several rows or partitions reaching to one another touch, so that the whole length of each shelf is by these branches divided as it were into so many little caves, each of about nine or ten inches breadth; for the rows of branches that are set up to make these caves, which are as deep as the shelves are

broad, are set at that distance. Into one of these caves they put the worms that are first ripe, which creeping up the branches find amongst the little twigs places to work in. When one cave has as many of these spinners as it hath well room for, they fill the next, and so on.

They never give them any leaves of the red mulberry-tree when they are young, because it being a strong nourishment, will hurt them; but if one give them red mulberry-leaves towards the latter end, they will be the stronger, and mount the branches the better, which when they are weak they cannot do; and the silk of those that thus eat red mulberry-leaves is as good as the other.

About a fortnight after they begin to work, they take the cocons (i. e. the pods of silk they have wrought) out of the branches; if you take them down too soon, they will not have done working, and if you stay too long, they will have eat their way out of the pods, and the silk will be spoiled. It is time to take them down out of the branches as soon as any of the papilions, i. e. the flies that come out of the pods, appear amongst them.

As many of the cocons as they think necessary to keep for a breed for the next year they strip off the loose silk from, and then thread them; but pass the needle warily through the side of the cocon, so as it may be sure not to hurt the worm within. They count that a pound of cocons will yield an ounce of eggs. The cocons, thus threaded, they hang up or lay in a convenient room, that so the papilions may come out, and make love to one another, and then lay their eggs on white paper laid there on purpose.

From the remaining cocons they presently either wind off the silk, or if they cannot do that (for it is not every body can do it) they either with the heat of the sun, or oven, or hot water, kill the worms in the cocons, so that they may keep them without having them spoiled by the worm, till they can get their silk wound.

Eight pounds of cocons usually yield one pound of silk.

The way of winding silk off from the cocons is a thing that cannot be taught without seeing; and there are but

few amongst them that can do it well, it lying in a dexterity not easy to be learnt, as they say: they put the cocons in hot water, and so stirring them about with a kind of rod, the ends of the silk twires of the cocons stick to it, which they laying on upon a turning reel draw off from the cocons, which lie all the while in the hot water; but the great skill is to have such a number of these single twires of the cocons running at a time, as may make the thread of silk which they compose of a due bigness; for in turning (which they do apace) many of the twires of the cocons break, and so by degrees the silk thread, made of sundry of these drawn together, grows too little, and then the woman that is winding stirs her rod or little besom again with her left hand amongst the cocons, to get new ends of twires to add to the thread, which all this while keeps running. To know when to make this addition of new twires and in what quantity, so as to keep an even thread all along, is the great skill of these winders; for they do it by guess, and keep the real turning and the thread running all the while; for should they, as oft as is occasion, stand still to count the twires or consider the thread, and how many new twires were fit to be added, it would be an endless labour, and they could never make wages.

The engines also that they use for twisting this silk afterwards are too curious to be described, but by a model. I have seen one where one woman has turned a hundred and thirty-four spindles, and twisted as many threads at a time; and I have seen another wherein two women going in a wheel, like that of a crane, turned three hundred and sixty.

The mulberry-trees, where they stand near towns, yield them good profit; I have known the leaves of four white mulberry trees (some whereof were not very large) sold for a pistole, i. e. between sixteen and seventeen shillings sterling.

THE WHOLE

HISTORY

OF

NAVIGATION

FROM ITS

ORIGINAL TO THIS TIME

(1704.)

PREFIXED TO

CHURCHILL'S COLLECTION OF VOYAGES.

THE WHOLE

HISTORY

OF

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OF all the inventions and improvements the wit and industry of man has discovered and brought to perfection, none seems to be so universally useful, profitable and necessary, as the art of navigation. There are those that will not allow it to be called the invention of man, but rather the execution of the direction given by Almighty God, since the first vessel we read of in the world, was the ark Noah built by the immediate command and appointment of the Almighty. But this is not a place to enter upon such a controversy, where some will ask, why it should be believed there were not ships before the flood as well as after, since doubtless those first men extending their lives to eight or nine hundred years, were more capable of improving the world than we whose days are reduced to fourscore years, and all beyond them only misery or dotage? It is impertinent to spend time upon such frivolous arguments, which only depend on opinion or fancy. If then we give any credit to history, on

which all our knowledge of what is past depends, we shall find that navigation had but a mean and obscure original, that it was gradually and but very leisurely improved, since in many ages it scarce ventured out of sight of land; and that it did not receive its final perfection till these latter times, if we may be allowed to call that perfect which is still doubtless capable of a further improvement: but I give it that epithet only, with regard to the infinite advancement it has received since its first appearance in the world.

The first vessel ever known to have floated on the waters, was the ark made by God's appointment, in which Noah and his three sons were saved from the universal deluge. But this ark, ship, or whatever else it may be called, had neither oars, sails, masts, yards, rudder, or any sort of rigging whatsoever, being only guided by divine providence, and having no particular port, or coast to steer to, only to float upon the waters, till those being dried up, it rested on the mountains of Ararat, as we read in Gen. viii. 4. From this time till after the confusion of tongues there was no use of navigation, there being as yet no sufficient multitude to people the earth, and those men there were, having undertaken to build the tower of Babel, from thence were dispersed into all other parts of the known world. These first travellers doubtless met with many rivers before they came to the sea, as plainly appears by the situation of Babel, generally agreed upon by all that treat of sciptural geography; and those rivers they passed in a hollowed piece of timber, no better than a trough, or a sort of baskets covered over with raw hides, being the easiest that occurred to invention, and sufficient for their present purpose, which was only to pass on in their way to other parts, without the prospect of trade or commerce, which cannot be supposed to have then entered into their thoughts. What vessels they built when they came to the sea no history describes, and therefore it would be a rashness to pretend to any knowledge of them. That they were small, ill rigged, and only durst creep along the shores, is out of all dispute; if we consider that many

succeeding ages were no better furnished, though they never failed from time to time to correct the defects they found in their shipping, and industriously laboured to improve the art of navigation. Not to speak therefore of what is absolutely fabulous, or only suppositious, let us come to the first sailors famed in history; and touching those times lightly, descend to matters of more certainty and better authority.

If we give credit to poets and poetical writers, we shall find Neptune covering the Mediterranean sea with his mighty fleets, as admiral under his father Saturn, supposed to be Noah, as Neptune is to be Japheth; and to him is ascribed the first building of ships, with sharp stems, or heads shod with iron or brass, to run against other ships, and split them, and with towers on them for men to fight when they came to lie board and board. Yet there are others that give the honour of inventing of ships, and steering them, to Glaucus, affirming it was he that built and piloted the ship Argo in Jason's expedition against the Tyrrhenians; which others attribute to Argos, making him the builder and pilot. These notions, or rather poetical fictions, are rejected by the learned Bochartus in his Geographia Sacra, p. 819, 820, where he shows that the ship Argo ought properly to be called Arco, which in the Phœnician tongue signifies long, a name given it because it was the first long ship built by the Greeks, who learned it of the Phœnicians, and called it by their name, whereas all the vessels used by them before that time were round. This ship Argo, or rather galley, he says had fifty oars, that is twenty-five on each side, and therefore must be fifty cubits in length. Here it appears that the Greeks had round vessels before that time, and all that we can reasonably conclude is, that this ship or galley Argo, or Arco, was larger, and perhaps better built and contrived than any before it, and might perform the longer voyage, which rendered it famous, as if it had been the first ship. But it is certain there were many fleets, such as they were, before this time; for the Argonauts expedition was about the year of the world 2801, which was after the flood 1144 years:

whereas we find Semiramis built a fleet of two thousand sail on the coasts of Cyprus, Syria, and Phœnicia, and had them transported on carriages and camels backs to the river Indus, where they fought and defeated the fleet of Staurobates king of India, consisting of four thousand boats made of cane, as Diodorus Siculus writes. About the year of the world 2622, and 965 after the flood, Jupiter king of Crete, or Candia, with his fleet stole away Europa the daughter of Agenor king of the Sidonians. In 2700 of the world, and after the flood 1043, Perseus went on the expedition by sea against Medusa in Afric. Now to return to the Argonaunts so much celebrated by the poets, upon the strictest examination into truth, we shall only find them inconsiderable coasters in the Mediterranean, and set out by the public to suppress pirates, though fabulous Greece has extolled their expedition beyond all measure. Next follows the Trojan war about the year of the world 2871, and 1214 after the flood, where we find a fleet of one thousand one hundred and forty sail of all sorts, still creeping along the shores, without daring to venture out of sight of land.

Now leaving the Greeks it is fit we return to the Phœnicians, who are the same the scripture calls the Philistines or Canaanites, as is largely proved by Bochartus, certainly the earliest and ablest mariners in those first ages: they made the greatest discoveries of any nation, they planted colonies of their own in most of those countries so discovered, and settled trade and commerce in the most distant regions. There can be no greater testimonies of their wealth and naval power than what we find in holy writ, Ezek. xxvii. where the prophet speaking of Tyre, says it is situate at the entrance of the sea, is a merchant for many isles, its ship-boards are of fir-trees of Senir, their masts of cedars, their oars of oak of Bashan, their benches of ivory, their sails of fine embroidered linen, and so goes on through most of the chapter, extolling its mariners, pilots, ships, all things belonging to them. This, though from the undeniable oracle of scripture, were no sufficient proof of their knowledge in this art, were not

all histories full of their many expeditions. The first was on the coast of Afric, where they founded the most powerful city of Carthage, which so long contended with Rome for the sovereignty of the world: thence they extended their dominions into Spain, and not so satisfied, coasted it round, still pursuing their discoveries along the coast of France, and even into this island of Great Britain, where they afterwards had a settled trade for tin, and such other commodities as the country then afforded, as may be seen at large in Procopius, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and many other ancient authors. Pliny, lib. 2. cap. 69. with others affirms, that in the flourishing times of the republic of Carthage, Hanno being sent out from thence to discover southward, sailed quite round Afric into the Red-sea, and returned the same way; and that Kimilco setting out at the same time northwards, sailed as far as Thule or Iceland. Both these relations are in part rejected by most authors as fabulous, because it does not appear that the utmost extent of Afric was ever known till the Portugueses in these latter times discovered it; and the very northern parts of Europe were not thoroughly discovered even in the time of the Roman greatness. However, no doubt is to be made but that they sailed very far both ways, and might perhaps add something of their own invention, to gain the more reputation to their undertaking. Nor were they confined to the Mediterranean and westward ocean, it was they that conducted Solomon's fleets to Ophir; and we read in 1 Kings ix. 27. that Hiram (who was king of Tyre, and consequently his men Phœnicians) sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea. And again, chap. x. ver. 11. And the navy also of Hiram that brought gold from Ophir. Thus we see the Phœnicians traded to Ophir before king Solomon, and for him. To enter into the controversy where this Ophir was, is not proper for this place, but the most probable opinions conclude it to be some part of the East-Indies, and indeed there is not the least show of reason to place it elsewhere. How they performed these long voyages without the help of the compass, or magnetical needle,

would be another no less difficult inquiry, considering they could not always sail by day, and lie by at night, or continually keep within sight of land, whence tempests at least would often drive them into the open sea; but this is easily solved by all authors, who with one consent inform us, that they were directed by the course of the sun in the day, and by the stars at night. And in this knowledge of the heavens the Phœnicians exceeded all other nations, as may be gathered from Pliny, lib. 5. c. 12, and 19, where he shows that mankind is obliged to the Phœnicians for five things of the greatest use, viz. letters, the knowledge of the stars, the art of navigation, military discipline, and the building of many towns. By this their knowledge of the stars, they recovered themselves when lost in foul weather, and knew how to shape their course across spacious gulphs, and bays which would have spent them much time in coasting round. However it must not hence be inferred that they were capable of traversing the vast ocean betwixt Europe and America, as some would endeavour to make out; because it is well known that voyage even with the help of the compass was at first thought impracticable, and when discovered, for some time proved very difficult and dangerous, till time and experience had made it more familiar. The very reason alleged for the possibility of their sailing to the West-Indies, which is the certainty of the trade-winds blowing always at east within the tropics, makes against them, because had those winds carried them thither, the vast difficulty in returning the same way would deter them from that enterprize, they being altogether ignorant, and we may say incapable of coming away north, which was accidentally found out many years after the discovery of the West-Indies.

The Greeks, though occasionally mentioned before them, were the next in order to the Phœnicians in maritime affairs, and learned the art of them. They not only equalled their masters in this art, but soon excelled them, and gave them several notable overthrows on their own element; for we often find them, though

much inferiour in numbers, gaining glorious victories over the Persians, whose fleets were all managed by Phœnicians. One instance or two may serve for all; the first is the famous battle of Salamis, where the confederate Greeks, whose whole force consisted but of three hundred and eighty ships, defeated thirteen hundred of the Persians, with inconsiderable loss to themselves, and incredible to their enemies; as may be seen in Plutarch's lives of Themistocles and Aristides, in Diod. Sic. lib. XI. Herod. lib. VII. and VIII. and others. Again the Athenian fleet commanded by Cimon lorded it along the coasts of Asia, where closely pursuing the Persian admiral Titraustes, he obliged him to run his ships aground, of which he took two hundred, besides all that perished on the shore. And not so satisfied, Cimon proceeded to Hydrope, where he destroyed seventy sail, which were the peculiar squadron of the Phœnicians; for which particulars see Thucyd. lib. I. cap. 11 and 12, Plutarch in vit. Cimon. and Diod. Sic. lib. XII. These victories were the bane of Greece, which growing rich with the spoils of the Persians fell into those vices it had before been a stranger to, and which broke that union which had preserved it against the common enemy. Hence followed the war betwixt the Athenians and Lacedemonians, and several others, where those little states confederating one against another set out many numerous fleets, and strove for the sovereignty of the sea, till having sufficiently weakened themselves they at length became a prey to others. Yet during their flourishing times, and even in adversity, when driven from home by disasters, they never ceased sending out colonies upon all the coasts of the Mediterranean, and particularly of Asia, Spain, France, Italy, and Sicily. In all which countries they so far extended their empire, that it would fill a volume to give but an indifferent account of them. Yet under Alexander the Great, the founder of the Grecian empire, there are some things so singular that they well deserve a place here. That these latter ages may not boast of the invention of fireships, we find in Curtius, lib. IV. that

at the siege of Tyre, when a mole was carrying on to join that city to the continent, the inhabitants having loaded a large ship heavily-a-stern with sand and stones, to the end the head might rise above the water, and prepared it for their purpose with combustible matter, they drove it violently with sails and oars against the mole, where they set fire to it, the seamen in it escaping in their boats. The mole being in a great measure made of wood, with wooden towers on it, was by this device utterly destroyed. Thus we see the Tyrians successfully invented the first fireship we read of in history. The next thing remarkable in this mighty conqueror's reign in relation to navigation, was his sailing down the river Indus into the Indian ocean, where we may by the by observe the wonderful ignorance, not only of his landmen, but even of the sailors, who, as Curtius, lib. IX. testifies, were all astonished and beside themselves at the ebbing and flowing of the river. From hence the same author tells us, Alexander sent his admiral Nearchus to coast along the ocean as far as he could, and return to him with an account of what he should discover. Nearchus accordingly keeping along the Indian and Persian shores, and entering the Persian Gulph, returned to him up the river Euphrates, which was then looked upon as a wonderful discovery, and a great masterpiece of that Admiral, for which he received a crown of gold from Alexander. Thus much we have concerning this expedition in Curtius quoted above, and in Plutarch in vit. Alex. Purchas, in his first vol. p. 86, 87, 88, gives a very particular account day by day of this voyage of Nearchus, taken out of Arianus, lib. VIII. who delivers it as Nearchus's journal of the expedition.

Next to the Phœnicians and Greeks, the Romans became sovereigns of the sea; yet not all at once, but after hard struggling with the Carthaginians, then in the height of their power, having by their naval force made themselves masters of the greatest part of Spain, and the coast of Afric, of many islands in the Mediterranean, and being intent upon the conquest of Sicily. This island furnished these mighty cities with an occa-

sion of trying their forces on pretence of protecting their allies, but in reality out of a desire of sovereignty. The Romans were altogether unacquainted with naval affairs, insomuch that they knew not how to build a galley, but that the Carthaginians cruising on the coast of Italy, as we find in Polybius, lib. I. one of their quinquereme galleys happened to fall into the hands of the Romans, who by that model built an hundred of the same sort, and twenty triremes. Whilst the galleys were building, they exercised the seamen in rowing upon the dry shore, causing them to sit in ranks as if they were aboard, with oars in their hands and an officer in the middle, who by signs instructed them how they should all at once dip their oars and recover them out of the water. When the fleet was launched, finding the galleys not artificially built, but sluggish and unwieldy, they invented an engine to grapple fast with the enemy at the first shock, that so they might come to handy-strokes, at which they knew themselves superiour, and prevent being circumvented by the swiftness of the Carthaginian galleys, and experience of their mariners. This engine they called corvus; it consisted of a large piece of timber set upright on the prow of the vessel, about which was a stage of several ascents of boards well fastened with iron, and at the end of it two massive irons sharp pointed. The whole could be hoisted or lowered by a pulley at the top of the upright timber. This engine they hoisted to the top when the enemy drew near, and when they came to shock ship to ship, they let it run down amain into the enemy's vessel, with which its own weight graggled it so fast that there was no breaking loose; and if the attack happened on the bow, the men went down two and two into the enemy's vessel by the help of the aforementioned scaffold; all which may be seen more fully described in Polybius above quoted. By the help of these engines Duillius the Roman admiral overthrew Hannibal the Carthaginian, though superiour to him in number of vessels and experience in maritime affairs, taking his own septireme and fifty other vessels, with great slaughter of his men, though he himself escaped in his boat. This

was in the year of Rome 493. In 497, M. Attilius Regulus, and L. Manlius Volso, consuls, commanded another fleet, in which were above one hundred and forty thousand men; the Carthaginians had then in their fleet one hundred and fifty thousand men under the conduct of Hamilcar, who was intirely overthrown, fifty of his ships taken, and sixty-four sunk. Thus far the sea had proved favourable to the Romans: but in the year of Rome 499, having set out a fleet of quinqueremes, they lost one hundred and forty by storms, which made them resolve to lay aside all naval enterprizes, keeping only seventy sail of ships to serve as transports, till in the year 503, perceiving their affairs in Sicily decline, the Carthaginians being absolute masters at sea, they again set out two hundred sail, and the following year received a mighty overthrow, with the loss of ninety-three galleys. Resolving now to put an end to the war, they again fit out two hundred quinqueremes, built by the model of a Rhodian they had before taken, and with them gave the Carthaginians such a fatal overthrow, as reduced them to accept of a dishonourable peace. This was the rise of the Roman power at sea, which they after not only held, but increased as long as their empire subsisted. Their actions are too many and too great for this place; those that desire to see more may read them in Livy, Plutarch, Appian, and many other authors who deliver them at large; thus much having been said only to deduce the succession of navigation from one people to another. Now though the Romans at this time gained the sovereignty of the seas, and held it for some ages, yet we do not find that they applied themselves to new discoveries, or ever exceeded the bounds of what the Phœnicians had before made known, their greatest voyage being that which Pliny, lib. VI. cap. 23, gives an account of, being from Egypt to India before mentioned, to have been frequently performed by the Phœnicians, and therefore had nothing new in it. What occurs in this place is, to say something of the several sorts of galleys called triremes, quadriremes, quinqueremes, and so forth, whereof mention was made above. Herodotus, Thucydides, and Diodorus, agree,

that Aminocles the Corinthian was the first that invented the trireme galley, about three hundred years after the destruction of Troy. Pliny will have it that Aristotle a Carthaginian first built a quadrireme, and Nesichton of Salamis a quinquereme; but Diodorus contradicts it, attributing the invention of the quinqueremes to Dionysius the Sicilian. Pliny further adds, that Zenagoras the Syracusan built the first vessel of six ranks, Nesigiton one of ten; Alexander the great is reported to have proceeded to twelve; Philostephanus makes Ptolomy Soter the first that made one of fifteen ranks; Demetrius the son of Antigonus of thirty, Ptolomy Philadelphus of forty, and Ptolomy Philopater of fifty. Thus we have the original of them all; but what sort of vessels these were, that is, how the several degrees or ranks of oars were disposed, has been much controverted, and is a most difficult point to be determined. The shortness of this discourse will not allow much canvassing of the point, yet a few words out of two or three learned authors will give some satisfaction to the curious. Morisotus in his Orbis Maritimus, p. 608, positively affirms that each of these vessels had its name from the number of ranks of oars placed one above another, so that the trireme had three, the quinquereme five ranks; and so every one according to its name, even till we come to Ptolomy Philopater's tesseraconteres, which he asserts, had forty ranks of oars placed one over another, wherein he agrees with Baifius, whom he quotes, as he does the emperor Leo, whose words are these; Every ship of war must be of its due length, having two ranks of oars, the one higher, and the other lower. This which to him seems concluding, to others appears of no force; for allowing there might be vessels that had two ranks of oars one above another, that does not at all prove the possibility of having twenty or forty, which must of necessity rise to such a height as would look more like a mountain than a ship; and those upper oars must be so long, and in proportion so large and unwieldy, that no strength of hands could ever manage them. Others will have these several ranks of oars to be taken lengthways, and not in

height; that is, so many in the prow, so many in the midships, and so many in the poop; whence will follow that Ptolomy's galley had forty several ranks in length, with intervals betwixt them, in one line from stem to stern, which allowing but a small number of oars to each of these ranks, will quite outrun the length assigned that vessel, being two hundred and eighty cubits. This opinion is followed by Stewechius, Castilionius, and several others; but sir Henry Savil is of another mind, and supposes these ranks not to lie in length from head to stern, nor in height one above another, but athwart; which must appear preposterous, because allowing so many ranks this way, that is thwart the galley, its breadth would exceed all proportion. The fourth solution of this difficulty, and that very much received, is, that the vessel had its name from so many men tugging at one oar, that is three in a trireme, five in a quinquereme, and so of the rest; which indeed as far as six or seven men to an oar has the most resemblance of truth; but when we come to forty or fifty men to an oar, it will be difficult either to reconcile either to the breadth of the vessel, not to be supposed capable of eighty men in a rank, or to the height of the men, because though the first man next the side of the galley had the oar under hand, yet the end of it when it came to the fortieth must of necessity rise above his reach. These two objections are again answered, the first by allowing each oar to reach quite athwart the galley, and so the forty men to fill up the whole breadth, rowing as they do in our wherries or barges; and the second by allowing an ascent from one side of the galley to the other for each seat or standing of those that rowed; and for the soldiers and sailors, we must imagine a deck over the heads of the slaves at the oar. This carries much of reason, but little of ancient authority, for we find no ancient monuments that describe any thing of this nature. We will conclude this matter with the opinion of Schefferus de militia navali, lib. II. cap. 2. where allowing a competent distance according to the length of the vessel betwixt each bank of oars, he supposes the first row

to be as in our galleys next the level of the water; then in the intervals another row, not distinguished by a deck, but raised so high by their seat that their feet rested against that which was the back of the bank below them, and so one above the other in those intervals, which takes off much of the height, that must have been, allowing them several decks, and consequently shortens the upper oars in proportion; yet cannot at all lessen the difficulty that will occur upon plying so many oars, which will come to dip so close together in the water, that it seems impracticable to avoid clattering of them, and falling into confusion, not to mention many more inconveniences obvious enough to every man's reason that has seen any vessels of this nature: and therefore it is best to determine nothing amidst such uncertainties, but leave every one to approve that which shall best suit with his notion of the matter. Therefore leaving these obscurities, it is better to proceed upon the history of navigation where we left off, and see in what state it continued from the time of the Romans last spoken of, till the fortunate discovery of the magnetical needle, from which time is to be dated its greatest advancement, as will be visible in that place.

As long as the Roman empire continued in splendour, it supported what it had found of navigation, but added little or nothing to it, that people being altogether intent upon making new conquests, and finding still more work than they were able to compass upon dry land, without venturing far out to sea. But when the barbarous nations began to dismember that monarchy, this art, instead of improving, doubtless declined, as did all others. The first of these barbarians were the Goths and Vandals, of whom no great actions appear on the sea, their farthest expeditions on this element being in the Mediterranean, betwixt Italy and Afric, Spain and the islands, where nothing occurs worth mentioning. The Saracens were next to them as to order of time, though much superiour in naval power, yet contained within the same bounds, and consequently did nothing more memorable. After the Saracens may be reckoned

the Normans, who for several years infested the coasts of Britain and France with their fleets from Norway, till having settled themselves in Normandy, they ran out plundering all the coasts of Spain, and entering the streights conquered a great part of the kingdom of Naples, and the whole island of Sicily. Still these, though they undertook longer voyages, were but coasters, and satisfied with what they found, did not endeavour to add any thing to the art of navigation, especially for that they were as then but rude and barbarous, war and rapine being their only profession. Other nations famous at sea were the Genoeses and Venetians, betwixt whom there were bloody wars for several years; and the latter, till the Portugueses discovered the way by sea to the East-Indies, had all the trade of those parts in their own hands, either brought up the Red-sea into Egypt, or by caravans to the sea-port towns of Asia. We might here mention the expeditions of English, French, Danes, Dutch, and other nations, but should find nothing new in them all. They all in their turns were powerful at sea, they all ventured sometimes far from home, either to rob, conquer, or trade, but all in the same manner creeping along the shores, without daring to venture far out to sea, having no guides out of sight of land but the stars, which in cloudy nights must fail them. It is therefore time to leave these blind sailors and come to the magnet or loadstone, and to the compass or magnetical needle, which has opened ways in the unknown ocean, and made them as plain and easy in the blackest night as in the brightest day. To come then to the point.

The loadstone, or magnet, so called from the Latin word magnes, had this name given it because found in the country of Magnesia, which is a part of Lydia in Asia; or because the Magnesians first discovered its virtue of attracting iron: for both these reasons are given by the learned Bochartus Geogr. Sacr. p. 717. What other virtues and qualities it has, does not belong to this place. But it is certain the magnet has two poles answering to the two poles of the world, and to which they naturally incline (if nothing obstructs) to lie parallel. This property is not confined to itself,

but communicative, as daily experience shows us in the nautical needles, which by the touch of this stone partake so much of its nature, that the point so touched, unless otherwise hindered, will always look towards the north-pole. Let the learned naturalist plunge himself into the inscrutable abyss of nature to find out reasons for this sympathy; it shall suffice here to show the benefits and advantages navigation, and in it mankind, has reaped by the discovery of this most wonderful secret. The Magnesians, as was said above, were counted the first discoverers of the loadstone's virtue of attracting iron; but this greater virtue of pointing out the north-pole, was never found till about the year 1300, if we will believe all the best modern inquirers into antiquity, who upon diligent search unanimously agree they cannot find the least ground to believe it was known before, rather than give credit to some few writers, who rather suppose such a thing to have been used by the Phœnicians, than pretend to prove it, having nothing but their own fancies, raised upon weak and groundless surmises, to build upon. The great advocate I find for this opinion in Bochart. Geog. Sac. p. 716. and in Purchas's pilgrims, p. 26. is Fuller in his miscellanies, l. 4. c. 19. yet neither of them mentions any proof or strong argument he brings to corroborate his opinion, and therefore they both with reason reject him. These two authors, and Pancirol, lib. ii. tit. 11. do not forget the verse often urged out of Plautus in Mercat

Hic secundus ventus nunc est, cape modo versoriam.

Which versoria some will have to be the compass. But there is nothing solid in this argument, it is only catching at straws, when all history and practice of former ages make against it. History, because it could not but have made some mention of a thing so universally useful and necessary; and practice, because it is well known no such voyages were then performed, as are now daily by the help of the compass. It has sufficiently been proved before, that in all former ages

they were but coasters, scarce daring to venture out of sight of land; that if out at night they had no other rule to go by but the stars: and what is still more, it is manifest they scarce ventured at all to sea in the winter months. That this is so, appears by Vegetius, lib. IV. where speaking of the months, he says, the seas are shut from the third of the ides of November to the sixth of the ides of March, and from that time till the ides of May it is dangerous venturing to sea. Thus much may suffice to shew the compass was not known to antiquity; let us see when it first appeared in the world.

Its ancient use being rejected by general consent, there have still been some who have endeavoured to rob the discoverer of this honour: among them Goropius quoted by Morisotus, will have this invention attributed to the Cimbrians, Teutonics or Germans, for this weak reason, because the names of the thirty-two winds about it are Teutonic, and used by almost all Europeans. Others will not allow this to be the product of any part of Europe, and therefore go as far as China for it, alleging that M. Paulus Venetus brought it from thence about the year 1260: but this is asserted without any the least authority, only because Paulus Venetus travelled into China, and when afterwards the Portugueses came thither, they found the use of the needle common among all those eastern nations, which they affirmed they had enjoyed for many ages. Not to dwell upon groundless suppositions, the general consent of the best authors on this subject is, that the magnetical needle or compass was first found out in Europe by one John Gioia, whom others call Flavio Gioia, of the city of Amalfi, on the coast of that part of the kingdom of Naples called Terra di Lavoro. This happened about the year of our Lord 1300, and though the thing be of such stupendous advantage to the world, yet it did not prove so greatly profitable to the first finder, whose bare name is all that remains to posterity, without the least knowledge of his profession, or after what manner he made this wonderful discovery. So wonderful that it seems to contradict the opinion of Solomon, who so

many ages since said there was nothing new under the sun; whereas this certainly appears, though so long after him, to be altogether new, and never so much as thought of before, which cannot so plainly be made out of any other of those we look upon as modern inventions or improvements. For to instance in a few things, we find the use of fire-ships among the Tyrians in the time of Alexander the great, as was mentioned before out of Curtius, lib. IV. and therefore not repeated here. Our sea charts, on which latter times have so much valued themselves, are of such ancient date, that we cannot find their original; yet Morisotus, p. 12, says, that Eolus gave Ulysses a sea chart drawn on a ram's skin, that is, a parchment. Again, p. 14, the same author out of Trogus observes, that Democedes the Cratonian, employed by Darius Hystaspes to view the coasts of Greece, sent him charts of them all, with the ports, roads, and strong holds, exactly marked down. Then, p. 215, he shows out of Ælianus and Aristophanes, that there were maps of the world in Socrates's time. This, he says, was about the eightieth Olympiad, and then quotes Strabo, who from Eratosthenes affirms, Anaximander the Milesian was the first that made geographical tables about the fiftieth Olympiad. Sheathing of ships is a thing in appearance so absolutely new, that scarce any will doubt to assert it altogether a modern invention; yet how vain this notion is, will soon appear in two instances. Leo Baptisti Alberti in his book of architecture, lib. V. cap. 12, has these words. But Trajan's ship weighed out of the lake of Riccia at this time, while I was compiling this work, where it had laid sunk and neglected for above thirteen hundred years; I observed that the pine and cypress of it had lasted most remarkably. On the outside it was built with double planks, daubed over with Greek pitch, caulked with linen rags, and over all a sheet of lead fastened on with little copper nails. Raphael Volaterranus in his geography says, this ship was weighed by the order of cardinal Prospero Colonna. Here we have caulking and sheathing together above sixteen hundred years ago; for I suppose no man can

doubt that the sheet of lead nailed over the outside with copper nails was sheathing, and that in great perfection, the copper nails being used rather than iron, which, when once rusted in the water, with the working of the ship soon lose their hold and drop out. The other instance we find in Purchas's pilgrims, vol. I. lib. IV. in captain Saris's voyage to the court of Japan, p. 371, where the captain giving an account of his voyage says, that rowing betwixt Firando and Fuccate, about eight or ten leagues on this side Xemina-seque, he found a great town where there lay in a dock a junck of eight or ten hundred ton burden, sheathed all with iron. This was in the year 1613, about which time the English came first acquainted with Japan; and it is evident, that nation had not learned the way of sheathing of them, or the Portugueses, who were there before, but were themselves ignorant of the art of sheathing.

Now to return to the magnetical needle, or sea-compass; its discoverer, as has been said, appears to be Flavius, or John Gioia of Amalfi, and the time of its discovery about the year 1300. The reason of its tending to or pointing out the north, is what many natural philosophers have in vain laboured to find; and all their study has brought them only to be sensible of the imperfection of human knowledge, which when plunged into the inquiry after the secrets of nature, finds no other way to come off but by calling them occult qualities, which is no other than owning our ignorance, and granting they are things altogether unknown to us. Yet these are not all the wonders of this magnetic virtue. The variation of it is another as inscrutable a secret. This variation is when the needle does not point out the true pole, but inclines more or less either to the east or west; and is not certain, but differs according to places, yet holding always the same in the same place, and is found by observing the sun or stars. The cause of this variation some philosophers ascribe to magnetical mountains, some to the pole itself, some to the heavens, and some to a magnetical power even beyond the heavens; but these are

all blind guesses, and fond ostentations of learning, without any thing in them to convince one's reason. There is nothing of it certain but the variation itself. Nor is this variation alone, there is a variation of the variation, a subject to be handled by none but such as have made it a peculiar study, and which deserving a peculiar volume is daily expected from a most able pen. But let us leave these mysteries, and come to the historical part, as the principal scope of this discourse; where we shall find, that though the use of the needle was so long since found out, yet either through its being kept private by some few persons at first as a secret of great value, or through the dulness of sailors, at first not comprehending this wonderful phenomenon; or through fear of venturing too far out of the known shores; or lastly, out of a conceit that there could not be more habitable world to discover: whether for these, or any other cause, we do not find any considerable advantage made of this wonderful discovery for above an age after it: nay, what is more, it does not appear how the world received it, who first used it upon the sea, and how it spread abroad into other parts. This is not a little strange in a matter of such consequence, that the histories of nations should not mention when they received so great an advantage, or what benefit they found at first by it. But so it is; and therefore to show the advancement of navigation since the discovery of the magnetical needle, it will be absolutely necessary to begin several years after it, before which nothing appears to be done. This shall be performed with all possible brevity, and by way of annals, containing a summary account of all discoveries from year to year: yet lest the distance and variety of places should too much distract the reader, if all lay intermixed, the European northern discoveries shall be first run through in their order of years; next to them, as next in order of time, shall follow the African, and so the East-Indian, or Asiatic, the one being the consequence of the other; and in the last place shall appear the West-Indian, or American. The first part of the northern European discoveries is all taken out of Hak-

luyt, beginning with the nearest after the discovery of the needle, quoting the authors out of him, and the page where they are to be found.

An. 1360, Nicholas de Linna, or of Linn, a friar of Oxford, who was an able astronomer, took a voyage with others into the most northern islands of the world; where leaving his company he travelled alone, and made draughts of all those northern parts, which at his return he presented to king Edward III. This friar made five voyages into those parts; for this he quotes Gerardus Mercator, and Mr. John Dee, Hak. p. 122. And this, though it is not there mentioned, being sixty years after the discovery of the compass, we may look upon as one of the first trials of this nature made upon the security of the magnetical direction in these northern seas. Yet after this for many years we find no other discovery attempted this way, but rather all such enterprises seemed to be wholly laid aside, till

An. 1553, and in the reign of king Edward VI. sir Hugh Willoughby was sent out with three ships to discover Cathay and other northern parts. He sailed in May, and having spent much time about the northern islands subject to Denmark, where he found no commodity but dried fish and train oil, he was forced about the middle of September, after losing the company of his other two ships, to put into a harbour in Lapland called Arzina, where they could find no inhabitants, but thinking to have wintered there were all frozen to death. However the Edward, which was the second ship in this expedition, and commanded by Richard Chancellor, who was chief pilot for the voyage, having lost Sir Hugh Willoughby, made its way for the port of Wardhouse in Norway, where they had appointed to meet if parted by storms. Chancellor staid there seven days, and perceiving none of his company came to join him, proceeded on his voyage so fortunately, that within a few days he arrived in the bay of St. Nicholas on the coast of Muscovy, where he was friendly received by the natives, being the first ship that ever came upon that coast. Chancellor himself went to the court of Mosco, where he settled a trade betwixt Eng-

land and Muscovy, with John Basilowitz the great duke, or czar, then reigning. This done, Chancellor returned home with the honour of the first discovery of Russia.

An. 1556, Stephen Burrough was sent out in a small vessel to discover the river Ob: he sailed in April, and in May came upon the coast of Norway; whence continuing his voyage, in July he arrived at Nova Zembla, that is, the new land, where he received directions how to shape his course for the river Ob. He spent some time in search of it, but coming to the straits of Weygats found no passage, and the summer-season being almost spent, returned to Colmogro in Muscovy, where he wintered, designing to prosecute his voyage the next summer, but was countermanded, and so this was all the event of the expedition.

An. 1558, Anthony Jenkinson sailed for Muscovy with four ships under his command: he left his ships, and travelled by land to Mosco, where having been nobly entertained by the czar, he obtained his pass, and continued his journey through Muscovy across the kingdoms of Casan and Astracan, where shipping himself on the river Volga he sailed down into the Caspian sea, having travelled by land about six hundred leagues in the czar's dominions from Mosco. On the Caspian sea he spent twenty-seven days, after which landing, he proceeded five days' journey by land among a sort of wild Tartars with a caravan of one thousand camels; then twenty days more through a desert, suffering much through hunger and thirst. This brought him again to another part of the Caspian sea, where formerly the river Oxus fell into it, which now he says runs into another river not far from hence called Ardock, which runs toward the north and under ground above five hundred miles, after which it rises again, and unburdens itself in the lake of Kitay. Hence he continued his discovery amidst those countries of Tartars to Boghar in Bactria, whence he returned to Mosco.

An. 1561, he returned to Muscovy with letters from queen Elizabeth to the czar; and taking the same way as before down to the Caspian sea, crossed over it into Hircania, where being nobly entertained, and conducted

by the princes of that country, he passed through to the court of the king of Persia at Casbin, where he obtained several privileges for the English nation, and returned home in safety the same way he went.

An. 1580, Mr. Arthur Pet and Mr. Charles Jackman sailed in May from Harwich in two barks to make discoveries in the north-east beyond Weygats. In June they doubled the north cape of Norway, and having spent some days in that part of Norway, continued their voyage into the bay of Petzora; where Jackman's vessel being in no good sailing condition he left Pet, who proceeded on to the coast of Nova Zembla, where in July he met with much ice, yet making his way through part of it, though with great difficulty, he at last came to the straits of Weygats: there he drew as close as the shoal water would permit, coming into two fathom and a half water, and sending his boat to sound till he found there was not water enough even for the boat in the strait, and therefore returned the same way he came. A few days after Pet met with Jackman again in some distress, as not being able to steer, his ship's stern-post being broken, and the rudder hanging from the stern. Having remedied this the best they could for the present, they both stood northward to endeavour to find some passage that way; but meeting with much ice, they despaired of success, and resolved to turn again to Weygats, there to consult what was farther to be done. All the way thither they met with such quantities of ice, that some days they were not able to make any way. Being come again upon the Weygats, they made another attempt that way, but to as little purpose as before, the ice obstructing their progress. Wherefore winter now coming on, they found it necessary to quit their design for the present. Accordingly Pet being parted from Jackman, arrived safe in the river of Thames about the end of December this same year: Jackman put into a port in Norway betwixt Tronden and Rostock in October, where he wintered. In February following, he departed thence in company of a ship of the king of Denmark's towards Iceland, and was never more heard of. The

English having made these unsuccessful attempts, gave them over for many years; and the Dutch growing powerful at sea, resolved to try their fortune, hoping the failures of the English might help to point out to them what course they were to avoid, and what to follow; and accordingly,

An. 1594. The states fitted out three ships, commanded by William Barentz, Cornelius Cornelissen and John Hugens: they all sailed together, but Barentz run further up to the northward than the others, till he came into seventy-eight degrees of latitude, and in August met with much ice and abundance of sea-monsters, at which the seamen being discouraged they resolved to return home. The other two ships discovered some islands, and at last a strait or passage capable of the greatest ships, and above five or six leagues in length: being passed it, they came into an open and warmer sea, and upon the coast of Tartary near the river Ob or Oby, a very fruitful country. This they called the strait of Nassau, and might have gone further but for want of provisions. This done, they came back the same way very joyful to Holland. Meteren hist. of the Low-countries, lib. XVIII. This we see positively delivered, but with how much of truth I dare not decide; only must think it strange, that if such a strait had been once found it should never be met with since, though often searched for, and once by the same persons that pretended to have been the first discoverers, as may be seen in the year 1596, yet we see this assertion repeated by the same author, who takes it from the relations of the sailors, and in the same place before quoted says, that

An. 1595. The states being much encouraged by the relation of these discoverers, fitted out seven ships, six of them to proceed on their voyage to China, Japan, &c. this way, and the seventh to bring back the news of their being passed the strait; but they met with too much ice at strait Nassau, coming to it too late by reason of the contrary winds they had in their passage thither: yet the inhabitants of the place told them many

particulars more than they knew before: but they returned re infecta. Meteren. ubi sup.

An. 1596. The Dutch not discouraged by the former disappointment, fitted out two ships under the command of William Barentsen and John Cornelissen, who sailed on the eighteenth of May, and on the nineteenth of June, found themselves in the latitude of 80 degrees, and eleven minutes, where they found a country they supposed to be Greenland, with grass, and beasts grazing like deer, &c. and less cold and ice than in 76 degrees: they turned back to an island they had before called the Island of Bears, because of the many bears they saw in it, and there parted company. Cornelissen went up again into 80 degrees of latitude, thinking to find a passage east of the land they had discovered, but returned home without doing any thing considerable. Barentsen made towards Nova Zembla, and coasted along it till he met with an island which he called Orange, in 77 degrees of latitude; thence he steered south and doubled a cape, but was stopped by ice, and making towards the land, on the last of August, was so inclosed that there was no stirring. They landed and built a house with timber and planks, into which they put all their provisions and goods, where they continued suffering much hardship all the winter. On the twenty-second of June they set out from thence in two boats they had repaired, leaving their ship among the ice, and an account in writing of their being there. Thus with much difficulty, they arrived at Cola in Lapland on the second of October 1597, where they found Cornelissen, who had made a voyage to Holland in the mean while, and was returned thither. Barentsen died by the way, but the survivors arrived in Holland on the twenty-ninth of October. Meteren. lib. XIX.

An. 1676. Captain John Wood in his majesty's ship the Speedwell, with the Prosperous Pink to attend him, sailed from the buoy of the Nore to discover the north-east-passage. June the fourth he anchored in the island of Shetland, and the tenth sailed out again, directing his course north-north-east, and north-east-by-

east, till the twenty-second, when at noon he saw ice right a head about a league from him, and sailed close to it, as they did the next day, entering into many openings which they perceived to be bays. Sometimes the weather proved foggy, and then they made little way; but as fast as the fog fell, it froze on their sails and rigging: they perceived the ice here joined to the land of Nova Zembla, and run out five leagues to sea. They continued coasting the ice to find a passage, till on the twenty-ninth of June at near midnight the Prosperous Pink fired a gun and bore down upon the man of war, crying out, ice on the weather-bow; whereupon he clapped the helm hard a weather to come about, but before she could be brought upon the other tack struck upon a ledge of rocks that lay sunk, the Pink got clear, but the ship stuck fast, and there being no getting her off, the men got all ashore in their boats with what provision they could save, some arms and other necessaries; only two men were lost with the pinnace. Here they set up a tent, and saw no other inhabitants but white bears. The following days the ship broke and much wreck drove ashore, which was a great help to them, there being wood for firing, some meal, oil, brandy and beer. They killed a white bear and eat her, which they said was very good meat. Thus they continued, contriving to build a deck to their long boat to carry off some of the men, and others to travel afoot towards the Weygats; till on the eighth of July to their great joy they discovered the Pink, and making a fire for a signal, she sent her boat to help bring them off, and by noon they all got aboard. They presently stood off to westward, and made the best of their way home, arriving on the twenty-third of August at the buoy of the Nore. Taken out of captain Wood's own journal.

These are the principal discoveries attempted and performed at the north-east, which have proved unsuccessful, as failing of the main design of finding a passage that way to the East-Indies.

Let us now leave the barren frozen north, where so many have miserably perished, and yet so little been

discovered of what was intended; ice, shoals, rocks, darkness, and many other obstacles, having disappointed the bold undertakings of so many daring sailors, and for so many losses made us no return but the bare trade of Russia, whilst our intentions were levelled at that of the mighty kingdom of Cathay, and a passage to China, Japan, and all the other eastern regions. Let us, I say, quit these unfortunate attempts, and come now to speak of those so successful, made towards the south and south-east, along the coast of Afric first, and then to those of the more frequented, as more profitable Asia. The first we find in this order, if the authority we have for it be good, is of an Englishman, by name Macham, who

An. 1344, having stolen a woman with whom he was in love, and intending to fly with her into Spain, was by a storm cast upon the island Madeira in 32 degrees of north-latitude. Going ashore there with his mistress to refresh her after the toils of the sea, the ship taking the opportunity of a favourable gale sailed away, leaving them behind. The lady soon died for grief of being left in that desolate island; and Macham with what companions he had, erected a little chapel and hermitage under the invocation of the name of Jesus, to bury her. This done, they contrived a boat made of one single tree, in which they got over to the coast of Afric, where they were taken by the Moors, and presented to their king for the rarity of the accident. He for the same reason sent them to the king of Castile, where giving an account of what had befallen them, it moved many to venture out in search of this island. This story we find in Hakluyt, vol. II. part 2. p. 1. where he quotes Anthony Galvao a Portuguese author for it; and D. Antonio Manoel in his works among his epanaforas, has one on this particular subject, which he calls epanafora amorosa. Upon this information, as was said, several adventurers went out, but to no effect that we can hear of, till

An. 1348. John Batancourt a Frenchman, obtained a grant of king John the second of Castile, and went to conquer the Canary islands long before discovered, and

made himself master of five of them, but could not subdue the two greatest, as most populous and best defended. These were afterwards subdued by king Ferdinand, as may be seen in Mariana, lib. XVI. p. 29. These were small beginnings, and out of regular course; next follow the gradual discoveries made by the Portugueses, which may be said to have been the groundwork of all the ensuing navigations, which happened in this manner. King John of Portugal enjoying peace at home after his wars with Castile, was persuaded by his sons to undertake the conquest of Ceuta on the African shore. Prince Henry his fifth son accompanied him in this expedition, and at his return home brought with him a strong inclination to discover new seas and lands, and the more on account of the information he had received from several Moors concerning the coasts of Afric to the southward, which were as yet unknown to Europeans, who never pretended to venture beyond cape Nao, which had therefore this name given it, signifying in Portuguese No, to imply there was no sailing further: and the reason was, because the cape running far out into sea, caused it to break and appear dangerous; and they as yet not daring to venture too far from land, were ignorant that by keeping off to sea they should avoid that danger. Prince Henry resolving to overcome all difficulties, fitted out two small vessels,

An. 1417, commanding them to coast along Afric, and doubling that cape to discover further towards the equinoctial. They ventured to run sixty leagues beyond cape Nao, as far as cape Bojador, so called because it stretches itself out almost forty leagues to the westward, which in Spanish they call Bojar. Here finding the difficulty of passing further greater than at cape Nao, for the same reason of the sea's breaking upon the cape, they returned home satisfied with what they had done. The following year,

An. 1418, the prince sent John Gonzalez Zarco and Tristan Vaz, with orders to pass that cape; but before they could come upon the coast of Afric they were carried away by a storm, and not knowing where, they

accidentally fell in with an island, which they called Porto Santo, or Holy Haven, because of their deliverance there after the storm. It is a small island a little to the northward of the Madera: thither the prince, being informed of what had happened, sent Bartholomew Perestrello with seeds to sow, and cattle to stock the place; but one couple of rabbits put in among the rest, increased so prodigiously, that all corn and plants being destroyed by them, it was found necessary to unpeople the island.

An. 1419, John Gonzalez and Tristan Vaz making another voyage by order of the prince, discovered the island Madera, before mentioned to have been accidentally found by Macham the Englishman, and lost again till this time. The reason of calling it Madera was, because they found it all over-grown with trees, this word in Portuguese signifying wood. They set fire to the woods to clear them, which are said to have burnt seven years continually, and since the greatest want is of wood. The following years were employed in peopling and furnishing the islands discovered, till

An. 1434, Gilianez was sent by the prince to pass that dreadful cape Bojador, though at the same time many blamed the attempt, imagining, that in case they should happen to pass much farther on those coasts, all that did it would turn black; others saying there was nothing there but deserts, like those of Lybia; and others alleging other absurdities of this nature, suitable to the ignorance the world was then in of all parts yet undiscovered. Gilianez was satisfied with sailing 30 leagues beyond the cape, giving name there to the bay called Angra de Ruyvas, or Bay of Gurnets, because he there found many of that sort of fish. The next year,

An. 1435, the same commanders passed twelve leagues further, where they also landed, but the people fled from them: whereupon they proceeded twelve leagues further, where they found a vast multitude of sea-wolves, of which they killed many, and returned home with their skins, which was the greatest return made this voyage, they being valued for their rarity.

An. 1440, Antony Gonzalez was sent to the place of the sea-wolves to load his vessel with their skins. He landed, took some of the natives, and killed others; then coasted on as far as Cabo Blanco, or White Cape, and returned to Portugal.

An. 1442, Antony Gonzalez returned, and carrying these persons he had taken in his former voyage, exchanged them for some Guinea slaves and a quantity of gold dust; for which reason the river that there runs into the country was called Rio del Ora, or the River of Gold.

An. 1443. The gold above mentioned sharpening mens appetites, Nunho Tristan undertook the voyage, and passing further than the others, discovered one of the islands of Arguim, called Adeget, and another De las Garzas, or of the Herons, because they saw many herons in it.

An. 1444, a small company was erected, paying an acknowledgment to the prince, to trade to those parts lately discovered, whither they sent six caravels; which coming to the isles of Arguim took there about two hundred slaves, which yielded them good profit in Portugal.

An. 1445, Gonzalo de Cintra sailed to the island of Arguim, and venturing up a creek in the night to surprize the inhabitants, the tide left his boat ashore; so that two hundred moors coming down upon him, he was killed with seven of his men, and from him the place was called Angra de Gonzalo de Cintra, fourteen leagues beyond Rio del Oro.

An. 1446, the caravels sailed for the same river to settle commerce, but effected nothing, and only brought away one of the natives, and left a Portuguese there to view the country. But Dinis Fernandez the same year passed beyond the River Sanaga, which divides the Azanagi from Jalof, and discovered the famous cape called Cabo Verde, or the Green Cape.

An. 1447, three caravels performed the same voyage without doing any thing remarkable, more than taking up the Portuguese left there before, whom they found

in good health, and he gave them some account of the country. This year likewise Nunho Tristan sailed sixty leagues beyond Cabo Verde, and anchoring at the mouth of Rio Grande, or the great river, ventured up in his boat, where he and most of his men were killed by their blacks with their poisoned arrows. Alvaro Fernandez the same year went forty leagues beyond Rio Grande. Prince Henry the great encourager, or rather undertaker in all these discoveries, dying, they were afterwards managed by his nephew Alonso the fifth king of Portugal. Under him,

An. 1449, Gonsalo Vello discovered the islands called Azores, or of Hawks, because many of those birds were seen about them. They are eight in number, viz. S. Michael, S. Mary, Jesus or Tercera Graciosa, Pico, Fayal, Flores, and Corvo. They are near about the latitude of Lisbon. In the last of them was found the statue of a man on horse-back with a cloak, but no hat, his left hand on the horse's mane, the right pointing to the west, and some characters carved on the rock under it, but not understood.

An. 1460, Antony Nole, a Genoese in the Portuguese service, discovered the islands of Cabo Verde, the names whereof are Fogo, Brava, Boavista, Sal. S. Nicholao, S. Lucia, S. Vincente, and S. Antonio. They lie about a hundred leagues west of Cabo Verde, and therefore take name from that cape. He also found the islands Maya, S. Philip, and S. Jacob. This same year Peter de Cintra, and Suero de Costa, sailed as far as Serra Leona.

An. 1471, John de Santarem and Peter de Escobar advanced as far as the place they called Mina, or the Mine, because of the trade of gold there; and then proceeded to cape S. Catherine, thirty seven leagues beyond cape Lope Gonzalez in two degrees and a half of south latitude. Ferdinand Po the same year found the island by him called Hermosa, or Beautiful, which name it lost, and still keeps that of the discoverer. At the same time were found the islands of S. Thomas, Anno Bom, and Principe. Some years passed without

going beyond what was known; but in the mean time King John the second, who succeeded his father Alonso, caused a fort to be built at Mina, which he called fort S. George, and settled a trade there.

An. 1480, James Cam proceeded as far as the river Congo in the kingdom of the same name, called by the natives Zayre, whence he continued his voyage as far as 22 degrees of south latitude, and thence home again.

An. 1486. King John being informed by an embassador from the King of Benin on the coast of Afric, that there was a mighty prince two hundred and fifty leagues from his country, from whom his master received his confirmation in his throne; and imagining this to be the so much talked of Prester John, he sent Peter de Covillam and Alonzo de Payva by land to get intelligence of this great potentate, and some account of India. They went together by the way of Grand Cair to Tor on the coast of Arabia, where they parted, Covillam for India, and Payva for Ethiopia, agreeing to meet by a certain time at Grand Cair; the first went to Cananor, Calicut, and Goa, passed thence to Zofala in Afric, then to Aden at the mouth of the Red-sea on the side of Arabia, and at last to Grand Cair, where he found his companion had died. Hence he sent an account to the king of his proceedings by a jew come from Portugal, and with another embarked for Ormuz, then went over into Ethiopia, where he was kindly entertained, but never suffered to return home. At the same time these were sent away by land, Bartholomew Diaz put to sea with three ships, and out-going all that had been before him a hundred and twenty leagues, discovered the mountains he called Sierra Parda, and passed on in sight of the bay called De los Vaqueros, or of the Herdsmen, because of the great herds of cattle they saw there: beyond which he touched at the small island Santa Cruz, entered the mouth of the river, called Del Infante, and at last came to the now famous, and till then unknown cape, which he called Tormentoso, because he there met with storms; but the king, in hopes of discovering the East-Indies, changed

its name to that of Cabo de Buena Esperanza, or cape of Good Hope: this done he returned home, having discovered more than any man before him. The strange conceit which possessed the heads of the sailors, that there was no possibility of passing beyond Cabo Tormentoso, as they called it, and the great employment the kings of Portugal found in their great discoveries upon the coast of Afric, very much retarded the prosecution of further designs, so that nothing was advanced till

An. 1497. King Emanuel, who with the crown of Portugal had inherited the ambition of enlarging his dominions, and the desire of finding a way by sea to the East-Indies, appointed Vasco de Gama, a gentleman of an undaunted spirit, admiral of those ships he designed for this expedition, which were only three, and a tender; their names were the S. Gabriel, the S. Raphael, and Berrio; the captains Vasco de Gama admiral, Paul de Gama his brother, and Nicholas Nunez, and Gonzalo Nunez of the tender, which was laden with provisions. Gama sailed from Lisbon on the eighth of July, and the first land he came to after almost five months sail was the bay of S. Helena, where he took some blacks. The twentieth of November he sailed thence, and doubled the cape of Good Hope, and on the twenty-fifth touched at the bay of S. Blas, sixty leagues beyond the aforesaid cape, where he exchanged some merchandize with the natives. Here he took all the provisions out of the tender, and burnt it. On Christmas-day they saw the land; which for that reason they called Terra do Natol, that is Christmas-land; then the river they named De los Reyes, that is of the kings, because discovered on the feast of the Epiphany; and after that cape Corrientes, passing fifty leagues beyond Zofala without seeing it, where they went up a river in which were boats with sails made of palm-tree leaves: the people were not so black as those they had seen before, and understood the Arabic character, who said that to the eastward lived people who sailed in vessels like those of the Portugueses. This river Gama called De Bons Sinays,

or of good tokens, because it put him in hopes of finding what he came in search of. Sailing hence, he again came to an anchor among the islands of S. George opposite to Mozambique, and removing thence anchored again above the town of Mozambique, in 14 degrees and a half of south latitude; whence after a short stay, with the assistance of a moorish pilot, he touched at Quiloa and Monbaza; and having at Melinde settled a peace with the moorish king of that place, and taking in a Guzarat pilot, he set sail for India, and crossing that great gulph of seven hundred leagues in twenty days, anchored two leagues below Calicut on the twentieth of May. To this place had Gama discovered twelve hundred leagues beyond what was known before, drawing a straight line from the river Del Infante, discovered by Bartholomew Diaz, to the port of Calicut, for in sailing about by the coast it is much more. Returning home not far from the coast, he fell in with the islands of Anchediva, signifying in the Indian language five islands, because they are so many; and having had sight of Goa at a distance, sailed over again to the coast of Afric, and anchored near the town of Magadoxa. At Melinde he was friendly received by the king, but being again under sail, the ship S. Raphael struck ashore and was lost, giving her name to those sands: all the men were saved aboard the other two ships, which parted in a storm near Cabo Verde. Nicholas Coello arrived first at Lisbon, and soon after him Vasco de Gama, having spent in this voyage two years and almost two months. Of a hundred and sixty men he carried out, only fifty-five returned home, who were all well rewarded.

An. 1500. King Emanuel, encouraged by the success of Vasco de Gama, fitted out a fleet of thirteen sail under the command of Peter Alvarez Cabral, and in it twelve hundred men, to gain footing in India. He sailed on the eighth of March, and meeting with violent storms was cast off from the coast of Afric so far, that on Easter eve the fleet came into a port, which for the safety found in it was called Seguro, and the country at that time Santa Cruz, being the same now known by the name of Brazil, on the south continent of Ame-

rica. Hence the admiral sent back a ship to advertise the king of the accidental new discovery, leaving two Portugueses ashore to inquire into the customs and product of the land. Sailing thence on the twelfth of May for the cape of Good Hope, the fleet was for twenty days in a most dreadful storm, insomuch, that the sea swallowed up four ships, and the admiral arrived with only six at Zofala on the sixteenth of July, and on the twentieth at Mozambique; where having refitted, he prosecuted his voyage to Quiloa, and thence to Melinde, whence the fleet stood over for India, and reached Anchediva on the twenty-fourth of August: then coming to Calicut, peace and commerce was there agreed on with Zamori, the king of Calicut, but as soon broken, and the Portugueses entered into strict amity with the kings of Cochin and Cananor, where they took in their lading and returned to Portugal.

An. 1501, John de Nova departed from Lisbon with four ships and four hundred men, and in his way discovered the island of Conception, in 8 degrees of south latitude and on the east side of Afric that which from him was called the island of John de Nova. At Cananor and Cochin he took in all his lading, destroying many vessels of Calicut, and in his return home found the island of St. Helena in 15 degrees of south latitude, distant fifteen hundred forty-nine leagues from Goa, and eleven hundred from Lisbon, being then unpeopled, but since of great advantage to all that use the trade of India.

An. 1502, the king set out a fleet of twenty sail commanded by the first discoverer of India, Vasco de Gama, whose second voyage this was. No new discoveries were made by him, but only trade secured at Cochin and Cananor, several ships of Calicut taken and destroyed, the king of Quiloa on the coast of Afric brought to submit himself to Portugal, paying tribute; and so Vasco de Gama returned home with nine ships richly laden, leaving Vincent Sodre behind with five ships to scour the coasts of India, and secure the factories there.

An. 1503, nine ships were sent under three several commanders, Alfonso de Albuquerque, Francis de Al-

buquerque, and Antony de Saldanha, each of them having three ships. The Albuquerques, with permission of that king, built a port at Cochin, burnt some towns, took many ships of Calicut, and then returned richly laden homewards, where Alfonso arrived safe with his ships, but Francis and his were never more heard of. Saldanha the third of these commanders, gave his name to a bay short of the cape of Good Hope, were he endeavoured to water; but it cost the blood of some of his men, and therefore the place was called Aguada de Saldanha, or Saldanha's watering-place. Thence proceeding on his voyage, he obliged the king of Monbaza on the other coast of Afric to accept of peace; and then went away to cruise upon the moors at the mouth of the Red sea, which was the post appointed him.

An. 1504. Finding no good was to be done in India without a considerable force, king Emanuel fitted out thirteen ships, the biggest that had been yet built in Portugal, and in them twelve hundred men, all under the command of Lope Soarez, who made no further discoveries, only concluded a peace with Zamori, and returned rich home.

An. 1505, D. Francisco de Almeyda was sent to India, with the title of viceroy, carrying with him twenty-two ships, and in them fifteen hundred men, with whom he attacked and took the town of Quiloa on the east coast of Afric, and in about 9 degrees of south latitude, where he built a fort: then burnt Monbaza on the same coast in four degrees, and sailing over to India erected another fort in the island Anchediva, and a third at Cananor on the Malabar coast.

An. 1506, James Fernandez Pereyra, commander of one of the ships left to cruize upon the mouth of the Red-sea, returned to Lisbon with the news of his having discovered the island Zocotora, not far distant from the said mouth, and famous for producing the best aloes, from it called succotrina. In March this year sailed from Lisbon Alonso de Albuquerque, and Tristan da Cunha, with thirteen ships, and thirteen hundred men, the former to command the trading ships, the

latter to cruize on the coast of Arabia: in their passage they had a sight of cape S. Augustin in Brasil; and standing over from thence for the cape of Good Hope, Tristan da Cunha ran far away to the south, and discovered the islands which still retain his name. Sailing hence, some discovery was made upon the island of Madagascar, that of Zocotora subdued, and the fleet sailed part for the coast of Arabia, and part for India. In the former Albuquerque took and plundered the town of Calayate, the same he did to Mascate, Soar submitted, and Orfuzam they found abandoned by the inhabitants. This done, Albuquerque sailed away to Ormuz, then first seen by Europeans. This city is seated in an island called Gerum, at the mouth of the Persian gulph, so barren that it produces nothing but salt and sulphur, but it is one of the greatest marts in those countries. Hence Albuquerque sailed to India, where he served some time under the command of the viceroy Almeyda, till he was himself made governor of the Portuguese conquests in those parts, which was in the year 1510, during which time the whole business was to settle trade, build forts, and erect factories along those coasts already known, that is all the east-side of Afric, the shores of Arabia, Persia, Guzarat, Cambaya, Decan, Canara, and Malabar; and indeed they had employment enough, if well followed, to have held them many more years. But avarice and ambition know no bounds; the Portugueses had not yet passed cape Comori, the utmost extent of the Malabar coast, and therefore

An. 1510, James Lopes de Sequeira was sent from Lisbon with orders to pass as far as Malaca: this is a city seated on that peninsula, formerly called Aurea Chersonesus, running out into the Indian sea from the main land, to which it is joined by a narrow neck of land on the north, and on the south separated from the island of Sumatra, by a small strait or channel: Malaca was at that time the greatest emporium of all the farther India. Thither Sequeira was sent to settle trade, or rather to discover what advantages might be gained; but the moors who watched to destroy him,

having failed of their design to murder him at an entertainment, contrived to get thirty of his men ashore on pretence of loading spice, and then falling on them and the ships at the same time killed eight Portugueses, took sixty, and the ships with difficulty got away. However here we have Malaca discovered, and a way open to all the further parts of India. In his way to Malaca, Sequeira made peace with the kings of Achem, Pedir and Pacem, all at that time small princes at the north west end of the island Sumatra. Whilst Sequeira was thus employed, Albuquerque assaults the famous city of Goa, seated in a small island on the coast of Decan, and taking the inhabitants unprovided made himself master of it, but enjoyed it not long; for Hidalcan the former owner returning with sixty thousand men, drove him out of it after a siege of twenty days: yet the next year he again took it by force, and it has ever since continued in the hands of the Portugueses, and been the metropolis of all their dominions in the east, being made an archbishop's see, and the residence of the viceroy who has the government of all the conquests in those parts. Albuquerque flushed with this success, as soon as he had settled all safe at Goa, sailed for Malaca with fourteen hundred fighting men in nineteen ships. By the way he took five ships, and at his arrival at the coast of Sumatra was complimented by the kings of Pedir and Pacem. It is not unworthy relating in this place, that in one of the ships taken at this time was found Nehoada Beeguea, one of the chief contrivers of the treachery against Sequeira; and though he had received several mortal wounds, yet not one drop of blood came from him; but as soon as a bracelet of bone was taken off his arm the blood gushed out at all parts. The Indians said this was the bone of a beast called cabis, which some will have to be found in Siam, and others in the island of Java, which has this strange virtue, but none has ever been found since. This being looked upon as a great treasure, was sent by Albuquerque to the king of Portugal, but the ship it went in was cast away, so that we have lost that rarity, if it be true there ever was any such.

Albuquerque sailing over to Malaca had the Portugueses that had been taken from Sequeira delivered; but that not being all he came for, he landed his men, and at the second assault made himself master of the city, killing or driving out all the moors, and peopling it again with strangers and Malays.

An. 1513, Albuquerque made an attempt upon the city of Aden, but failed, being repulsed with loss. This place is seated on the coast of Arabia Fœlix, near the mouth of the Red-sea, under the mountain Arzira, which is all a barren rock; it is rich, because resorted to by many merchants of several nations; but the soil excessive dry, so that it scarce produces any thing. Being disappointed here, Albuquerque steered his course towards the Red-sea, being the first European that ever entered it with European ships.

An. 1517, Lope Soarez de Albergoria governor of India sailed over to the island of Ceylon with seven galleys, two ships, and eight smaller vessels, carrying in them all seven hundred Portuguese soldiers. This island had been before seen by the Portugueses passing to Malaca, but not much known. Here Lope Soarez built a fort, and in process of time the Portugueses made themselves masters of all the sea-coasts of this wealthy island.

About the same time John de Silveyra, who had the command of four sail, made a farther progress than had been done before in the discovery of the Maldivy islands, which are so many that the number of them is not yet known, lying in clusters, and these in a line, N. W. and S. E. and twelve of these clusters in the line, besides two other little parcels lying together east and west from one another at the south end of the aforesaid twelve. These, though so numerous, are so very small, that no great account is made of them. From them he sailed to the kingdom of Bengala, lying in the upper part of the gulph of the same name in about 23 degrees of north latitude, being all the country about the mouth of the river Ganges. To this joins the kingdom of Arracam descending southward, then that of Pegu, and next to it that of Siam,

which joins to the Aurea Chersonesus, or peninsula of Malaca. All these countries abound in wealth, producing infinite plenty of silk and cotton, of which last they make the finest callicoes and muslins, with much reason admired by all the nations of Europe. They have numerous droves of elephants, and consequently great plenty of ivory, besides plenty of black cattle and buffaloes.

An. 1517, Fernan Perez de Andrade, sent by the king of Portugal to make new discoveries, leaving all behind that had been before known, and passing the strait betwixt Malaca and the island Sumatra, came upon the coast of the kingdom of Camboia, whence he proceeded to that of Chiampa, where taking of fresh water had like to have cost him his life. He went on to Patane, and established peace and commerce with the governor there: which done, the season being unfit to proceed further, he returned to Malaca to refit. As soon as the weather was seasonable he set out again, and continued his discoveries till he arrived at Canton, or Quantung, the most remarkable sea-port town on the southern coast of the vast empire of China. He treated with the governor of Canton, and sent an embassador to the emperor of China, and settled trade and commerce in that city for the present. Though this was not lasting, (for the very next Portugueses that arrived behaved themselves so insolently, that the fleet of China attacked them, and they had much difficulty to get off; and their embassador being sent back from Peking by the emperor of Canton unheard, was there put to death,) nevertheless some years after the Portugueses obtained leave to settle in a little island opposite to the port of Canton, where they built the city Macao, which they hold to this day, though subject to the emperor of China.

An. 1520, James Lopez de Sequeira, then governor of India, sailed for the Red-sea with a fleet of twenty-four ships, and in it eighteen hundred Portugueses, and as many Malabars and Canarins. Coming to the island Mazua in the Red-sea, he found it forsaken by the inhabitants, who were fled over to Arquico, a port be-

longing to Prester John, or the emperor of Ethiopia, which was now first discovered by sea. At this time it was a vast monarchy, and extended along the shores of the Red-sea above a hundred and twenty leagues, which was counted the least of its sides; but since then all the sea-coast has been taken from them by the Turks. Here the Portugueses in following years made some progress into the country, five hundred of them being sent under the command of D. Christopher de Gama to assist the emperor against his rebellious subjects, and his enemies the Turks. The actions performed by this handful of men being all by land, do not belong to us; but they travelled a great part of the country, and opened a way for the jesuits, who for several years after continued there.

An. 1521, Antony de Brito was sent to the Molucco islands from Malaca. These had been before discovered by Antony de Abreu. The Molucco islands are five in number, their names, Ternate, Tidore, Mousel, Machien, Bacham. These islands were afterwards long struggled for by the Portugueses and Dutch till at last the Dutch prevailed, and continue in possession of that trade till this day. A few years now past without any considerable discoveries by sea, though still they found several little islands, and advanced far by land, too long for this discourse, designed only to show the progress of navigation. Let us then proceed to the next considerable voyage, which was

An. 1540, which furnishes as remarkable a piece of sea-service as any we shall read undertaken by a private man. Peter do Faria governor of Malaca sent his kinsman Antony de Faria y Sousa, to secure a peace with the king of Patane. He carried with him goods to the value of twelve thousand ducats; and finding no sale for them there, sent them to Lugor in the kingdom of Siam, by one Christopher Borallo, who coming to an anchor in the mouth of that river was surprised by a moor of Guzarat called Coje Hazem, a sworn enemy to the Portugueses. Borallo having lost his ship swam himself ashore, and carried the news of what had happened to Faria at Patane, who vowed never

to desist till he had destroyed that moor, and in order to it fitted out a small vessel with fifty men, in which he sailed from Patane towards the kingdom of Champa, to seek the pirate there. In the latitude of 3 degrees 20 minutes, he found the island of Pulo Condor, whence he sailed into the port of Bralapisam in the kingdom of Camboia, and so coasted along to the river Pulo Cambier, which divides the kingdoms of Camboia and Tsiompa. Coasting still along, he came to an anchor at the mouth of the river of Toobasoy, where he took two ships belonging to the pirate Similau, and burnt some others. The booty was very rich, besides the addition of strength, the ships being of considerable force. Thus increased he goes on to the river Tinacoreu, or Varela, where the Siam and Malaca ships trading to China barter their goods for gold, calamba wood, and ivory. Hence he directed his course to the island Aynan on the coast of China, and passed in sight of Champiloo in the latitude of 13 degrees, and at the entrance of the bay of Cochinchina; then discovered the promontory Pulocampas, westward whereof is a river, near which spying a large vessel at anchor, and imagining it might be Coje Hazem, he fell upon and took it, but found it belonged to Quiay Tayjam a pirate. In this vessel were found seventy thousand quintals, or hundred weight of pepper, besides other spice, ivory, tin, wax, and powder, the whole valued at sixty thousand crowns, besides several good pieces of cannon, and some plate. Then coasting along the island Aynan, he came to the river Tananquir, where two great vessels attacked him, both which he took, and burnt the one for want of men to sail her. Further on at C. Tilaure he surprised four small vessels, and then made to Mutipinam, where he sold his prizes for the value of two hundred thousand crowns of uncoined silver. Thence he sailed to the port of Madel in the island Aynan, where meeting Himilian a bold pirate, who exercised great cruelties towards christians, he took and practised the same on him. This done he run along that coast, discovering many large towns and a fruitful country. And now the men weary

of seeking Coje Hazem in vain, demanded their share of the prizes to be gone, which was granted: but as they shaped their course for the kingdom of Siam, where the dividend was to be made, by a furious storm they were cast away on the island called de los Ladrones, which lies south of China, where of five hundred men only eighty-six got ashore naked, whereof twenty-eight were Portugueses: here they continued fifteen days with scarce any thing to eat, the island not being inhabited. Being in despair of relief, they discovered a small vessel which made to the shore, and anchoring, sent thirty men for wood and water. These were Chineses, whom the Portugueses, upon a sign given as had been agreed, surprised, running on a sudden and possessing themselves of their boat and vessel; and leaving them ashore, directed their course towards Liampo, a sea-port town in the province of Chequiang in China, joining by the way a Chinese pirate, who was a great friend to the Portugueses, and had thirty of them aboard. At the river Anay they refitted and came to Chincheo, where Faria hired thirty-five Portugueses he found, and putting to sea met with eight more naked in a fisher-boat, who had their ship taken from them by the pirate Coje Hazem; which news of him rejoiced Faria, and he provided to fight him, having now four vessels with five hundred men, whereof ninety-five were Portugueses. He found his enemy in the river Tinlau, where he killed him, and four hundred of his men, and took all his ships but one that sunk, with abundance of wealth: but it prospered very little, for the next night Faria's ship and another were cast away, and most of the goods aboard the others thrown over-board, and one hundred and eleven men lost; Faria escaped, and taking another rich ship of pirates by the way, came at last to winter at Liampo, as was said before, a sea-port town in the province of Chequiang in China, but built by the Portugueses, who governed there. Having spent five months here, he directed his course for the island Calempuly on the coast of China, where he was informed were the monuments of the ancient kings of China,

which he designed to rob, being reported to be full of treasure. After many days sail through seas never before known to the Portugueses, he came into the bay of Nanking, but durst not make any stay there, perceiving about three thousand sail lie at anchor about it. Here the Chineses he had with him being ill used, fled, but some natives informed him he was but ten leagues from the island Calempluy: he arrived there the next day, and intending to rob all the tombs, the old keepers of them gave the alarm, which prevented his design, and he was obliged to put to sea again, where having wandered a month he perished in a storm, both his ships being cast away, and only fourteen men saved. Thus ended this voyage, famous for several particulars, and especially for having discovered more of the north of China than was known before, though the design of the undertaker was only piracy. The city Liampo before mentioned was soon after utterly destroyed by the governor of the province of Chequiang, for the robberies and insolences committed in the country by the Portugueses.

An. 1542. Antony de Mota, Francis Zeimoto, and Antony Peixoto, sailing for China, were by storms drove upon the islands of Nipongi, or Nifon, by the Chineses called Gipon, and by us Japan. Here they were well received, and had the honour, though accidentally, of being the first discoverers of these islands. Their situation is east of China, betwixt 30 and 40 degrees of north-latitude: there are many of them, but the principal is Nipongi, or Japan, in which the emperor keeps his court at the city of Meaco. The chief islands about it are Cikoko, Tokoesi, Sando, Sisime, Bacasa, Vuoqui, Saycock or Ximo, Goto, Ceuxima, Toy, Gisima, Jasima, Tanaxuma, and Firando. Hitherto we have mentioned none but the Portugueses, they being the only discoverers of all those parts, and all other nations having followed their track, yet not till some years after this time, as we shall soon see. I do not here mention the discovery of the Philippine islands, though properly belonging to the east, as not very remote from China, because they were discovered and

conquered the other way, that is from America; and therefore we shall speak of them in their place among the western discoveries. What have been hitherto said concerning these Portuguese voyages is collected out of John de Barros's decads of India, Osorius's history of India, Alvarez of Abassia and Faria's Portuguese Asia. Having seen what has been done by these discoverers, let us next lightly touch upon the voyages of those who followed their footsteps.

An. 1551. We meet with the first English voyage on the coast of Afric, performed by Mr. Thomas Windham, but no particulars of it.

An. 1552. The same Windham returned with three sail, and traded at the ports of Zafim and Santa Cruz; the commodities he brought from thence being sugar, dates, almonds, and molosses.

An. 1553. This Windham, with Antony Anes Pinteado, a Portuguese and promoter of this voyage, sailed with three ships from Portsmouth: they traded for gold along the coast of Guinea, and from thence proceeded to the kingdom of Benin, where they were promised loading of pepper: but both the commanders and most of the men dying through the unseasonableness of the weather, the rest, being scarce forty, returned to Plymouth with but one ship and little wealth.

An. 1554. Mr. John Locke undertook a voyage for Guinea with three ships, and trading along that coast brought away a considerable quantity of gold and ivory, but proceeded no further. The following years Mr. William Towerson and others performed several voyages to the coast of Guinea, which having nothing peculiar but a continuation of trade in the same parts, there is no occasion for giving any particulars of them. Nor do we find any account of a further progress made along this coast by the English, till we come to their voyages to the East-Indies, and those begun but late; for the first Englishman we find in those parts was one Thomas Stephens, who

An. 1579, wrote an account of his voyage thither to his father in London; but he having sailed aboard a Portuguese ship, this voyage makes nothing to the

English nation, whose first undertaking to India in ships of their own was,

An. 1591. Three stately ships, called the Penelope, the Merchant Royal, and the Edward Bonaventure, were fitted out at Plymouth, and sailed thence under the command of Mr. George Raymond: they departed on the 10th of April, and on the first of August came to an anchor in the bay called Aguada de Saldanha, fifteen leagues north of the cape of Good Hope. Here they continued several days, and traded with the blacks for cattle, when finding many of their men had died, they thought fit to send back Mr. Abraham Kendal in the Royal Merchant with fifty men, there being too few to manage the three ships if they proceeded on their voyage: Kendal accordingly returned, and Raymond and Lancaster in the Penelope and Edward Bonaventure proceeded, and doubled the cape of Good Hope; but coming to cape Corrientes on the fourteenth of September, a violent storm parted them, and they never met again; for Raymond was never heard of, but Lancaster held on his voyage. Passing by Mozambique he came to the island Comera, where after much show of friendship, the moorish inhabitants killed thirty-two of his men, and took his boat, which obliged him to hoist sail and be gone; and after much delay by contrary winds he doubled cape Comori, opposite to the island of Ceylon in India, in the month of May, 1592. Thence in six days, with a large wind which blew hard, he came upon the island of Gomes Polo, which lies near the northernmost point of the island Sumatra; and the winter season coming on, stood over to the island of Pulo Pinao, lying near the coast of Malaca, and betwixt it and the island Sumatra, in 7 degrees of north latitude, where he continued till the end of August refreshing his men the best the place would allow, which afforded little but fish, yet twenty-six of them died there. Then the captain running along the coast of Malaca, and adjacent islands, more like a pirate than merchant or discoverer, took some prizes, and so thought to have returned home: but his provisions being spent when they came to cross the equinoctial,

where he was staid by calms and contrary winds six weeks, he ran away to the West-Indies to get some supply, where, after touching at several places, the captain and eighteen men went ashore in the little island Mona, lying betwixt those of Portorico and Hispaniola, but five men and a boy left in the ship cut the cable and sailed away. Lancaster and eleven of his men some days after spying a sail, made a fire; upon which signal the Frenchman, for such a one it proved to be, took in his topsails, and drawing near the island received them aboard, treating them with extraordinary civility, and so brought them to Diepe in Normandy, whence they passed over to Rye in Sussex, and landed there in May 1594, having spent three years, six weeks, and two days in this voyage. Hitherto Hackluyt, vol. II.

An. 1595. The Dutch resolving to try their fortune in the East-Indies, fitted out four ships at Amsterdam, under the command of Cornelius Hootman, which sailed on the second of April, and on the fourth of August anchored in the bay of St. Blase, about forty-five leagues beyond the cape of Good Hope, where they continued some days trading with the natives for cattle in exchange for iron. August the eleventh they departed that place, and coasting along part of the island of Madagascar, came at last into the bay of S. Augustin, where they exchanged pewter spoons and other trifles with the natives for cattle, till they fell at variance; and the natives keeping away, no more provisions were to be had: and therefore on the 10th of December they weighed, directed their course for Java, but meeting with bad weather and strong currents, were kept back till the tenth of January, when they were forced for want of refreshments to put into the island of S. Mary, lying on the eastern coast of Madagascar in 17 degrees of south latitude, whence they removed to the great bay of Antongil, and continued there till the twelfth of February: then putting to sea again, they arrived on the coast of the great island Sumatra on the eleventh of June, and spending some days along that coast, came at last to Bantam in the island of Java. They lay

here, very favourably entertained by the emperor of Java, till falling at variance many hostilities passed betwixt them; and in November the Dutch removed from before Bantam to Jacatra, which is no great distance. In January finding themselves much weakened by loss of men, and the Amsterdam one of the biggest ships leaky, they unladed and burnt her. Having thoughts of sailing for the Molucco islands, they ran along as far as the strait of Balambuon at the east end of Java; but the seamen refusing to pass any further, they made through the strait, and on the twenty-seventh of February sailed along the coast of Java towards the cape of Good Hope; and three of their four ships, besides the pinnace that was a tender, and eighty-nine seamen, being all that were left of four hundred and forty-nine, returned to Holland in August following, having been abroad twenty-nine months. This and the voyage soon after following in 1598, may seem to be mistaken, because it is said in both, that the commander in chief was Cornelius Hootman; but it must be observed, they differ not only in time, but in all other circumstances, and this is certainly the first voyage the Dutch made to India, whereas in the other there is mention of those people having been there before. This is to be seen at large in the collection of voyages undertaken by the Dutch East-India company, printed this present year 1703.

An. 1596. Sir Robert Dudley, as principal adventurer, set out three ships under the command of Benjamin Wood, designing to trade in China; for which purpose he carried letters from queen Elizabeth to the emperor of China: but these ships and the men all perished, so we have no account of their voyage. Purchas, vol. I. p. 110.

An. 1598. Three merchants of Middleburgh fitted out two ships under the command of Cornelius Howteman for the East-Indies, which sailed on the fifteenth of March. In November they put into the bay of Saldanha on the coast of Afric, in 34 degrees of south latitude, and ten leagues from the cape of Good Hope. Here pretending to trade with the natives, they offered

them some violence; to revenge which, three days after they came down in great numbers, and surprising the Dutch slew thirteen of them, and drove the rest to their ship. January the 3d they again anchored in the bay of S. Augustin in the south-west part of the island Madagascar, and 23 degrees of south latitude, where the natives would not trade with them; and being in great want of provisions, they sailed to the island Magotta, or S. Christopher, on the north of Madagascar, and having got some relief went on to Answame, or Angovan, another small island, where they took in more provisions. Then proceeding on their voyage, they passed by the Maldivy islands, thence by Cochin, and in June arrived at Sumatra at the port of Achen, where after being kindly received by the king, he sent many men aboard on pretence of friendship, but with a design to surprise the ships, which they had near accomplished, but were with difficulty beaten off, yet so that the Dutch lost sixty-eight of their men, two pinnaces of twenty ton each, and one of their boats. Sailing hence they watered and refreshed at Pulo Batun off Queda, which is on the coast of Malaca; and having spent much time about those parts, in November anchored at the islands of Nicobar in 8 degrees of latitude, where they had some refreshment, but little; to remedy which, in their way towards Ceylon, they took a ship of Negapatan and plundered it. Then directing their course home in March 1600, they doubled the cape of Good Hope, and in July returned to Middleburgh. Purchas, vol. I. p. 116.

This same year, 1598, the Holland East-India company set out six great ships and two yatchs for India under the command of Cornelius Hemskirke, which sailed out of the Texel on the first of May, and coming together to the cape of Good Hope in August, were there separated by a terrible storm: four of them and a yacht put into the island Maurice east of Madagascar; the other two ships and yatch put into the island S. Mary on the east also of Madagascar; where they made no stay, but sailing thence arrived on the twenty-sixth of November 1598, before Bantam; and a month

after them came the other four ships and a yatch from the island Maurice. The first comers having got their lading, departed from before Bantam on the eleventh of January 1599, and arrived happily in the Texel on the ninth of June 1599, richly laden with pepper, cloves, mace, nutmegs, and cinnamon, having spent but fifteen months in the whole voyage. The other four ships and yatch left in India under the command of Wybrant, sailed from Bantam along the north side of Javan to the east end of it, where the town of Arosoya is seated. Here the natives, in revenge for some of their people killed by the Dutch in their first voyage, seized seventeen of them that were sent ashore for provisions; and fifty more being sent to their relief in sloops and boats, were all of them killed, drowned, or taken. The prisoners were ransomed for two thousand pieces of eight, and then the ships put to sea, and on the third of March 1599, came into the strait of Amboina, where they anchored before a small town in that island, called Itan. This is near the Moluccos, and produces plenty of cloves. There being lading but for two ships here, the other two were sent to Banda, where they took their lading of cloves, nutmegs, and mace, and returned home in April 1600. The other two ships left behind at Amboina having taken in what lading of cloves they could get, sailed away to get what they wanted at the Moluccos, and anchored at Ternate, where having got the rest of their lading, they departed thence on the nineteenth of August 1599, and came to Jacatra in the island Java on the thirteenth of November, being then reduced to extremity for want of provisions: whence after a few days stay they proceeded to Bantam, and thence on the twenty-first of January for Holland, where after a tedious voyage they arrived in safety, having lost many men through sickness and want of provisions. Every year after the Dutch failed not to set out new fleets, being allured by the vast returns they made; yet there was nothing in these voyages but trade, and some encounters with the Spaniards, and therefore it will be needless to mention them all in particular, till in the

year 1606, the Dutch possessed themselves of Tidore, one of the Molucco islands, and Amboina, expelling the Portugueses first, and afterwards the English. In 1608 the Dutch admiral Matelief laid siege to Malaca, but without success. Soon after they grew formidable at Jacatra, or Batavia, on the island Java, where they continue to this day, that being the chief seat of all their dominions in the east. Not so satisfied, they at length made themselves masters of Malaca, and expelled the Portugueses the island of Ceylon, by which means they are possessed of the most considerable trade of the east, all the cinnamon, nutmegs, and cloves, being entirely in their own hands. Nor is this all, for they have conquered the island Formosa on the coast of China, whence they trade to Japan, with the exclusion of all christian nations from that island. And here we will leave the Dutch, to give some further relation of the English proceedings, and so conclude with the East-Indies.

An. 1600. A company of merchant adventurers was by patent from queen Elizabeth authorized to trade in the East-Indies, and accordingly in January 1600-1 they fitted out four great ships and a victualler, all under the command of captain James Lancaster, who sailed out of the river of Thames on the thirteenth of February, having four hundred and eighty men aboard his ships, yet got not beyond Torbay till the second of April, and on the first of November doubled the cape of Good Hope. In April following they anchored at the islands of Nicobar, north-east of the great island of Sumatra, and in June came before Achem, where they had a good reception, and settled peace and commerce with that king; but having little to trade with, put to sea, and took a great Portuguese ship richly laden, and returned to Achem, whence they sailed to Bantam, in the island of Java: here they had also good entertainment, and liberty of trade was agreed on; and having taken in what more lading was wanting, which consisted in pepper and cloves, on the twentieth of February they set sail in order to return for England, but meeting with violent storms were carried into 40 de-

grees of south latitude, where Lancaster lost his rudder, which was restored with much labour, aud so they arrived at the island of St. Helena in June, and having refreshed themselves there put to sea again, and returned safe to England in August. Purchas, vol. I. p. 147.

An. 1604. The aforesaid company sent four ships more to the East-Indies under the command of sir Henry Middleton, who sailed on the second of April, and arrived at Bantam on the twenty-third of December. Two of the ships loaded pepper at Bantam; sir Henry with the others sailed to the isles of Banda, where he continued twenty-one weeks, and then returned to Bantam, and arrived in the Downs on the sixth of May 1606. The same year captain John Davis and sir Edward Michelburn with one ship and a pinnace sailed into the East-Indies, trading at Bantam, and taking some prizes, but performed nothing else remarkable. Purchas, vol. I. p. 185.

An. 1607. The company fitted out their third voyage, being three ships under the command of William Keeling, but only two of them kept company; and setting out in April, arrived not at Priaman in the island Sumatra till July the following year; having spent all this time along the coasts of Afric, and beating at sea against contrary winds. Here they took in some pepper, and then sailed to Bantam, where a Siam embassador invited them to settle commerce in his master's dominions; and so they proceeded to Banda, where they were hindered taking in their lading of spice by the Dutch, who had built a fort on that island. So being disappointed they returned to Bantam, loaded pepper, and settled a factory there, which continued in prosperity till overthrown by the Dutch. Purchas, vol. I. p. 188.

The third ship mentioned above, which did not keep company with the other two, but set out at the same time, after touching at the bay of Saldanha on the coast of Afric, and at Bantam on the island of Java, proceeded to the Molucco islands, where with the permission of the Spaniards, then possessed of those islands,

they had a trade for some days, but were afterwards commanded away. Then sailing towards the island Celebes at the island Button, or Buton, they were friendly entertained by the king, and brought their full loading of cloves; which done, they returned to Bantam, and thence to England. Purchas, vol. I. p. 226.

An. 1608. The East-India company for its fourth voyage set out two ships, the Union and Ascension, commanded by Alexander Sharpey and Richard Rowles, who sailed on the fourteenth of March; and having spent above a year by the way, and lost the Union in a storm, the Ascension came on the eighth of April 1609 to an anchor before the city Aden on the coast of Arabia Felix, whence they sailed into the Red-sea, being the first English ship that ever entered it, and on the eleventh of June anchored in the road of the city of Mocha; and having made a short stay to refit, sailed away for the coast of Cambaya, where refusing to take in a pilot the ship was lost on the shoals, but all the men saved in two boats, who got ashore at the small town of Gandevel, about forty miles from Surat, whither they travelled by land, and were relieved by the English factor there. The captain and most of the company went from thence to Agra the court of the mogul, resolving to take their journey through Persia to return into Europe. But Thomas Jones, the author of this account, with three others, committed themselves to a Portuguese religious man, who promised to send them home, and accordingly carried them through Daman and Chaul to Goa, where in January they were shipped aboard the admiral of four Portuguese ships homeward bound, and arrived at Lisbon in August, where embarking in an English ship they came safe into England in September 1610. The rest of the company that went with the captain dispersed, and few of them came home.

The Union, mentioned before to be separated from the Ascension in a storm, touched at the bay of St. Augustin in the island Madagascar, where the captain and five more going ashore upon friendly invitation were killed by the natives, who thought to have sur-

prised the ship with their boats, but were beaten off with great loss. So sailing hence, they directed their course to Achem on the island Sumatra, where and at Priaman they took in their lading of bafts and pepper, and directed their course to return home. But their voyage proved so unfortunate, that all her men died by the way, except three English and an Indian, who were scarce alive; and not being able to hand the sails, the ship was carried upon the coast of Britany in France, where the French conveyed her into harbour, and most of the lading was saved for the company.

An. 1609. The English East-India company for its fifth voyage set out but one ship, commanded by David Middleton, who arriving at Banda was by the Dutch there hindered loading any spice, and therefore sailed to Puloway a small island not far distant, where with much difficulty and hazard he got loading of spice, and returned home safe. Purchas, vol. I. p. 238.

An. 1610. Sir Henry Middleton sailed with three ships under his command; and being informed by the natives of the island Zocotora, that he would be friendly received at Mocha in the Red-sea, and find good vent for his goods, he ventured up thither, and after much deceitful kindness shown him by the Turks, was himself with many of his men secured, and sent up the country several miles to another bassa. Some men were also killed by the infidels, who attempted to surprise one of the ships, and were possessed of the upper decks, till the seamen blew up some, shot others, and drove the rest into the sea, so that only one of them that hid himself escaped, and was afterwards received to mercy. After much solicitation sir Henry Middleton and his men were sent back to Mocha, where most of them made their escape aboard their ships. Many fruitless contests having afterwards passed with the bassas about the restitution of the goods taken; at last he sailed to Surat, where he arrived in September 1611, and having, notwithstanding the opposition made by the Portugueses, sold some of his goods, and departing thence to Dabul, had some more trade in that place, yet not so much as to dispose of

all he had. Whereupon he resolved to return to the Red-sea, there to traffic with the ships of India, which usually resort to those parts; he detained many of them by force, and bartered with them as he thought fit, the Indians being under restraint, and in no condition to oppose whatever was offered them. Being thus furnished, he sailed for Sumatra, where he got loading of spice, and sent one ship home with her burden, his own having been on a rock, and therefore unfit for the voyage till repaired, which could not be done so soon. This ship arrived safe in England, but sir Henry Middleton and his were cast away in India. Purchas, vol. I. p. 247. Other ships sailed the latter end of the year 1610, and beginning of 1611, which still ran much the same course with the former, and have nothing singular to relate. But

An. 1611, in April sailed captain John Saris with three ships, who having run the same course all the rest had done severally before, entering the Red-sea, and touching at Java, he received a letter from one Adams an Englishman, who sailed aboard some Dutch ships to Japan, and was there detained, in which he gave an account of that country. Captain Saris dismissing his other two ships, directed his course for that island; and passing by those of Bouro, Xula, Bachian, Celebes, Silolo, the Moluccos, and others, came to an anchor on the eleventh of June 1613, at the small island and port of Firando, lying southwest of the southwest point of the great island of Japan. This and several other small islands about it are subject to petty kings, who all acknowledge the emperor of Japan for their sovereign. These little princes showed all imaginable kindness to the English, being the first that ever appeared in those parts. Captain Saris, with the assistance of the king of Firando, was conducted to the emperor's court at Meaco, where he had audience of him, and settled peace and commerce in as authentic manner as if he had been sent from England only upon that errand; the emperor granting to the English free liberty of trade, and several privileges and immunities for their encouragement. All things being settled

there, captain Saris returned to Firando well pleased with his success: and there the goods he brought being not yet all disposed of, he erected a factory, leaving in it eight English, three Japaneses for interpreters, and two servants. These were to dispose of the goods left behind, and provide loading for such ships as were to continue the trade now began. This done, he left Firando on the fifth of December, and stood for the coast of China, along which he kept to that of Cochinchina and Camboya, whence he struck over to the southward, and came into Bantam road, where he continued some time, and lastly put into Plymouth in September 1614. Purchas, vol. I. p. 334. Thus have we brought the English to Japan, the furthest extent of what vulgarly is comprehended under the name of the East-Indies, and therefore think it needless to prosecute their voyages this way any longer, since they can afford nothing new; nor indeed have these hitherto added any thing to what was discovered by the Portugueses, to whom all these countries were well known long before, as has been made appear. Of the Dutch navigations this way somewhat has been said, and it seems needless to add any thing concerning the French, who are not so considerable there as any of those nations already mentioned, besides that they came thither the latest, and therefore not as discoverers, but tracing the beaten road; so that all that can be said of them will be only a repetition of things already spoken of. Having thus given an account of the first discoverers, and the success of all the first voyages to Afric and Asia, it now remains to show what a vast extent of land is by these means made known, which before Europe was wholly a stranger to, and the commodities it supplies us with; which is one great point of this discourse, viz. to show what benefit is reaped by navigation, and the vast improvement it has received since the discovery of the magnetical needle, or sea-compass. Then having performed this with all possible brevity, it will be fit to proceed to give the like relation of the discovery and other affairs of America, or the new world, which

will lead us to the voyages round the globe, where this discourse will end.

To begin then where the discoveries commenced, that is, at cape Nam, or Nao, which is on the coast of the kingdom of Morocco, and in the twenty-eighth degree of latitude; we find the extent made known from thence, taking it only from north to south from 18 degrees of north latitude to 35 degrees of south latitude, in all 53 degrees in length, at twenty leagues to a degree, to be one thousand sixty leagues, but very much more if we run along the coast, especially upon that of Guinea, which lies east and west for above 25 degrees, which at the same rate as before amounts to five hundred leagues. So that we have here a coast, only reckoning to the cape of Good Hope, of above fifteen hundred leagues in length made known to us, and in it the further Lybia, the country of the Blacks, Guinea, the kingdoms of Benin, Conga, Angola, and the western coast of the Cafres. These are the general names by which these vast regions are known. The natives are for the most part black, or else inclining to it. All the commodities brought from thence, are gold-dust, ivory, and slaves; those black people selling one another, which is a very considerable trade, and has been a great support to all the American plantations. This is all that mighty continent affords for exportation, the greatest part of it being scorched under the torrid zone, and the natives almost naked, no-where industrious, and for the most part scarce civilized. In the southermost parts among the wild Cafres, there is plenty of good cattle, which the first traders to India used to buy for knives and other toys at the bay of Saldanha, and other places thereabouts. The Portugueses here have the largest dominions on this coast of any nation, which are in the kingdoms of Congo and Angola. The English and Dutch have some small forts on the coast of Guinea, and the Dutch, a large strong town, with all manner of improvements about it, at the cape of Good Hope. From this cape of Good Hope to cape Guardafu at the entrance into the Red-

sea, the coast running north-east and south-west, extends above twelve hundred leagues in a straight line, containing the eastern Cafres and Zanguebar, which are the two great divisions of this side; the latter of these subdivided into the kingdoms of Mozambique, Pemba, Quiloa, Monbaca, Melinde, Magadoxa and Adel. Of these the Portugueses possess the town and fort of Mozambique, having lost Monbaca within these few years, taken from them by the moors. No other European nation has any dominions on this coast, which is all in the possession of the natives or moors. The commodities here are the same as on the west side of Afric, gold, ivory, and slaves. All this vast continent produces many sorts of fruit and grain unknown to us, as also beasts and fowl, which being no part of trade, are not mentioned here. Yet before we leave this coast we must not omit to mention the island Zocotora, famous for producing the best aloes, and situate not far distant from cape Guardafu. Next in course follows the Red-sea, the mouth whereof is about a hundred and twenty leagues from cape Guardafu, and its length from the mouth to Suez at the bottom of it above four hundred leagues, lying north-west and south-west: on one side of it is the coast of Aben and Egypt, on the other that of Arabia Petrea, and Arabia Felix, all in the possession of the Turks, and not at all resorted to by any European nation, but somewhat known to them by the way of Egypt, before the discovery of India. From the mouth of the Red-sea to the gulph of Persia lies the coast of Arabia, extending about four hundred leagues north-east and south-west to cape Rosalgate at the entrance into the bay of Ormuz. This coast is partly subject to the Turk, and partly to Arabian princes; and its principal commodities are rich gums, and coffee. Turning cape Rosalgate to the north-west is the great bay of Ormuz, along which runs still the coast of Arabia, where stands Mascate, once possessed by the Portugueses, now by the Arabs. Next we come into the gulph of Bazora, or of Persia, almost two hundred leagues in length, and enclosed by Arabia on the one side, and Persia on the other. At the mouth

of this bay in a small island is the famous city Ormuz, conquered and kept many years by the Portugueses, but at last taken from them by the Persians, with the assistance of the English. Within the bay on the Arabian side is the island Baharem, famous for a great fishery of pearls. From the mouth of the Persian gulph to that of Indus are about three hundred and forty leagues, being the coast of Persia, where no prince possesses any thing but that great monarch. The chiefest commodities here are raw silk, rhubarb, worm-seed, carpets of all sorts, wrought and plain silks, silks wrought with gold or silver, half silks and half cottons. From the mouth of Indus to cape Comori, taking in the bend of the coast from Indus to Cambaya, lying north-west and south-east, and from that bay to the cape almost north and south, are near four hundred leagues, including the shores of Guzarat, Cambaya, Decan, Canara and Malabar: of these Guzarat and Cambaya, with part of Decan, are subject to the great mogul, the other parts to several Indian princes. Yet the Portugueses have the fort of Diu in Guzarat, Damam in Cambaya, and the great city of Goa in Decan, besides other forts of lesser consequence: the English the island of Bombaim, and the Dutch some forts. Doubling cape Comori, and running in a straight line north-east, there are about four hundred and forty leagues to the bottom of the bay of Bengala; and turning thence south-east, somewhat more than the same number of leagues to the southermost point of the Aurea Chersonesus, or the coast of Malaca; and in this space the shores of Coromandel, Bisnagar, Golconda, Orixa, Bengala, Arracan, Pegu, Martaban, and the Aurea Chersonesus, or Peninsula, of Malaca. Hence we will make but one line more for brevity sake up to Japan on the northern coast of China, which in a straight line, without allowing any thing for the bays of Siam and Cochinchina, is at least eight hundred leagues, and in it the east-side of the Peninsula of Malaca, the kingdoms of Siam, Camboia, Chiampa, and Cochinchina, and the vast empire of China. All these immense regions from Persia eastward are vulgarly,

though improperly, comprehended under the name of the East-Indies. The product of these countries is no less to be admired, being all sorts of metals, all beasts and birds, and the most delicious of fruits. But to speak by way of trade, the commodities here are diamonds, silk raw and wrought in prodigious quantities, cotton unwrought, and infinite plenty of it in callicoes and muslins, all sorts of sweet and rich woods, all the gums, drugs, and dyes, all the precious plants, and rich perfumes, not to mention the spices, which I leave to the islands; in fine, all that is precious, delightful, or useful: insomuch, that though here be mines of silver and gold, yet none is sent abroad, but hither it flows from all other parts and is here swallowed up. But something must be said of the islands belonging to this great continent, for the value of them is immense, as well as their number, and the extent of some of them. The first in order that are any thing considerable, are the Maldivy islands, rather remarkable for their multitude than any other thing, being so many that the number is not known, yet so small, that no great account is made of them: they lie south-east of cape Comori, betwixt 3 and 8 degrees of north latitude; for so far they run, being disposed in twelve several clusters or parcels that lie north-west and south-east, at the south end whereof lie two other less clusters or parcels east and west from one another. As for trade, or commerce, though these islands are very fruitful, they have not any thing considerable to promote it, especially to supply Europe, which is the thing here to be considered. Next to these is the great and rich island of Ceylon beyond cape Comori, formerly divided into several petty kingdoms, till the Portugueses first reduced all the sea-coasts under their dominion, and were afterwards dispossessed by the Dutch, who still remain masters of them, but could never yet conquer the inland. This is a place of mighty traffick, for it produces the best cinnamon in the world, and supplies all Europe: here are also found the finest rubies, and several other sorts of precious stones. The elephants of this island are counted the best in all India, and as

such coveted by all the eastern princes, who, though they have herds of them in their own dominions, do not spare to give considerable prices for these, which is a great enriching of the country. The islands of Sunda, or the Sound, are that great parcel lying south and south-east of Malaca, the principal whereof are Sumatra, Borneo, and Java; the two first directly under the line, Sumatra above three hundred leagues in length, lying north-west and south-east, and about sixty in breadth in the widest place; Borneo is almost round, and about six hundred in circumference; Java the last of them lies betwixt 7 and 10 degrees of south latitude, is about two hundred leagues in length from east to west, and not above forty in breadth in the widest place from north to south. There are many more, but all small in comparison of these, unless we reckon Celebes, lying under the line, near an hundred and eighty leagues in length, the longest way north-east and south-west, and about eighty in breadth in the broadest place from east to west: as also Gilolo, under the equator as well as the last, of an irregular shape, and not above one-fourth part of the bigness of Celebes. All these islands have a prodigious trade, being resorted to from all parts, not only of India, but even from Europe. Their wealth is incredible, for they produce whatsoever man can wish; but the principal commodities exported are ginger, pepper, camphor, agaric, cassia, wax, honey, silk, cotton; they have also mines of gold, tin, iron, and sulphur, all sorts of cattle and fowl, but no vines nor olive-trees. In Sumatra the Dutch have some forts, and are very powerful, but much more in Java, where Batavia, a populous city, is the metropolis of their eastern dominions. The English had a great trade and factory at Bantam in the same island, but were expelled by the Dutch in the year 1682. After these follow the Molucco islands, which are five in number properly so called, viz. Ternate, Tidore, Machian, Moutil or Mousil, and Bachian: they lie along the west side of Gilolo, so near the equinoctial, that the last of them lies 24 or 25 minutes south, and the first of them about fifty minutes north of it. They are so small, that all

of them do not take up above 1 degree, and 10 or 15 minutes of latitude. Ternate is the northermost, and in order from it lie to the south Tidore, Moutil, Machian and Bachian. The whole product of these islands is cloves, which are scarce found elsewhere, and here little besides them; which is the reason why the Dutch have possessed themselves of them, expelling the Portugueses, who after long contests had bought out the Spaniards claim to them. With the Moluccos may be reckoned the islands of Amboina and Banda: the first of these produces cloves like the other, and was once much resorted to by the English, till the Dutch destroyed their factory, of which action there are particular printed accounts. Banda is a larger island than any of the others, and in five degrees of south latitude, possessed also by the Dutch, who have here all the trade of nutmegs and mace, which scarce grow any-where but in this and two or three neighbouring islands. A vast multitude of other little islands are scattered about this sea, but those already mentioned are the most considerable; for though those of Chiram and Papous be large, there is very little of them known, by which it is natural to guess they are not of much value; for if they were, the same avarice that has carried so many European nations into their neighbourhood to destroy not only the natives, but one another, would have made them long since as familiar to us as the rest. Of Japan enough was said when first discovered by the Portugueses, and in captain Saris's voyage thither, where the reader may satisfy his curiosity. All that needs be added is, that it produces some gold, and great plenty of silver. For other commodities, here is abundance of hemp, excellent dyes, red, blue, and green, rice, brimstone, saltpetre, cotton, and the most excellent varnish in the world, commonly called japan, whereof abundance of cabinets, tables, and many other things, are brought into Europe. Thus are we come to Japan the utmost of these eastern discoveries, omitting to say any thing of the Philippine islands, and those called De las Ladrones, though within this compass, because they were discovered from the West-Indies; and therefore they are

left to be treated of among the American affairs, as are the isles of Solomon, whereof hitherto the world has had but a very imperfect account. This summary shows the improvement of navigation on this side the world since the discovery of the magnetical needle, or sea-compass, it having made known to us as much of the coast of Afric and Asia, as running along only the greatest turnings and windings, amounts to about five thousand leagues; an incredible extent of land, were it not so universally known to be true, and so very demonstrable. The benefit we reap is so visible, it seems not to require any thing should be said of it. For now all Europe abounds in all such things as those vast, wealthy, exuberant eastern regions can afford; whereas before these discoveries it had nothing but what it received by retail, and at excessive rates from the Venetians, who took in the precious drugs, rich spices, and other valuable commodities of the east in Egypt, or the coast of Turky, whither it was brought from India, either by caravans or up the Red-sea; and they supplied all other countries with them at their own prices. But now the sea is open, every nation has the liberty of supplying itself from the fountain-head; and if some have encroached upon others, and confined them to a narrower trade in those parts, yet the returns from thence are yearly so great, that all those goods may be purchased here at the second-hand infinitely cheaper than they could when one nation had the supplying of all the rest, and that by so expensive a way, as being themselves served by caravans, and a few small ships on the Red-sea. To conclude; these parts, the discovery whereof has been the subject of this discourse, supply the christian world with all gums, drugs, spices, silks, and cottons, precious stones, sulphur, gold, salt-petre, rice, tea, china-ware, coffee, japan varnished works, all sorts of dyes, of cordials, and perfumes, pearls, ivory, ostrich feathers, parrots, monkeys, and an endless number of necessaries, conveniencies, curiosities, and other comforts and supports of human life, whereof enough has been said for the intended brevity of this discourse. It is now time to pro-

ceed to a still greater part, greater in extent of land as reaching from north to south, and its bounds not yet known, and greater in wealth, as containing the inexhaustible treasures of the silver mines of Peru and Mexico, and of the gold mines of Chile, and very many other parts. A fourth part of the world, not much inferiour to the other three in extent, and no way yielding to them for all the blessings nature could bestow upon the earth. A world concealed from the rest for above five thousand years, and reserved by providence to be made known three hundred years ago. A region yet not wholly known, the extent being so immense, that three hundred years have not been a sufficient time to lay it all open. A portion of the universe wonderful in all respects: 1. For that being so large it could lie so long hid. 2. For that being well inhabited, the wit of man cannot conclude which way those people could come thither, and that none others could find the way since. 3. For its endless sources of gold and silver, which supplying all parts, since their first discovery, are so far from being impoverished, that they only want more hands to draw out more. 4. For its mighty rivers, so far exceeding all others, that they look like little seas, compared with the greatest in other parts. 5. For its prodigious mountains, running many hundred leagues, and whose tops are almost inaccessible. 6. For the strange variety of seasons, and temperature of air to be found at very few leagues distance. And lastly, For its stupendous fertility of soil, producing all sorts of fruits and plants which the other parts of the world afford, in greater perfection than in their native land, besides an infinity of others which will not come to perfection elsewhere.

To come to the discovery of this fourth and greatest part of the earth, it was undertaken and performed by Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, excellently skilled in sea-affairs, an able cosmographer, and well versed in all those parts of the mathematics, which might capacitate him for such an enterprise. This person being convinced by natural reason, that so great a part of the world as till then was unknown could not be all sea, or created to no purpose; and believing that the earth

being round, a shorter way might be found to India by the west, than by compassing all Afric to the southward, as the Portugueses were then attempting to do; he resolved to apply himself wholly to the discovery of those rich countries, which he positively concluded must extend, from what was known of the East-Indies, still to the eastward one way, and to be the easier met with by sailing round to the westward. Having been long fully possessed with this notion, and provided to answer all objections that might be started against it, he thought the undertaking too great for any less than a sovereign prince, or state; and therefore, not to be unjust to his country, he first proposed it to the state of Genoa, where it was rather ridiculed than any way encouraged. This repulse made him have recourse to king John the second of Portugal, who having caused the matter to be examined by those that had the direction of the discoveries along the coast of Afric, by their advice he held him in hand till he had sent out a caravel with private orders to attempt this discovery. This caravel having wandered long in the wide ocean, and suffered much by storms, returned without finding any thing. Columbus understanding what had been done, resented it so highly, that in hatred to Portugal he resolved to go over to Castile and offer his service there; but for fear of any disappointment, at the same time he sent his brother Batholomew Columbus into England, to make the same overture to king Henry the seventh. His brother had the ill fortune to be taken at sea by pirates, which much retarded his coming to the court of England; where when at last he came, being poor and destitute of friends, it was long before he could be heard, or at least be looked upon; so that in fine, Columbus was gone before he returned to Spain with his answer. Columbus in the mean while stole away out of Portugal, and coming to the court of Ferdinand and Isabel, king and queen of Castile and Aragon, he there spent eight years soliciting with little hopes, and many difficulties; till at last, when he had utterly despaired of success, he met with it, through the assistance of some few friends he had gained at court. At his earnest suit he had all the conditions he required granted,

which were, that he should be admiral of all those seas he discovered, and viceroy and governor general of all the lands; that he should have the tenth of all things whatsoever brought from those parts, and that he might at all times be an eighth part in all fleets sent thither, and to receive the eighth of all the returns. This to him and his heirs for ever. With these titles and sufficient power from the queen, who espoused the undertaking, he repaired to the port of Palos de Moguer, on the coast of Andaluzia, where there was furnished for him a ship called the S. Mary, and two caravels, the one called la Pinta, commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and the other la Nina, by Vincent Yanez Pinzon. In these vessels he had ninety men, and provisions for a year; and thus equipped he sailed from Palos de Moguer.

An. 1492. On the twenty-third of August, directing his course to the Canary islands, where he made a new rudder to the caravel Pinta, which had hers broke off at sea, he took in fresh provisions, wood, and water, with all possible expedition; and on the sixth of September put to sea again, steering due west, and on the seventh lost sight of land. The eleventh at a hundred and fifty leagues distance from the island of Ferro, they saw a great piece of a mast drove by the current, which set strong towards the north; and the fourteenth the admiral observed the variation of the needle to the westward about two points. On Sunday the sixteenth the men were surprised to see green and yellow weeds scattered about in small parcels on the superfices of the water, as if it had been newly torn off from some island or rock; and the next day they saw much more, which made some conclude they were near land, and others supposing it only to be rocks or shoals began to mutter. Every day they saw some birds flying to the ships, and abundance of weeds in the water, which still made them conceive hopes of land; but when these failed, then they began again to murmur, so that the admiral was forced to use all his art to keep them quiet, sometimes with fair words, and sometimes with threats and severity, they imagining, that since for the most part they sailed before the wind, it would

be impossible for them ever to return. Thus their mutinous temper daily increased, and began to appear more open, some being so bold as to advise throwing the admiral overboard. The first of October the pilot told the admiral, he found by his account they were five hundred and eighty-eight leagues west of the island of Ferro, which is the westermost of the Canaries; who answered, his reckoning was five hundred and eighty-four, whereas in reality his computation was seven hundred and seven; and on the third the pilot of the caravel Nina reckoned six hundred and fifty, he of the caravel Pinta six hundred and thirty-four: but they were out, and Columbus made it less for fear of discouraging the men, who nevertheless continued very mutinous, but were somewhat appeased on the fourth, seeing above forty sparrows fly about the ships, besides other birds. The eleventh of October there appeared manifest tokens of their being near land; for from the admiral's ship they saw a green rush in the water, from the Nina they saw a cane and a stick, and took up another that was artificially wrought, and a little board, besides abundance of weeds fresh pulled up; from the Pinta they beheld such-like tokens, and a branch of a thorn-tree with the berries on it: besides that, sounding they found bottom, and the wind grew variable. For these reasons the admiral ordered, they should make but little sail at night, for fear of being aground in the dark, and about ten of the clock that night the admiral himself saw a light, and showed it to others. About two in the morning the caravel Pinta, which was furthest a-head, gave the signal of land; and when day appeared, they perceived it was an island about fifteen leagues in length, plain, well wooded and watered, and very populous; the natives standing on the shore, admiring what the ships were. The admiral and captains went ashore in their boats, and called that island S. Salvador, the natives calling it Guanahani, and is one of the Lucayos in about 26 degrees of north latitude, nine hundred and fifty leagues west of the Canaries, and discovered the thirty-third day after they sailed from them. Columbus took possession for the king and queen

of Spain, and all the Spaniards joyfully took an oath to him as their admiral and viceroy. He gave the Indians, who stood in admiration to see him and his men, some red caps, glass-beads, and other trifles, which they valued at a high rate. The admiral returning aboard, the natives followed, some swimming, others in their canoes, carrying with them bottoms of spun cotton, parrots, and javelins pointed with fish-bones, to exchange for glass baubles and horse-bells. Both men and women were all naked, their hair short and tied with a cotton string, and well enough featured, of a middle stature, well shaped, and of an olive colour, some painted white, some black, and some red. They knew nothing of iron, and did all their work with sharp stones. No beasts or fowl were seen here but only parrots. Being asked by signs, whence they had the gold, whereof they wore little plates hanging at their noses, they pointed to the south. The admiral understanding there were other countries not far off, resolved to seek them out; and taking seven Indians that they might learn Spanish, sailed on the fifteenth to another island which he called the Conception, seven leagues from the other. The sixteenth he proceeded to another island and called it Ferdinanda, and so to a fourth, to which he gave the name of Isabella; but finding nothing more in these than in the first, he proceeded on to the island of Cuba, which he called Juana, and entered the port on the east end called Baracoa, whence after sending two men to discover without finding what he sought for, he went on to Hispaniola, and anchored on the north side of it. Here the admiral finding there were gold mines, and plenty of cotton, the people simple, and one of the caciques, or princes, showing all tokens of love and affection; and having lost his own ship, which through the carelessness of the sailors in the night run upon a sand, he resolved to build a fort, which with the assistance of the Indians was performed in ten days, and called the Nativity: here he left thirty-nine men, with provisions for a year, seeds to sow, baubles to trade with the natives, all the cannon and arms belonging

to his own ship, and the boat. This done, he departed the port of the Nativity on the fourth of January 1493, steering eastward, and the sixth discovered the caravel Pinta, which had left him some days before, the captain hoping to get much gold to himself. Columbus having sailed some days along the coast of the island, discovered more of it, and trafficking with the natives, and seeing some other islands at a distance, at length launched out to sea to return for Spain. In the way they struggled with the dreadfullest storms any of them had ever seen, which separated the admiral from the caravel Pinta, so that he saw her no more; but at last it pleased God to bring his shattered caravel into the river of Lisbon, where the people flocked with admiration to see him, and some advised the king of Portugal to murder him, but he having entertained him generously dismissed him; and he putting to sea again, arrived safe at Palos de Moguer, from whence he set out on the fifteenth of March, having been out six months and a half upon his discovery. The court was then at Barcelona, whither the admiral repaired, carrying with him the Indians he brought, some gold, and other samples of what the discovery afforded. The king and queen received him with all possible demonstrations of honour, making him sit down in their presence, and ordering all the privileges and titles before granted him to be confirmed. After some time spent in these entertainments, the admiral desired to be fitted out as became his dignity, to conquer and plant those new countries; which was granted, and he departed for Seville to set out on his second voyage, which we are to speak of next; we have been very particular in this, because being the first, it required a more exact account to be given of it, and shall therefore be more succinct in those that follow.

An. 1493. A fleet of seventeen sail of all sorts was fitted out at Seville, well furnished with provisions, ammunition, cannon, corn, seeds, mares and horses, tools to work in the gold mines, and abundance of commodities to barter with the natives. There were aboard fifteen hundred men, many of them labouring

people, and artificers, several gentlemen, and twenty horse. With this fleet Columbus set sail from Seville on the fifteenth of September the aforesaid year, and on the fifth of October came to the Gomeru, one of the Canary islands, where he took in wood and water, as also cattle, calves, sheep, goats, and swine, to stock the Indies, besides hens and garden-seeds. Sailing hence more to the southward than the first voyage, on the third of November in the morning, all the fleet spied an island, which Columbus called Dominica, because discovered on a Sunday, and soon after many others, the first of which he called Marigalanti, the name of the ship he was in, the next Guadalupe, then Montserrate, Santa Maria Redonda, Santa Maria el Antigua, S. Martin, Santa Cruz; these are the Caribbe islands. Next he came to the large island, which he called S. John Baptist, but the Indians Borriquen, and it is now known by the name of Puerto Rico. November the twenty-second the fleet arrived on the coast of Hispaniola, where they found the fort burnt down, and none of the Spaniards, they being all destroyed either by discord among themselves, or by the Indians. Not liking the place he had chosen the first voyage to plant his colony, he turned back to the eastward, and finding a seat to his mind, landed and built a little town which he called Isabella, in honour of Isabel then queen of Castile. Then keeping five ships of the fleet with him for his use there, he sent back twelve to Spain, under the command of Antony de Torres, with some quantity of gold, and a full account of what had been done. Thus ended this year 1493, and here it must be observed, that all the actions done ashore must be omitted, as too great for this discourse, and in reality no way belonging to it, the design of it being only to show what advantages have been made by sea since the discovery of the magnetical needle, as has been declared before.

An. 1494. Columbus sailed from his new colony of Isabella with one great ship and two caravels on the twenty-fourth of April, directing his course westward, and came upon the point of Cuba on the eighteenth of

May, where sailing along the coast he saw an infinite number of small islands; so that it being impossible to give them all names, he in general called them the Queen's Garden. Thus he proceeded as far as the island de Pinos, near the westermost end of Cuba, having discovered 330 leagues to the westward from his colony of Isabella. He suffered very much in this voyage by the continual storms of rain, wind, thunder and lightning; and therefore resolved to return, taking his way more to the southward, and on the twenty-second of July found the island of Jamaica; whence he directed his course to Hispaniola, and coasting about it, arrived at the town of Isabella on the twenty-ninth of September, where he found his brother Bartholomew Columbus, who was come with four ships from Spain. The admiral built many forts in the island, and being much offended at the ill behaviour of many of the Spaniards, who began to use him disrespectfully, and sent complaints against him to court, returned into Spain to justify his proceedings, and secure his authority. Thus far out of Herrera's first decade, lib. I, II, and III.

The fame of these mighty discoveries being spread abroad throughout Europe, Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, but residing in England, made application to king Henry the seventh, to be employed in finding out a passage to the East-Indies through the north-west. The king admitted of his proposal, and

An. 1497, ordered him two ships provided with all necessaries for such an undertaking, with which he sailed from Bristol in the beginning of summer, (for here does not appear a particular journal,) and directing his course north-west came into 56, Herara says 68, degrees of north latitude, where he discovered land running still to the northward, which made him despair of finding a passage that way, as he had projected, and therefore came about to the southward, hoping to meet it in less latitude. Thus he soon fell in upon the now much frequented island of Newfoundland, reaching from 54 to 48 degrees, where he found a wild people clad in skins of beasts, and armed with bows and arrows, as also bears and stags, and great plenty of

fish, but the earth yielding little fruit. Here he took three of the savages, whom at his return he carried into England, where they lived long after. Hence he continued his course along the American coast as far as 38 degrees of latitude, where his provisions beginning to fall short he returned to England. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 6, et seq. This imperfect account is all we have of this voyage, which was not prosecuted by the English in many years after; and Cabot finding little encouragement went away into Spain, where he was entertained.

An. 1498. On the thirtieth of May admiral Columbus having been again well received and honoured by the king and queen of Castile and Aragon, and provided as he desired, sailed from S. Lucar with six ships upon new discoveries, and coming to the island Gomeru, one of the Canaries, on the nineteenth, sent thence three of his ships with provisions to sail directly for Hispaniola. He with the other three made the islands of Cabo Verde, resolving to sail southward as far as the equinoctial; and therefore steering south-west on the thirteenth of July he felt such violent heat, that they all thought they should there have ended their days: and this continued till the nineteenth, when the wind freshening they stood away to the westward, and the first of August came to an anchor in the island which he called La Trinidad, near the continent of South America, in about 11 degrees of north latitude. Discovering land from this place, which he supposed to be another island, but it was the continent, he sailed over and came upon the point of Paria, and run many leagues along the coast of the continent, without knowing it was so, trading with the Indians for gold and abundance of pearls. However, thinking his presence necessary at Hispaniola, he could not continue his discovery, but returned the same way he came to the island Trinidad, and found that he called Margarita, where was afterwards the great pearl-fishery, and that of Cubagua, besides many others of less note, and arrived at Santo Domingo, a town newly built on the

south coast of the island Hispaniola on the twenty-second of August. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. IV.

An. 1499. The news having been brought to Spain of the discovery Columbus had made on the continent, though it was not yet certainly known whether it was a continent or an island; Alonso de Ojeda and some other private men fitted out four ships to make discoveries, and sailed from port S. Mary on the twentieth of May. John de la Cosa, a Biscainer, went with him as pilot, and Americus Vespucius as merchant. They took their course to the south-west, and in twenty-seven days had sight of land, which they supposed to be the continent. Being within a league of the shore, they sent some men in the boat, who saw abundance of naked people, who presently fled to the mountains; and therefore they followed the coast to find some harbour, which they found two days after, with multitudes of natives, thronging to see the ships. They were of a middle stature, well shaped, broad faced, and of a ruddy complexion; they covered their nakedness with leaves or cotton clouts. Their wealth consisted in fine feathers, fish-bones, and green and white stones, but they had neither gold nor pearls. Ojeda ran along this coast till he came to a town seated like Venice in the water, but containing only twenty-six great houses; for which reason he called it Venezuela, or little Venice, in about 11 degrees of north latitude. Still he kept along the coast of Paria, before discovered by Columbus, for the space of two hundred leagues, and then proceeded two hundred further to the point called Cabo de la Vela. Then turning back he came to the island Margarita, where he careened, and on the fifth of November arrived at the island of Hispaniola, where we may put an end to this discovery.

This same year Peter Alonso Nino and Christopher Guevara sailed from Sevil with one ship to discover, but did nothing more than had been done before, trading along the coast where Columbus and Ojeda had been. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. IV.

An. 1500, Vincent Yanez Pinzon, who was with Columbus the first voyage, set out four ships at his

own charge, and sailing to the southward was the first Spaniard that ever cut the equinoctial line. Then sailing to the westward, on the twenty-sixth of January he discovered land at a distance, which was the point of land now called cape S. Augustin, on the coast of Brasil, where he took possession for the king of Spain: but not being able to bring the natives to trade with him, he passed on to a river, where landing, eight of his men were killed by the Indians; which made him remove again down to the mouth of the river Maranon, which is thirty leagues over, and runs with such force, that the water is fresh forty leagues out at sea. Finding no benefit could be made along this coast, he held on his course to Paria, whence he sailed over to the islands in the way to Hispaniola; and being at an anchor among them, a furious storm sunk two of their ships downright, the other two escaping repaired to Hispaniola, and having refitted returned to Spain. In this voyage they discovered six hundred leagues along the coast lying south-east from Paria.

In December this same year James de Lepe sailed from Palos de Moguer to discover, and went some way to the southward of cape S. Augustin, but did little considerable. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. IV.

This year also Emanuel king of Portugal fitted out a fleet of thirteen sail for the East-Indies, commanded by Peter Alvarez Cabral, who sailing from Lisbon in March, to avoid the calms on the coast of Guinea, stood out far to sea; and being carried away further to the westward than he intended by a storm, on the twenty-fourth of April fell in upon the coast of Brasil in America, in 10 degrees of south latitude. He sailed along it one day, and going ashore found a tawny people; but the weather still forced him to the southward, to a harbour he called Porto Seguro, in 17 degrees of south latitude, where he landed, and found the country abounding in cotton and Indian wheat. Here he erected a cross in token of possession, and therefore called the country Santa Cruz, but the name of Brazil prevailed, because of that sort of wood brought from thence. Peter Alvarez sent a ship to Portugal to give advice of this dis-

covery, and he with the rest prosecuted his voyage to the East-Indies, as may be seen in the account of them, Herrera ubi sup. and Faria in Asia, part I. p. 53.

Again this year, 1500, Gasper de Cortereal a Portuguese sailed to the north parts of America with two caravels, where he run along a great part of what was said before to have been discovered by Cabot, and gave his name to some small islands about the north of Newfoundland, bringing away sixty of the natives. He made a second voyage into those parts, but was cast away. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VI.

An. 1501, Roderick de Bastidas fitted out two ships at Cadiz, and taking John de la Cosa, who was best acquainted with the western seas, for his pilot, put to sea in the beginning of February, following the same course Columbus had taken when he discovered the continent; and coasting all along where he and the others had been, he traded with the Indians. Not so satisfied, he run to the westward, and discovered Santa Marta Carthagena, and as far as Nombre de Dios, being above an hundred leagues more than was known before. His ships being now leaky and worm-eaten, so that they could not long keep the sea, and having traded for a considerable quantity of gold and pearls, he with difficulty made over to Xaragua in Hispaniola, where his ships sunk after saving the treasure; and he after being imprisoned in this island got over into Spain with his wealth. He carried some Indians from the continent to Hispaniola, who went stark naked, only carrying their privities in a gold case made like a funnel. Herrera ubi sup.

An. 1502. Admiral Columbus, being through the malicious insinuations of his enemies removed from the government of Hispaniola, but still fed by the king with fair words, obtained of him four ships to go upon some new discovery, and sailed with them from Cadiz on the ninth of May. On the twenty-ninth of June he came before Santo Domingo in the island Hispaniola, where the governor refused to admit him into the port. On the fourteenth of July he sailed away to the westward, and after driving some days with the currents in

calms, struggled for sixty days with violent storms; after which he discovered the little island Guanaja, northward of cape Honduras, in 19 degrees of latitude. He sent his brother ashore, who met with a canoe as long as a spanish galley, and eight foot wide, covered with mats, and in it many men, women and children, with abundance of commodities to barter, which were large cotton cloths of several colours, short cotton shirts without sleeves curiously wrought, clouts of the same to cover their privities, wooden swords edged with flint, copper, hatchets to cut wood, horse-bells of the same metal, and broad flat plates of it, crucibles to melt the copper, cocoa-nuts, bread made of Indian wheat, and drink of the same. Being carried aboard the admiral, he exchanged some commodities with them, and then dismissed them, only keeping an old man, of whom when he inquired for gold, he pointed eastward, which made Columbus alter his design of sailing westward. Therefore taking the way he was directed, the first land he came to was cape Casinas on the continent of the province of Honduras, where his brother landed and took possession, the natives coming down in peaceable manner, wearing short jackets of cotton, and clouts of the same before their privy-parts, and bringing him plenty of provisions. Sailing hence many days to the eastward against the wind, he came to a great point of land, from which perceiving the shore run to the southward, he called it Cabo de Gracios a Dios, or cape Thanks be to God, because then the easterly winds would carry him down the coast. He run along trading with the natives, and touched at Porto Bello, Nombre de Dios, Belen, and Veragua, where he heard there were gold mines, and sent his brother up the country, who returned to him with a considerable quantity of that metal, exchanged for inconsiderable trifles. Upon this encouragement Columbus resolved to leave his brother there with eighty men, and accordingly built houses for them; yet after all, the Indians becoming their enemies, and the Spaniards mutinous, he was forced to take them aboard again, and then sailed away for Hispaniola. The ships being quite shaken with the many storms, and eaten

through with the worms, could not reach that island, and therefore he was forced to run them a-ground on the coast of Jamaica, close board and board by one another, shoring them up with piles drove in the sand, and making huts on the decks for the men to live in, because they were full of water up to the deck. Hence with incredible difficulty and danger he sent messengers in a canoe over to Hispaniola for some vessels to carry him and his men away, and after suffering much was at last transported to that island, and thence into Spain, where he died. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. V, VI. So that we have here an end of his discoveries, and all the continent of America made known from cape Honduras in 18 degrees of north latitude, to Porto Seguro on the coast of Brasil in 17 degrees of south latitude, being above fifteen hundred leagues, taking only the greater windings of the coast.

An. 1506. The news of Columbus's new discovery being spread abroad in Castile, John Diaz de Solis and Vincent Yanez Pinzon resolved to prosecute what he had begun; and coming to the island Guanaja, whence Columbus had turned back to the eastward, they held on their course still westward, running along the coast of Honduras till they came to the bottom of that deep bay, which they called Baia de Navidad, now called the Gulph of Honduras. Then turning to the north-east, they discovered a great part of the province of Yucatan, whereof little was afterwards known till the discovery of New-Spain.

An. 1507. It being still unknown whether Cuba was an island or part of the continent, Nicholas de Obando governor of Hispaniola sent Sebastian de Ocampo to discover it: he sailed along the north side of it, touching at several places, and careened his ships at the port now well known by the name of the Havana, which then he called de Coranas. Then continuing his voyage to the westermost end of the island now called Cabo de S. Anton, he turned to the eastward along the south coast of the island, and put into the port of Xagua, which is one of the best in the world, and capable of containing a thousand ships. Here he was most courteously en-

tertained and supplied with abundance of partridges and good fish. Having rested here a few days, he held on his way along the coast, and returned to Hispaniola, with the certain news of Cuba's being an island. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VII.

An. 1508. John Ponce de Leon sailed over from Hispaniola to the island called by the Indians Borriquen, by the Spaniards S. Juan de Puerto Rico, and by the English Porto Rico: it is but fifteen leagues distant from Hispaniola, has a good harbour, which with the plenty of gold found in it gave it the name of Puerto Rico, or the Rich Harbour. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VII.

The same year, 1508, John Diaz de Solis, and Vincent Yanez Pinzon, who before discovered the gulph of Honduras, sailed with two caravels fitted out at the king's expence to discover the south coast of America; and coming upon cape S. Augustin in about 11 degrees of south latitude, continued thence their navigation along the coast, often landing and trading with the natives till they came into 40 degrees of the same latitude, whence they returned with an account of what they had found into Spain. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VII.

An. 1509. John de Esquibel was sent from Hispaniola, by the admiral James Columbus, son to Christopher Columbus, with seventy men to settle a colony in the island of Jamaica.

This same year John de la Cosa sailed from Spain with one ship and two brigantines, to join Alonzo de Ojeda in the island Hispaniola, thence to go and settle on the continent. James de Nicuessa set out soon after him with four ships upon the same design. After some dispute about the limits of their provinces, they agreed that the river of Darien should part them, and then they set out towards their several governments. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VII.

An. 1510, Ojeda landed at Carthagena, where after endeavouring to gain the Indians by fair means without success he came to a battle with them, in which John de la Cosa was killed, and he escaped by flight, having lost seventy Spaniards. Nicuessa arrived a few days after,

and joining the other Spaniards belonging to Ojeda, revenged the death of the former seventy, and took a great booty. However Ojeda removed thence to the gulph of Uraba, where he founded the town of S. Sebastian, being the second built on the continent, if we reckon that before founded by Columbus near the same place, which did not stand, as has been mentioned, nor did this continue long at that time, being removed after most of the Spaniards were consumed to Darien. Hence the Indians carried swine, salt and fish up the country, and in return brought home gold and cotton-cloth. Nicuessa with his ships sailed to Veragua, and after many miseries and calamities, at last founded the town of Nombre de Dios on the small isthmus that joins the two continents of North and South America. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VII, VIII.

An. 1511. The admiral James Columbus from the island Hispaniola sent James Velasquez with about three hundred men to plant in the island of Cuba, where no settlement had yet been made.

An. 1512. John Ponce de Leon, before mentioned as first planter of the island of Puerto Rico, being grown rich, fitted out three ships in that island, resolving to discover to the northward. He sailed on the third of March, steering north-west and by north and on the eighth anchored at Baxos de Babueca, near the island del Viejo, in 22 degrees and a half of north latitude, and on the fourteenth at the island Guanahani, which was the first discovered by Columbus. Hence he directed his course north-west, and on the twenty-seventh, being Easter-Sunday, discovered an island not known before; whence he proceeded, west-north-west, till the second of April, when they came to an anchor near a part of the continent they had run along in 30 degrees and eight minutes of north latitude, which he believed to be an island, and called Florida, that is, flowry, or flourishing, both because it looked green and pleasant, and because it was Easter time, which the Spaniards call pasqua florida. After landing to take possession, he sailed south and by east till the twenty-first of April, when he met so strong a current, that though they had

the wind large, his ships could not stem it, which obliged him to come to an anchor; this being the now well known channel of Bahama, through which most ships return out of those parts into Europe. Here he landed, and had a skirmish with the Indians who were warlike. On the eighth of May he doubled the point of Florida, which he called cape Corrientes, because of the great strength of the current there. Being come about, they spent many days along the coast and neighbouring islands, watering and careening, and dealing with the Indians for hides and guanines, which are plates of a mixture of gold and copper. In June he had two battles with the Indians, who in their canoes came out to draw his ships ashore, or at least to cut his cables. Having beaten them off, he came upon the coast of Cuba, though he knew it not to be that island, and thence returned to Puerto Rico, whence he sailed into Spain to beg of the king the government of what he had discovered. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. IX.

An. 1513. Basco Nunez de Balboa, who had subtilely wound himself into the government of the Spaniards, who were before mentioned to have built the town of Darien, having used all his endeavours as others did to find out more gold, and being told by an Indian, that there was a mighty prince beyond the mountains who had a vast plenty of it, and that there was also an open sea, he resolved to venture over to find these treasures, and gain the honour of being the first that found this so long looked for sea. Accordingly he set out from Darien in September with Indian guides, and others given him by the caciques his friends to carry burdens. Entering upon the mountains, he had a fight with a cassique that would have stopped him, in which he killed the cacique and six hundred of his men. On the twenty-fifth of September he reached the top of the mountains, from whence, to his unspeakable joy, he saw the South-sea; with this satisfaction he went down, and coming to the shore walked into the sea, to take possession of it for the king of Spain. This done, he with eighty of his men, and a cacique his

friend, went into nine canoes, and put out to sea, where a storm rising, they had all like to have perished; however, with much difficulty they got into a small island, where some of their canoes were beaten to pieces and all their provisions lost. The next day with what canoes remained they landed on the further side of the bay, where after some opposition from the Indians they made peace, and the cacique brought a good quantity of gold as a present, and two hundred and forty large pearls; and seeing the Spaniards valued them, he sent some Indians to fish, who in four days brought twelve mark-weight of them, each mark being eight ounces. Basco Nunez would have gone over to the island of pearls, five leagues distant, but was advised by the Indians his friends to put it off till summer, because of the danger of the sea at that time. Here he had some information of the wealth of Peru, and was assured that the coast ran along to the southward without end, as the Indians thought. Basco Nunez having made so great a discovery, and gathered much wealth, returned over the mountains to Darien, whence he presently sent advice to the king of what he had found. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. X.

An. 1515, John Diaz de Solis was sent out by the king to discover to the southward: he sailed on the eighth of October, and came to Rio de Janeiro on the coast of Brazil in 22 degrees twenty minutes of south latitude, whence he continued his course down the coast which lies south-west to cape S. Mary in 35 degrees of latitude, where he landed and took possession. Then turning with one of his caravels into the river of Plate, which because it was so large and fresh, they called the fresh sea, and by another name, the river of Solis, he spied along the shore abundance of houses of Indians, and the people coming down to gaze at the ships, and offering what they had. Solis landed with as many men as his boat could carry, who going a little up from the shore, were set upon by the natives, who lay in ambush in the woods, and every man of them killed, notwithstanding the cannon fired from aboard. When they had killed the men they removed

them further from the shore, yet not so far but that the Spaniards aboard might see them, where cutting off their heads, arms and legs, they roasted the whole bodies and eat them. Having seen this dismal sight, the caravel returned to the other vessel, and both together repaired to cape S. Augustin, where having loaded with Brazil wood, they sailed back to Spain. Thus ended the famous seaman John Diaz de Solis. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. I.

An. 1516. Padrarias governor of Darien before spoken of, sent the licentiate Espinosa with a good body of men over the mountains to Panama, who had some encounters with the Indians in those parts, and made some considerable discoveries along that coast. But having gathered a great quantity of gold, and abundance of slaves, he returned to Darien, leaving Hernan Ponce de Leon with a small force at Panama. This commander lost no time, though he had no good vessels but some small barks, for in them he ventured to run up to the north-west as far as the port of Nicoya in the province of Nicaragua, a hundred and forty leagues from Nata, which is at the mouth of the bay of Panama; where finding the people in arms, and that they fled to the mountains upon the first firing, he concluded there was not much good to be done there at that time, and returned to Panama. At the same time Basco Nunez de Balboa, who first discovered the South-sea, cut timber at Ada on the north-sea, and having hewed it out fit to put together, had it all carried up twelve leagues to the top of the mountains by Indians, blacks and Spaniards, and thence down to the South-sea, which was an incredible labour, there being all the timber, iron-work and rigging for two brigantines. Herrera, dec. 2, lib. II.

This same year, 1516, Hackluyt mentions a voyage made by sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot, by order of King Henry the eighth of England to Brazil, but gives no particulars of it. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 498.

An. 1517, James Velasquez, governor of Hispaniola, gave commission to Francis Hernandez de Cordova to make some further discovery on the continent. He

bought two ships and a brigantine, furnished them with all necessaries, and a hundred and ten men, and sailed from Havana on the eighth of February to the westward. At the end of twenty-one days they saw land, and drawing near perceived a town. Five canoes came to the ship, and thirty men went aboard, wearing short jackets without sleeves, and clouts about their waists instead of breeches, who being well entertained were dismissed: and the next day twelve canoes came with a cacique, who said conez cotoche, that is, come to my house; and the Spaniards not understanding it, called that point of land cape Cotoche, being the westermost of the province of Yucatan, in 22 degrees of latitude. The Spaniards going ashore with this invitation, were set upon by Indians that lay in ambush, whom they put to flight. Here they found three structures like little temples with idols, built with lime and stone, which were the first that had been seen in America. Returning to their ships, they kept along the coast westward till they came to Campeche, where they took water out of a well, there being no other, and retired to their ships, the Indians pursuing at their heels, yet without engaging. Further on at a place called Potonchan, being ashore again to water, they were beset by the Indians, who killed fifty of them, and the rest, whereof many were wounded, with much difficulty got aboard their ships. Wanting hands for them all, they burnt one, and with the other two vessels in great want of water, stood over for the coast of Florida, where as they were watering the Indians fell on them and killed four or five more, but were put to flight, so that the Spaniards had time to carry off their water, and so returned to Cuba, where James Fernandez the commander died of his wounds. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. II.

An. 1518. The report of the discovery made in Yucatan pleasing the undertaker James Velasquez, governor of Cuba, he provided three ships and a brigantine, with two hundred and fifty men, to prosecute that enterprise, under the command of John de Grijalva, who sailed from Cuba on the eighth of April, and driving to the southward with the currents came upon the island

of Cozumel, in the 20th degree of latitude, not known before, and south of the cape of Cotoche; where keeping along its coast, they anchored at a place they called Santa Cruz, because that was the third of May and the feast of the finding of the cross. Landing he could not prevail with any of the natives to come to trade, yet found in the island good honey, swine with their navels on their backs, and several small temples of stone, as also an Indian woman of Jamaica, who went aboard, and was afterwards of great use to them. Grijalva sailed on to Potonchan, where Francis Hernandez, the first discoverer of that country, had been: and after defeating the natives held on to the river of his own name, saying this country was like a new Spain, because of the many structures he saw of lime and stone, whence the name remained to the adjacent kingdom of Mexico. Coming to the river of Tabasco, he treated with the natives, and a cacique there with his own hand put upon Grijalva a suit of complete armour all of beaten gold, besides many other rich presents he gave him. Then coasting along, he saw the great mountains of S. Martin, and the rivers of Alvarado and Banderas on the coast of New-Spain, at which last place he was supplied with provisions, and traded for much gold with the governor, who had received orders so to do from Montezuma the great monarch of Mexico, upon the news brought him of the first ships that appeared on that coast. He spent seven days at S. John de Ulva, trading with the natives, and then went on as far as the province of Panuco, from whence he returned to Cuba, having in this voyage discovered all the coast of New-Spain, almost as far as the province of Florida. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. III.

This same year the licentiate Espinosa, by order of Peter Arias Davila governor of Darien, founded the town of Panama on the South-sea. Ibid.

An. 1519. Ferdinand Cortes, with eleven sail fitted out at the charge of James Velasquez, sailed from Cuba in February, and landing on the coast of New-Spain before discovered by Grijalva, marched up to Mexico, made himself master of that mighty city, and

subdued all the provinces about it till he came to the South-sea. Here were found those rich mines of silver, which with the others of Peru have ever since enriched the universe, not to speak of the abundance of cotton, and very many other precious commodities. In fine, his actions and the wealth of this country are the subject of large volumes, and too great for so short a discourse. Therefore we will proceed to the discoveries. Ibid.

This year also Ferdinand Magalhaens, or as we call him, Magellan, sailed from Spain to discover the strait of his name, the particulars of which voyage are the subject of the first of those round the world, to be found together at the latter end of this discourse, and therefore need not be repeated at this place, for there the reader may find it at large, with an account of those southern parts of America.

This same year, 1519, an English ship of two hundred and fifty ton came to the island of Puerto Rico, pretending it came out with another to discover a passage to Tartary, and had been at Newfoundland, where there were fifty Spanish, French and Portuguese ships fishing, and that offering to go ashore their pilot was killed.

They further said they came to load Brazil wood, and carry the king of England an account of those countries. Hence they sailed over to Hispaniola, where being fired at from the castle they returned to Puerto Rico, where they traded with the inhabitants, and going thence were never more heard of. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. V. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 499, gives the same account out of Ramusio, only differing in that he says it was in the year 1517.

An. 1522. Cortes having subdued the mighty kingdom of Mexico, and greatest part of the provinces of Mechoacan, Panuco, Guaxaca, Tabasco and Soconusco, a conquest above two hundred leagues in length, above a hundred and fifty in breadth in the widest part, and lying betwixt 14 and 24 degrees of north latitude; and having discovered the South-sea, which washes the shores of several of the provinces mentioned, he resolved that way to send to the Molucco

islands, and in order to it sent ship-wrights to the port of Zacatula to build two ships to discover along the coast, and two caravels to sail to the Muloccos, causing all the iron-work, sails and rigging to be carried upon men's backs from Vera Cruz across the country, which is at least a hundred and forty leagues.

Whilst these vessels were preparing in New-Spain, Giles Gonzalez Davila with incredible labour had built four in the island Tarrarequi, not far from Panama. whence he sailed on the twenty-first of January this same year 1522, taking Andrew Nino along with him as his pilot. Having sailed an hundred leagues along the coast to the north-west, they were forced to send to Panama for necessaries to refit their ships, which being brought they proceeded. At Nicoya, Giles Gonzales landed and travelled into the province of Nicaragua, where abundance of Indians with their cacique submitted themselves: but afterwards meeting with a more warlike nation he was forced to retire to the sea. Whilst Gonzales travelled by land, Andrew Nino had sailed along the coast as far as the bay of Fonseca in the province of Guatimala, discovering three hundred leagues that way further than was known before: which done, they both returned to Panama with great wealth in gold and pearls. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. IV.

An. 1524. Francis the first, king of France, employed John Varrazona, a Florentine, to make some discovery to the north-west. He set out from Diep with four ships, and after some time spent privateering on the coast of Spain, he steered to the island of Madera, whence dismissing the rest he departed with one ship and fifty men upon his enterprize. The first twenty-five days he ran five hundred leagues to the westward, after which followed a dreadful storm; and that ceasing, in twenty-five days more ran four hundred leagues, and then discovered a land before unknown, which was low and well peopled, running to the southward. He sailed fifty leagues along the coast to the south without finding any harbour, which made him stand about to the northward, and at last come to an anchor, where he traded with the Indians,

who went naked, covering only their privities with furs like sables, and garlands about their heads made of fine feathers; their complexion like the other Indians, their hair black and long, tied up behind like a tail. His short stay there gave him not leisure to learn any thing of their customs, but the country seemed delightful, with pleasant plains, and plenty of woods of several sorts of trees, great variety of beasts and birds, and some tokens of gold. This country was in 34 degrees of north latitude, a temperate climate, and is the northern part of the province of Florida. Sailing hence fifty leagues to the north-east, they came upon another coast, where they took a boy, and so run on, seeing all the way abundance of trees, variety of herbs and flowers for two hundred leagues, where they again anchored, and were well entertained by the natives, a cacique coming often aboard, and seeming well pleased with the French. Hence they held on their course above a hundred leagues, and saw people clothed with feathers, and a very pleasant country; but passed on still to a great island, and anchored betwixt it and the continent, where the people were still naked, with only furs before their privities, and valued copper beyond gold. Thus he proceeded, landing and taking a view of the shores, till he came into fifty degrees of north latitude, where his provisions falling short, he resolved to return into France, having discovered seven hundred leagues along the coast, and giving it the name of New-France. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. VI. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 295. Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1603.

The same year, 1524, Francis Pizarro sailed from Panama in November with one ship and two canoes, in which were eighty Spaniards, and four horses, to discover to the southward. Coming under the equinoctial, which was further than any had discovered on that side, he landed, and provisions failing, sent back the ship for them, remaining himself ashore with most of the men, where they were drove to such extremities, that twenty-seven of them died for want, and therefore they called this place Puerto de Lahambre, that is, Port Famine. The ship returning with provisions, they

proceeded on their voyage to the port they called De la Candelaria, where they again went ashore and travelled up the country; but all the people fled from them, and the continual rains rotted their clothes. Though all the rest of his actions in this expedition were in the ensuing years, yet the summary of them shall here be delivered together, to avoid the confusion that might be caused by the dismembering of them. Hence they went on to a place they called Pueblo Quemado, where they had two bloody encounters with the Indians, and therefore proceeded to Chicama, whence they again sent back the ship to Panama for provisions. Whilst the ship was returning, James de Almagro, who was at the chief expence of this enterprise, went out of Panama with a ship full of provisions, and sixty men in it, and running along the coast, at length found Pizarro at Chicama; and having relieved and conferred with him, returned to Panama for more men, whence he brought two ships and two canoes with arms, men, ammunition, and provisions. Leaving Chicama, they proceeded along the coast; and after many delays, and several times sending back to Panama, during which time the rest of the men were left ashore, and suffered incredible hardships, Pizarro came to Tumbez, where he sent men ashore, who were friendly entertained by the natives, supplied with provisions, and returned aboard with the joyful news, that they had seen stately palaces, and all sorts of vessels of silver and gold. Here he was invited ashore, and went twice, having much discourse with the Indians, who gave him an account of the great city of Cusco, and of the immense wealth of the mighty monarch of Guaynacapa. This done, having gathered a good quantity of gold, and got some of the large Peru sheep, and other things to show the wealth of the country, he returned to Panama to gather a force sufficient to make a conquest in that rich country, he had discovered. In this voyage he reached as far as the port of Santa in 9 degrees of south latitude, having run above two hundred leagues, in which he spent three years, being detained so long by the misfortunes and wants above mentioned, besides many more too tedious to in-

sert here. The conquest and further discoveries shall fall in their due place. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. VII, VIII, and X. and dec. 4. lib. II.

An. 1525, the emperor Charles the fifth fitted out six ships and a tender at Corunna, under the command of D. Garcia Jofre de Loaysa, and well furnished with provisions, ammunition, and commodities to trade, as also four hundred and fifty Spaniards. These ships were to pass through the straits of Magellan to the Molucco islands, and sailed from Corunna in July. On the fifth of December they came upon the coast of Brasil in 21 degrees and a half of south latitude. December the twenty-eighth the ships were parted in a storm, but met all again except the admiral. January the fifth they came to cape Blanco in 37 degrees, and thence to Santa Cruz in 51 degrees, where the admiral and another ship being missing, they put up some signs to direct them. Coming to the mouth of the straits, one of the ships was cast away in a storm, the other three with much difficulty got into the strait. January the twenty-sixth the admiral, with the other ship that was missing, and the tender came to the mouth of the strait, where it was near perishing in a storm: and on the fifth of April the five ships being again joined, put into the strait, whence the foul weather had beaten them out. May the twenty-fifth they came out into the South-sea, where a violent storm parted them all; and the tender being left alone with very little provision sailed to the northward, till it came upon the coast of New-Spain, where the men were plentifully relieved by the Indians for the present, and afterwards by Cortes from Mexico. The admiral was parted from the other ships, and never saw them more, for he died on this side the line, and soon after him John Sebastian Cano his successor, who had brought the ship called the Victory home, after sailing round the world in the voyage undertaken by Magellan. Then they chose Toribio Alonso de Salazar for their admiral, and so directing their course for the islands Ladrones, on the thirteenth of September discovered an island, which they called S. Bartholomew; and the wind not permitting them to come near it, followed on their course to the Ladrones,

and came to the two southermost of them, where there came to them a Spaniard that had been left there when a ship of Magellan's company left at the Moluccos attempted to return to New-Spain, as may be seen in that voyage. Fivedays this which was the admiral's ship continued in the island Bataha, and then prosecuted its voyage to the Moluccos on the 10th of September 1526, and on the second of October came to the great island Mindanao, one of the Philippines, where they got some fresh provisions, and then sailed away towards the Moluccos, and arrived safe at Tidore on the last day of December, and there built a fort, whence for a long time after they made war with the Portugueses of Ternate; where we will leave them, having ended their navigation, and shall hear of them again in the following years. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. VII, VIII, IX. and dec. 4. lib. I.

An. 1526. Sebastian Cabot, who made the great discovery in North America for king Henry the seventh of England, being now in the Spanish service, sailed from Cadiz with four ships, designed for the Moluccos through the strait of Magellan: but when he came upon the coast of Brasil, his provisions began to fail, and the men to mutiny, both which things obliged him to lay aside his first design, and ran up the river then called of Solis, now of Plate; and going up it thirty leagues, he came to the island of S. Gabriel, and seven leagues above it to the river S. Salvador, where he landed and built a fort, in which he left some men, whilst he discovered higher. Thirty leagues further up he found the river of Zarcarana, and erected another fort, which was called by his name. Then continuing the same course, after running up two hundred leagues he came to the river Paraguay, up which he turned leaving the great river, and at the end of thirty leagues found a people that tilled the ground, which he had not seen before, and they opposed him so vigorously, that he was forced to return down the river after losing twenty-eight of his men: where we must leave him a-while, to show that this same year James Garcia was sent from Galicia with one ship, a small tender, and a brigantine, to disover this same river of Plate, and came upon that part

of the coast of Brasil which for its many rocks and shoals is called Abrelojo, or Open your Eyes, at the end of the year.

An. 1527. At the beginning of the year he came into the river of Plate, and there found two of Cabot's ships, but sent back his own to carry slaves into Portugal. Then he run up the river, and found Cabot in that of Paraguay, where we said he lost his men, whence they returned together to the ships. Cabot sent one of them back into Spain, with an account of what he had discovered, the reasons why he went not to the Moluccos, and some silver and gold, desiring to be reinforced, and to have leave to plant there, which was not done till some time after, when it shall be mentioned in its place. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. IX. and dec. 4. lib. I.

This same year Cortes fitted out three ships on the coast of New-Spain in the South-sea, and sent them to the Molucco islands, where they joined the Spaniards before mentioned, and prosecuted the war with the Portugueses. One of the ships attempted to return with cloves to New-Spain, but was beaten back to Tidore by contrary winds, where the continual wars reduced the Spaniards to only twenty, who were forced to put themselves into the power of the Portugueses, and by them were carried into India, whence some of them returned into Spain. These ships were in several of the Philippine islands, and took possession of them for the king of Spain. Herrera, dec. 4. lib. I.

This year also Francis de Montejo sailed from Sevil with three ships, and five hundred men in them, to conquer the province of Yucatan, and Peter de Alvarado for that of Guatimala. Of the discovery of both something has been said already, and therefore there needs no repetition.

The same year still Pamphilo de Narvaez sailed from Sanlucar on the seventeenth of June with five vessels, and in them seven hundred men, and spent much time at Hispaniola and Cuba, where, after escaping a dreadful storm, he was forced to winter. In March following he put to sea with four ships and above four

hundred men, and on the twelfth of April after many storms and dangers came upon the coast of Florida; he landed his men and forty horses, and then travelled with them by land, sending the ships at the same time to coast along and find a safe harbour where they might settle a town. Those that marched by land, after incredible suffering ashore, and losing their ships, built some barks to carry them off, making sails of their shirts, and ropes of their horses tails and manes. By the twenty-second of September they had eaten all their horses, and then went aboard their barks: they crept along the shore seven days in those creeks almost starved, till they found some dry fish in an Indian house, but after this suffered such extremity of thirst, that five of them died with drinking of salt water. They landed again and got some refreshment, but the Indians proving treacherous, they lost some men, and so put to sea again, where they ranged many days in foul weather, and were all parted. At last all the barks were cast upon the shore and several men drowned, those that escaped almost naked and starved met with charitable Indians, who came down and lamented their misfortune with tears, fetching wood to make fire to warm them, carrying them to their houses, and giving them all the best they had; but this lasted not long; for the Indians though so loving were poor, and soon after suffered extreme want themselves, so that the Spaniards dispersed to shift, and the sixty that landed were soon reduced to fifteen. Such was their misery, that five of them who had kept together ate up one another till only one was left. Three or four that survived these calamities travelled some hundreds of leagues across the country, and with incredible hardships at length came to New Spain, the rest with their officers all perished; and this was the end of the expedition. Herrera, dec. 4. lib. II, IV.

Before we proceed, it must be here noted, that this same year king Henry the eighth of England sent out two ships to discover to the northward, which sailed out of the Thames on the twentieth of May, and entering between the north of Newfoundland and the continent one of them was cast away. The other di-

rected its course towards cape Breton, and the coast of Arambec, often sending men ashore to get information of the country, and returned home in October; which is all the account we have of this voyage. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 129.

An. 1530. Francis Pizarro having been in Spain, and obtained many favours of the emperor, and power to conquer what he had discovered, sailed from Panama with a hundred and eighty-five Spaniards, and thirty-seven horses. At the bay of S. Matthew he landed the horses and most of the men to march along the shore, whilst the ships coasted; and falling upon the town of Quapel, he took a vast booty of gold, silver, and emeralds: then he sent three ships to Panama and Nicaragua to bring recruits of men and provisions. Being reduced to great straits, and ready to abandon the country, a ship arrived with supplies. Hence they sailed to the island Puna, which lies between three and four degrees of south latitude; where after much feigned friendship from the Indians, he came to a battle with them, and having gained the victory, continued there, setting at liberty six hundred Indians of Tumbez, kept there in slavery, which gained him the affection of those people. Two ships coming to him with recruits from Panama, Pizarro sailed over to Tumbez, of which place he possessed himself after killing many Indians, who used all means by open force and treachery to destroy him. Here inquiring into the affairs of the country, he was informed of the greatness and infinite wealth of the city of Cuzco, and of the vast power and large dominion of the emperor of Peru. Then moving still to the southward, he founded the city of S. Michael, and staid there long to settle that new colony, to get more supplies and further intelligence into the affairs of the country; and though these things happened in the following years, we will conclude with them at once, according to the intended brevity. At that time two brothers contended for the monarchy of Peru, these were Atahaulpa and Guascar, of whom the former had been successful in several battles. Pizarro resolved to make his advantage of their divisions. He therefore marched into the country with scarce two hundred

men, and coming to Caxamalca, whence Atahaulpa drew out with his army, he sent to invite him back. The inga came with an infinite multitude of Indians; and having filled the great market of Caxamalca, he ordered they should seize all the Spaniards, and take care that not one escaped; upon which as his horns and other warlike instruments began to make a dreadful noise, Pizarro gave the signal in like manner; and falling on, routed that multitude, and took the inga prisoner, and with him an incredible treasure of gold, silver, and cotton cloth. The inga being prisoner, offered for his ransom ten thousand ingots of gold, and a great room full to the top of silver; which he had almost performed, when new troubles arising, he was put to death. After which Pizarro marched to the great city of Cuzco, near two hundred leagues from Caxamalca, to the south-east; whence moving to the sea, he founded the city of Lima in 18 degrees of south latitude, and subdued all that vast empire of Peru. Herrera, dec. 4. lib. VII. and IX. and dec. 5. throughout the greatest part of it.

An. 1532. Nunho de Guzman, sent out by Cortes from Mexico by land to reduce the province of Mechoacan, discovered and subdued the provinces of Culiacan and Cinaloa, extending to 28 degrees of north latitude on the coast of the South-sea, and opposite to the south end of California; all which was done by land, and a consequence of the former navigations. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. I.

Some ships were sent out these years by Cortes from New-Spain, to discover to the north-west; but they having gone no further than has been already mentioned, it is needless to give any account of them.

An. 1534. Simon de Alcazova, a Portuguese in the king of Spain's service, undertook to discover to the southward of Peru; passing the strait of Magellan, and fitting out two good ships with two hundred and fifty men, he sailed from S. Lucar on the twenty-first of September, and entered the mouth of the straits of Magellan in January following. Having spent some

time in it, and being half way through, the violent storms, which lasted many days, were the occasion that his men in a mutinous manner obliged him to turn back out of the strait, and put into port Lobos, a little above the mouth of it. Here he landed a hundred men to discover up the country, appointing his lieutenant to command them, because he could not himself, by reason of his indisposition. They marched ninety leagues through a desart country, seeing scarce any inhabitants, and being ready to perish sometimes for want of water; and by this time all the provisions they brought from aboard were spent, the country affording little or nothing. This done, they returned towards the ships, and some of them mutinying by the way, secured those that opposed their wicked designs; and coming aboard, murdered Alcazova their commander in chief and his pilot, designing to leave the rest that had opposed them on shore, and turn pirates. But being divided among themselves, the loyal party took the advantage to possess themselves of the ships, and executed many of them. This done, they directed their course for the islands of America. The greatest ship was cast away on the coast of Brasil, the other in much distress arrived at the island Hispaniola. Thus ended this enterprise. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. VII. and VIII.

This same year, 1534, Jaques Cartier sailed from the port of S. Malo, by order of Francis I. king of France, to discover the north part of America. He set out on the twentieth of April, and on the tenth of May put into the port of S. Catherine in Newfoundland; where having spent some days in refitting, he sailed all the length of the island from cape Raz to cape de Grace; and entering between the island and the continent, run to the westward along the shore, till at the mouth of the great river Canada, he turned to the southward, came to the bay called du Chaleur, and traded with the natives in a very peaceable manner, as they did all along those shores on the back of Newfoundland, viewing all the creeks and harbours; till the fifteenth of August, when they departed thence homeward, and arrived at S.

Malo on the fifth of September. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 201.

An. 1535. The same Jaques Cartier sailed again from S. Malo, May the nineteenth, with three ships upon the same discovery; and after suffering much by storms, which parted them, Cartier upon the twenty-fifth of June came upon the coast of Newfoundland, in 49 degrees and 40 minutes of latitude, and staying some days, was there joined by his other two ships. Then they all together entered the great bay on the back of Newfoundland, sailing to the westward, and foul weather coming on, anchored in the port of S. Nicholas, where they staid till the seventh of August; and then steering to the southward, on the fifteenth came upon the island of the Assumption. Thence he turned again into the great river, and coasting along it, came to the island he called of Orleans, in the country of Canada, where he traded amicably with the Indians; and leaving the ships there, with fifty men in the boats, he ran fifty leagues higher, where he saw the town of Hochelaga, consisting of about fifty great houses, each capable of a great number of people, and the town inclosed with a triple fence, all of timber. Returning hence to his ships, he went to Stadacona, a town about a league from them, to visit the prince of that part of Canada. In these parts he found much fish, Indian wheat, and tobacco. He continued here all the winter, discovering what was nearest, and inquiring into the further parts of the country; and in May following returned home with a particular account of the great river of Canada, and the whole country called by that name, or New-France. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 212.

This year D. Peter de Mendoza sailed from S. Lucar with eleven ships and eight hundred men in them, for the river of Plate, where he happily arrived, and settled the colony of Buenos Ayres, which continues and is famous to this day; though the greatest part of his people perished there for want, before they were relieved from Spain. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. IX.

An. 1536. Two ships were fitted out at London, under the command of Mr. Hore, with a hundred and

twenty men, for North America; of whom we find no account that they did any more than get to Newfoundland, where they were in such want that they eat up one another; and those that were left surprised a French ship that came into those parts, and so returned home. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 129.

An. 1539. F. Mark de Niza, with his companion F. Honoratus, a black, whose name was Stephen, and some Indians for interpreters, set out on the seventh of March from the town of Culiacan at the entrance into the strait of California on the South-sea shore, to discover the country to the northward by land. F. Honoratus fell sick, and was left behind; and F. Mark proceeded to Petathen, sixty leagues from Culiacan; the people there and all the way paying him extraordinary respect, and supplying him plentifully with all necessaries. Hence he went on to Vacapa, and sent the black towards the sea to discover that port, who soon after sent messengers, desiring the father to come speedily to him because he had received information of a country called Cibola, where there were seven great cities, built with stone two stories high, and the people well clad; and that it was but thirty days journey from the place where he then was. F. Mark set out towards this country, and all the way he went, the people offered him not only provisions, but Turky stones, earthen dishes, and other things, whereof he would receive nothing, but what was barely for his and his company's maintenance. He passed through a desart of four days journey, and coming out of it, the people of the first towns ran to meet him all clad in cotton cloth, or skins, with collars, and other ornaments of Turky stones. Having travelled a hundred and twenty leagues from Vacapa, he came into a most delightful plain, all inhabited by very civilized people, and six days journey over; and then entered into a desart of fifteen days journey, where an Indian brought him the news that Stephen his black, who had gone all the way before, was killed at Cibola by the governor's order; which was confirmed by other Indians that went with him and had escaped. F. Mark having

with much difficulty persuaded some few Indians to follow him, went on till he came in sight of Cibola, which he viewed from a rising ground, and afterwards declared it was the best city he had seen in America, the houses being two or three stories high, and very beautiful; but durst not go into it, for fear if they should kill him, there would be none to carry back an account of that discovery. He therefore returned, having seen many good towns in his way, and found people very much civilized: whereof he sent an account to the viceroy. He also was informed, that beyond Cibola there were three great and powerful kingdoms, called Marata, Acus, and Tonteac, where the people lived very politely, wove cloth, and had great riches. Cibola lies in about 38 or 39 degrees of north latitude. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. VII.

Upon the news of this great discovery by land, Cortes set out three ships from New Spain, under the command of D. Francisco de Ulloa; who directed his course to the north-west, run along the back of California, searching all that coast as far as cape Enganho in the latitude of 30 degrees; but here was no discovery of any consequence made, and Ulloa resolving to go further, was never more heard of; another of his three ships had been lost before, and the third, which now left him, returned to New-Spain. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. IX.

An. 1540. Don Antony Mendoza viceroy of Mexico, upon the information above given by F. Mark of the country of Cibola, ordered Francis Vasquez de Cornado, governor of New-Galicia, to march thither with some forces, and plant colonies where he thought convenient. Cornado set out from Culiacan in May, with an hundred and fifty horse and two hundred foot, and store of ammunition and provisions. He directed his course almost north-east, and after a long march of many days came to the first town, where Stephen the black above mentioned was killed. Here they saw five towns, each of about two hundred inhabitants, and the houses of stone and mud, and flat at the top; the country cold, but plentiful, the people clad in skins of

beasts. Five days journey to the north-east of Cibola is a province called Tucayan. All these places gave the Spaniards friendly reception, except the first town of Cibola. They travelled seven days further still north-east, and came to the river Cicuique, where they found abundance of cows, and then proceeded twenty days without knowing where they were. Here Cornado ordered all his forces to stay, except thirty men, and with them he travelled thirty days to the northward always among abundance of cattle, and on the feast of St. Peter and Paul came to the river to which he gave those names. Hence they turned into the province of Quivira, which is a finer country than most in Europe, and where they saw grapes and several sorts of European fruits, as also flax growing wild. Having taken an account of all this country, he returned to his government. In his way outwards he travelled three hundred and thirty leagues, and but two hundred in his return, because he came back the direct way. Quivira is in 40 degrees of latitude. Cornado was out two years upon his discovery, and was blamed at his return for not having planted a colony.

The same year the viceroy of Mexico sent out two shiys at Acapulco on the South-sea, to discover on that element, whilst Cornado travelled by land, and gave the command of them to Ferdinand de Alarcon, who set sail on the ninth of May. Coming to the flats at the entrance of the strait of California, he sent his boats before to sound, and yet run aground; but the tide rising, brought him off, and he run up till he came to a great river, up which he went with his boats, and traded with the Indians for provisions and hides. Having gone very far up this river, Alarcon heard tidings of Cibola, which was what he looked for, and of the death of Stephen the black. He called the river Buena Guia, and returning to his ships, put aboard his boats abundance of provisions and commodities to trade with; resolving to join Francis Vasquez de Cornado that way. Alarcon went up this river eighty-five leagues, and then hearing no news of Cornado,

in search of whom he went, he took down the river again to his ships. He proceeded on his voyage many days after up the coast, inquiring for Cornado and Cibola, till perceiving at last there were no hopes of finding them, he returned to New Spain; having sailed 4 degrees further than the ships sent by Cortes. Herrera, dec. 6. lib IX.

This year still, Jaques Cartier before mentioned sailed from S. Malo with five ships on the twenty-third of May for the coast of Canada and Saguenay: and meeting with very bad weather at sea were parted, and came together again, after long beating at sea, in the port of Carpont in Newfoundland; and on the twenty-third of August put into the haven of Santa Croix, or the holy cross in Canada. Hence the lord of Roberval sailed four leagues further, where he thought a convenient place, and there erected a fort, into which he landed the provisions and ammunition; and keeping three ships with him, sent back the other two into France. This is the first colony I find in North America, and the first in all that continent of any nation, except the Spaniards or Portugueses. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 283.

There occurs another navigation this year, no less remarkable in its way, than any of those already mentioned. Pizarro having conquered the mighty empire of Peru, guided by his boundless ambition, travelled up into the inland, and wanting provisions, sent captain Orellana down the river of the Amazons with eighty men in a boat and several canoes. He set out about the latter end of this year, and being carried two hundred leagues from the place were he entered, the violence of the current driving the boats twenty-five leagues a-day, he thought he was too far gone to return against the stream, and therefore held on his way, till in January, for want of provisions, his men eat all the leather they had. Being ready to perish, they came to an Indian town, where they found provisions, the Indians abandoning it at first; but Orellana speaking to some in the Indian tongue, they all returned, and plentifully furnished him with turkeys, partridges, fish, and other necessaries. Finding these Indians sincere, they staid here

twenty days; in which time they built a brigantine, and set out again on Candlemas day, and ran two hundred leagues farther without seeing any town; when being again in great want, they spied some Indian dwellings, where they civilly asked for some sustenance, and had abundance of tortoises and parrots given them. In the way hence they saw good towns, and the next day two canoes came aboard, bringing tortoises and good partridges, and much fish, which they gave to Orellana, who in return gave them such things as he had. Then he landed, and all the caciques of the country about came to see and present him with provisions: so that he staid here thirty-five days, and built another brigantine, which he caulked with cotton, and was supplied by the Indians with pitch for it. They left this place on the twenty-fourth of April, and running eighty leagues without meeting any warlike Indians, came to a desart country. May the twelfth they came to the province of Machiparo, where many canoes full of Indians set upon them; yet they landed some men, who brought provisions from the town in spite of the multitude of natives that opposed it, and repulsed the Indians from their boats. Yet when he went off, they pursued him two days and two nights, and therefore when they left him, he rested three days in a town, whence he drove the inhabitants, and found much provision, whereof he laid in good store. Two days after he came to another town as plentiful as the last, and where they saw much silver and gold, but valued it not, being now intent only upon saving their lives. In fine, with such like accidents he run down this vast river, seeing many towns and large rivers that fell into this: fighting often with the Indians, till he came into the North-sea. These Spaniards judged the mouth of the river to be fifty leagues over, that the fresh water ran twenty leagues into the sea, that the tide rises and falls five or six fathoms, and that they had run along this vast river eighteen hundred leagues, reckoning all the windings. Being out at sea, they coasted along by guess with their small vessels, and after many labours and sufferings, arrived at last in September at the island Cubagua on the coast of Paria, where was then a Spa-

nish town, and great pearl-fishery. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. IX.

An. 1542, John Francis de la Roche, lord of Roberval, whom Francis I. king of France had constituted his lieutenant in the countries of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, sailed from Rochelle with three ships, and in them two hundred persons, as well women as men, on the sixteenth of April; and by reason of contrary winds did not reach Newfoundland till the seventh of June. Here he made some stay to refit, and there came into the same port Jaques Cartier with all his company, who we mentioned went into Canada two years before. He left the country because he was too weak to withstand the natives; and Roberval commanding him now to return with him who had strength enough, he stole away in the night, and returned into France. The last of June the general sailed out of port S. John in Newfoundland, and ran up the river of Canada, till four leagues above the island of Orleans, the place now called Quebec. Finding here a convenient harbour, he landed and erected a strong and beautiful fort, into which he conveyed his men, provisions, and all necessaries, sending two ships back into France with the account of his proceedings. Being settled in this place they suffered much hardship, their provisions falling short, but were relieved by the natives. Roberval took a journey into the country of Saguenay to discover, but we have no particulars of this his expedition. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 240.

The same year, 1542, D. Antony de Mendoza, viceroy of Mexico, fitted out two ships on the coast of the South-sea to discover to the northward, under the command of John Rodriguez Cabrillo a Portuguese. He sailed from the port of Navidad on the twenty-seventh of June, and on the twentieth of August came up with cape Engano on the back of California in 31 degrees of latitude, where Cortes his discoverers had been before. September the fourteenth they anchored at a cape they called de la Cruz, or of the cross, in 33 degrees of latitude. October the tenth they traded with some peaceable Indians in 35 degrees 20 minutes, and called those

the towns of the canoes, because they saw many there. On the eighteenth of the said month they anchored at cape Galera, and above it in a port they called Of Possession, trading with the natives, who go naked, have their faces painted in chequers, and are all fishermen. From this time they had many storms, which obliged them to turn back to the island Of Possession, where they continued many days by reason of the foul weather. At length they put to sea again, and sailed to the northward as far as 44 degrees, where the cold was so intense they could not bear it; and their provisions now failing, they returned to New-Spain; having sailed further to the northward, than any had done on that side. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. V.

An. 1543. The viceroy last mentioned gave the command of two ships, a galley, and two small tenders, to Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, to discover the islands to the westward. He sailed from the coast of New Spain on the first of November, and having run a hundred and eighty leagues in 18 degrees and a half of latitude, came to two desart islands about twelve leagues distant from one another, which he called S. Thoma and Anublada. Eighty leagues further they saw another, and called it Roca Portida. Seventy-two leagues beyond it they found an Archipelago of small islands inhabited by a poor people, where they watered; and on the sixth of January passed by ten other islands, which for their pleasantness they called the Gardens, all of them in about 9 or 10 degrees of latitude. January the 10th, after a great storm, in which they lost their galley, they discovered another island, from which some Indians came in boats making the sign of the cross, and bidding them good-morrow in Spanish. February the second they came to an island they called Cæsarea Caroli, about fifteen hundred leagues from New-Spain, where Villalobos would have planted a colony, but forbore because the place was unwholesome. This island by its bigness, for he coasted along it sixty leagues to the south, must be Luzon or Manila, the biggest of the Philippines, and he says it is three hundred and fifty leagues in compass. In a small island near to it

he found China ware, musk, amber, civet, benjamin, storax, and other perfumes, as also some gold. Here they resolved to stay, and sowed some grain, which being little they were reduced to extremity. Hence they removed to the island of Gilolo near the Moluccos, at the invitation of the king of it; whence they sent two ships at several times to carry news of them to New-Spain, which were both forced back by contrary winds. Between the Moluccos and Philippine islands the Spaniards were long tossed, sometimes removing to one, sometimes to another, ever persecuted by the Portugueses, and suffering great wants; till being quite spent and without hopes of relief, they put themselves into the hands of the Portugueses, and were by them sent through India into Spain. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. V.

An. 1562. The French admiral Chastillon fitted out two of the king's ships under the command of captain John Ribault, who sailed with them on the eighteenth of February, and two months after arrived on the coast of Florida, where he landed at cape Francois in about 30 degrees of latitude, but made no stay. Running hence to the northward, he came into the river of May, where he was friendly entertained by the Indians, who presented him with fish, Indian wheat, curious baskets, and skins. He proceeded still northward to the river of Port Royal, about which he saw turkey-cocks, partridges, and several other sorts of birds and wild beasts. The mouth of the river is three leagues over, and he sailed twelve leagues up it, where landing, the natives presented him chamois skins, fine baskets, and some pearls; and here he erected a pillar with the arms of France. Having taken a view of all the shores of this river, he built a fort here but sixteen fathom in length and thirteen in breadth, with proportionable flanks, in which he left only twenty-six men with provisions, ammunition, and all other necessaries, and called it Charles Fort. This done, he sailed some leagues further along the coast, and finding it dangerous, and his provisions almost spent, returned to France. Those left in the new fort discovered up the river, and con-

tracted great friendship with five Indian princes, whose subjects, when their provisions failed them, gave them all they had; and when that was spent guided them to other princes southward, who freely presented them with what they wanted. The fort happening accidentally to be burnt down, the Indians of their own accord rebuilt it. The French had lived long in a peaceable manner, and having no enemy abroad they fell out among themselves, and murdered their captain, choosing another in his stead. After which, growing weary of the place, they built a small bark and put to sea in it; but their provisions failing, they were all like to perish, and eat one of their company. In this distress they met an English vessel, which set some of them ashore, and carried the rest into England. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 308.

This same year Mr. Hawkins made a voyage to Guinea, where having got three hundred blacks, he sailed over with them to Hispaniola, and sold them at good rates. But this being a trading voyage, and not upon discovery, deserves no further mention. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 500.

An. 1564, Captain Laudonniere had the command of three ships given him by the king of France, and sailed with them on the twenty-second of April for Florida. He passed by the islands Antilles, and arrived on the coast of Florida on the twenty-second of June. After spending some days along the coast, every-where entertained with the greatest tokens of affection by the Indians, he sailed up the river of May, and finding a convenient place erected a fort, which he called Caroline in honour of Charles king of France. The fort finished, Laudonniere sent some of his men up the river, who at several times run eighty leagues, always meeting with natives that courted their friendship. After some time many mutinies happened among the French, of whom several went away with two brigantines to the Spanish islands, and having committed some rapine were closely pursued and drove back to Florida, where four of them were hanged. Whilst these mutineers were abroad, Laudonniere sent some of his men up the river,

who discovered as far as the great lake out of which it runs, and the mountain Apalache, in which the Indians said there were rich mines. The following winter, the French having exchanged away all their commodities, the Indians forsook them, and they were reduced to great straits, being obliged to use force to get provisions. In the height of their distress, when they had thoughts of venturing to return to France in a small vessel scarce able to contain them, with very slender provisions; Mr. Hawkins before mentioned, who this same year had made another voyage to Guinea, and thence to the West-Indies to sell blacks, and in his way home run along the coast of Florida, coming to the river of May found the French in this distress, and therefore sold them a ship upon credit, generously supplying them with all they wanted, which done, he sailed away and returned into England. The French were now preparing to depart for France, this being

An. 1565, when in August captain John Ribault arrived with seven sail of French ships to take possession of that country. A few days after six great Spanish ships came upon the coast, and gave chase to four of Ribault's that were without the port, which being better sailors escaped; and Ribault made out with the other three after them, leaving Laudonniere in the fort with eighty-five men, whence the Spaniards attacked him, and made themselves masters of the fort. Laudonniere with some of his men escaped aboard two ships they had in the river, in one of which he arrived in England, and thence into France. Ribault with his ships as soon as he was out of May river met with a dreadful storm, which wrecked them all on the coast of Florida, where abundance of his men saved themselves from the sea, but were afterwards destroyed by the Spaniards. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 319 and 349, and Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1604.

An. 1567, Captain Gourgues sailed from France with three ships, and coming to the river of May in Florida, revenged the death of his countrymen, killed all the Spaniards he found there, but did nothing as to disco-

veries. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 356. Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1604.

An. 1576, Mr. Martin Forbisher with two barks and a pinnace set out from Gravesend for the discovery of a passage to China and Cathay by the north-west, on the twelfth of June. Sailing about the north of Scotland, on the twenty-eighth of July, and in 62 degrees of latitude, he discovered land which he supposed to be the continent of America, called Tierra de Labrador, with abundance of ice about it. Within a cable's length of the shore he found an hundred fathom water, and not being able to anchor stood to the north-east, as the coast there lies, and by reason of the ice could not come within five leagues of the shore. The tenth of August he landed on a desart island: the eleventh in 63 degrees and 8 minutes latitude he entered a strait which is called by his own name; the twelfth he came to S. Gabriel's island, and anchored in a bay which he called Prior's sound. The eighteenth, having sailed north-north-west, he came to Butcher's island, where landing they spied seven boats. These people came aboard and looked like Tartars, with long black hair, broad faces and flat noses, of a tawny complexion, clad in seal-skins, the boats also made of seal-skins with a wooden keel. The twenty-sixth one of those men came aboard, and the boat going to set him ashore, was taken by those savages with all the men. Having staid a day in hopes to recover them, and no signs appearing, he sailed homewards, and arrived at Harwich on the first of October. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 29, 57.

An. 1577, Mr. Forbisher sailed the second time on the twenty-sixth of May with a ship of two hundred tons and two barks, and in them an hundred and forty men, upon the same discovery he had attempted the foregoing year. June the seventh he arrived at the isles of Orkney, and July the fourth at Friesland: the sixteenth he came to his strait discovered the last year, and much ice appearing durst not venture in with his ship, but went with two pinnaces, and took one of the savages ashore. July the nineteenth the ice driving

away the ships, he run into the strait, and anchored in a bay which they called Jackman's sound: here he landed with most of his men, and having travelled some way and found nothing to satisfy his desires, he coasted a little in the barks and boats both east and west; and though he saw several people, could take none but a woman and her child; and therefore on the fourth of August came to that he called Anne Warwick's sound and island. Here he used all possible means to bring the natives to trade, or give some account of themselves, but they were so wild, that they only studied how to destroy the English. Forbisher this year did not run above thirty leagues up the strait, and the winter drawing on returned into England, having loaded his vessels with a sort of shining sand and stones, which he imagined to be gold, but it proved a fallacy. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 32, 60.

An. 1578. The noise of gold pretended to be found, and the hopes of a passage, encouraged people to prosecute this voyage; and fifteen sail of ships provided for it met at Harwich, carrying a wooden fort ready framed to be set up in the golden country discovered, and an hundred men that were to be left there. The thirty-first of May they left Harwich, and the second of July came into Forbisher's strait, which they found choked up with ice, and as they struggled to work through it, a sudden storm arose, and so enclosed them with mountains of ice, that it was wonderful they did not all perish. One vessel of an hundred tons was lost, but the men saved; two others had not been seen in twenty days before, and four that were farthest out at sea best escaped the danger of the ice, clearing themselves of it in time. Being got out of this danger by the wind turning to the north-west, and into sea room, they were driven down by the current to the southward of Forbisher's strait, and run into another about 60 leagues, without knowing where they were, the cloudy weather obstructing their making an observation. Returning out of it again, most of the scattered fleet met and made for Forbisher's strait, in hopes of those golden mountains, but found others of ice to obstruct their passage. After many other difficulties Forbisher with

most of the ships worked his way through, and on the thirty-first of July reached his long desired port of the Countess of Warwick's sound. Here they landed, and thought of erecting the house or fort brought from England; but part of it being lost in the ship cast away, and more of it, as also of the provisions, not yet come, being in four ships, the design of inhabiting there was laid aside. The other ships that had been missing, after hard struggling with ice and storms, joined the fleet. Here they set their miners to work, and loaded abundance of ore, which done they directed their course for England, whither they returned in safety. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 39, 74.

The same year, 1582, Francis de Ovalle sailed from Acapulco, and running to the westward about eighteen hundred leagues, came to the island del Engano, the farthest of those called de los Ladrones, in thirteen degrees of north latitude: thence he held on his course westward two hundred and eighty leagues, to Cabo del Espiritu Santo, or the cape of the Holy Ghost in the island of Tandaya, the first of the Philippines. He spent several days in the narrow channels among these islands, shaping his course diversly as they would permit; and coming out into the open sea run up into the bay of Manila, now the metropolis of the Philippine islands, lying in 14 degrees and a quarter. Returning out of this bay, he made over to the coast of China, and arrived in the port of Macao. Here he furnished himself with necessaries, and turning again to the eastward passed through the islands called Lequios, whence he held his course east, and east by north, never touching any-where, or meeting with any land, till he came upon the coast of California in 38 degrees and a half of latitude. From this place he ran south-east and south-east and by south to cape S. Lucas, which is five hundred leagues from the north cape called Mendocino, whence he continued his voyage successfully back to the port of Acapulco. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 442. This voyage is inserted because it is the first from New-Spain to China, and the first that found the way of returning to New-Spain by the northward; for want of which knowledge, many ships that attempted to return from the Mo-

luccos to America, were still beaten back, there being no possibility of returning the way they go, which is near the line, where the easterly winds continually reign.

An. 1583, on the eleventh of June, sir Humphrey Gilbert sailed from the west of England with five vessels, and in them two hundred and sixty men, designing to plant a colony in some part of North America. On the thirteenth the biggest ship stole away by night, and returned to Plymouth, there being a contagious distemper among the men. July the thirtieth he came upon the back of Newfoundland, which is about fifty leagues from the coast, and has at least twenty-five or thirty fathom water, and about ten leagues over, lying like a long ridge of mountains in the sea, for on each side of it there are above two hundred fathom water. He came upon the coast, and running along it put into S. John's harbour, where he anchored among abundance of fishermen of several countries, who were there before. Here he went ashore and took possession. One of his ships had before played the pirate at sea, robbing a French vessel, and here his men run away with a ship laden with fish, and others hid themselves; so that finding too few men for his ships, some being sick, he put them into one of his vessels, and sent it home, remaining now with only three. August the twentieth he sailed from port S. John, and the next day came up with cape Raz in 46 degrees 25 minutes latitude. Turning from hence to the westward towards cape Breton, eighty-seven leagues distant, they spent eight days in the passage; and coming among the flats, the biggest ship of the three was cast away, and nothing saved except a few men in the boat. Sir Humphrey Gilbert was not aboard the ship cast away: the other two left, resolved to return home, but by the way the small vessel sir Humphrey was in perished, the other arrived safe at Dartmouth. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 143.

An. 1584, Mr. Philip Amadas and Mr. Arthur Barlow sailed on the twenty-seventh of April from the west of England in two barks, to discover in America. On the tenth of June they came among the islands of America, much more to the southward than they had de-

signed. July the fourth they discovered the continent, and sailed along the coast four leagues till they came to a river on the thirteenth, where they anchored, and going ashore took possession. This place they afterwards found to be the island of Wokoken, on the coast of Virginia, in 34 degrees of latitude, and in it deer, rabbits, hares, fowl, vines, cedars, pines, sassafras, cypress, and mastich trees. The natives from the continent repaired to the ships, and exchanged several sorts of skins, white coral, and some pearls, for tin things and other trifles. The country is fruitful, producing all things in a very short time. The natives called it Wingandacao, and the English Virginia. Going ashore they were entertained with extraordinary civility at a little village, and heard news of a great city up the country, but saw it not. They made no long stay here, nor proceeded any further upon discovery, only just to the neighbouring parts in their boats, and returned to England in September, bringing two of the natives with them. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 246.

An. 1585, on the ninth of April, sir Richard Greenvil departed from Plymouth with seven sail; and after touching at the islands of Puerto Rico, and Hispaniola, on the twenty-sixth of June came to an anchor at the island Wokoken in Virginia, where the admiral's ship was lost through the ignorance of the pilot. Here Mr. Lane was set ashore with above an hundred men to settle a colony, with all necessaries for that purpose. Then the admiral returned to England, and the new planters made several discoveries up the country, finding it every-where plentiful and pleasant. Here they continued a year, at the end whereof the natives conspiring to destroy them, and no relief as yet coming from England, they returned home on board sir Francis Drake's ships, which happened to touch there after his expedition to the Spanish plantations. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 251. Purch. vol. IV. p. 1645.

The same year, 1585, on the seventh of June, Mr. John Davis sailed from Dartmouth with two barks for the discovery of the north-west passage to China. July the nineteenth they met with much ice, and on the twenty-ninth discovered land bearing north-east of them

in 64 degrees 15 minutes latitude. Here they went ashore, and found a tractable sort of people, with whom they dealt for seal skins, and several sorts of leather. August the first they proceeded on their discovery to the north-west, and on the sixth came into 66 degrees and 40 minutes free from ice, and landed under a hill which they called mount Raleigh, where they saw no inhabitants, but many white bears. The eighth they coasted on, and the eleventh found themselves in a passage twenty leagues wide, and free from ice, along which they sailed sixty leagues; and searching all about found many islands and several harbours, with all appearances of a further passage, yet the winds proving contrary to proceed, they returned for England, and arrived at Dartmouth on the thirtieth of September. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 98.

An. 1586, Mr. Davis sailed the second time on the seventh of May with one ship, two barks, and a small pinnace, upon the same discovery. The fifteenth of June he discovered land in the latitude of 60 degrees, but could not come near it for ice, till the twenty-ninth he came to land in 64 degrees latitude, and went ashore on an island, where he traded very friendly with the natives for seals, stags, and white hares skins, and dried fish and some fowl. Here he continued some days trading with the natives who were very thievish; at his departure he brought away one of them with him. He run into 66 degrees 20 minutes latitude, and then coasted southward again to 56 degrees, where in a good harbour he continued till September; and sailing thence in 54 degrees found an open sea tending westward, which they hoped might be the passage so long sought for; but the weather proving tempestuous, they returned to England in October. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 103.

The same year, 1586, sir Richard Greenvil returned to Virginia with three ships to relieve the colony left by him there; which being gone, as was said before, he left fifteen men on the island Roanoak with provisions for two years, and then returned to England. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 265.

This year also was begun the voyage round the world by sir Thomas Candish, which may be seen among the voyages about the globe after these West-India discoveries.

An. 1587, Mr. John Davis on the nineteenth of May sailed with three small vessels, upon his third voyage for his discovery of a passage to the north-west. June the eighteenth they came to an anchor on the northern American coast, and the twentieth were in 67 degrees 40 minutes latitude in an open sea; and then steering westward ran forty leagues, where meeting with much ice, and the north wind driving them from their intended northerly course, they were forced to seek the open sea again. The twentieth they had sight of the strait they discovered the year before, and sailed up it 60 leagues; and having landed without finding any thing more than the year before, came out again to the wide sea; then they coasted along to the southward as far as 52 degrees of latitude, whence they returned home, without doing any thing of note. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 111.

The same year, 1587, sir Walter Raleigh provided three vessels to carry over to Virginia a hundred and fifty men to settle a colony there under the command of John White. They sailed from Plymouth on the eighth of May, and having spent several days among the Spanish American islands, arrived at last on the twenty-second of July at Hatorask in Virginia; whence crossing over to the island Roanoak, they found the fifteen English left there the year before were killed by the natives. Here the new planters were set ashore with all their provisions, goods, and ammunition, and the ships returned into England, carrying with them the governor to solicit for speedy supplies to be sent to the new colony. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 280.

An. 1590, John White returned to Virginia to the place where he had left the colony, but found none of the men; only an inscription on a tree, signifying they were removed to Croatoan, another island on the coast, and many chests broke up, and some lumber belonging to them, scattered about the place. In going ashore

here a boat was overset, and a captain with six men drowned; the rest with much difficulty got aboard again, leaving behind them several casks they had carried to fill with fresh water. They had spent much time before they came hither, ranging about the Spanish islands; and the season being now stormy, they were forced to return to England, without so much as knowing what was become of the colony. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 288.

An. 1602, Captain Gosnols sailed from Falmouth on the twenty-sixth of March, and on the fourteenth of April discovered land in about 40 degrees of north latitude; and having spent some days sounding along the coast, on the twenty-fourth came upon Elizabeth's island in 41 degrees 10 minutes, and four leagues from the continent. This island was not inhabited, but overgrown with trees and shrubs of all sorts, and in it a pool of fresh water, about two miles in compass, one side of it not above thirty yards from the sea, and in the midst of it a small rocky island about an acre in extent, all covered with wood, where the captain designed to build a fort, and leave some men. The thirty-first he went over to take a view of the continent, which he found a most delicious and fruitful country, and the natives peaceable and friendly. Having taken this small view of the country, and the men refusing to be left on that desart place, he returned for England. Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1651.

An. 1603, Captain Samuel Champlain of Brouage, sailed from the port of Honfleur in Normandy on the fifth of March for Canada. The second of May they came upon the bank of Newfoundland in 44 degrees 20 minutes of latitude. The twelfth they came upon cape S. Mary, and the twentieth to the island of the Assumption, at the mouth of the river of Canada. He run up it a hundred leagues to the little port of Tadoussac on the north side of Canada, and at the mouth of Sanguenay river, where they contracted strict friendship with the natives. He ran twelve leagues up the river Sanguenay, all which way is a mountainous country, and the river deep and wide. Next they run up the great river of Canada as far as that of the Iro-

quois, and thence to the first great fall of the river, which tumbles down there about two fathom with an incredible fury; and the Indians told them there were ten more falls, though not so great, beyond the first. After discovering thus much, and getting information of several great lakes up the country, and of a boundless ocean at four hundred leagues distance westward, they returned to Tadoussac, and spending some days more in searching the great and lesser rivers, and getting intelligence of the country, they sailed back into France. Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1605.

The same year, 1603, two vessels of Bristol, and one of London, made their voyages to Virginia, in which there was nothing remarkable, except that the last of them run up into Chesapeac bay in about 37 degrees of latitude, where the captain going ashore, was killed with four men; upon which the rest presently returned home. Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1654, and 1656.

An. 1604, Monsieur de Monts having obtained a patent from Henry IV. king of France for peopling the countries of Acadie and Canada, he sailed for those parts with two ships well manned, and Monsieur de Potrincourt with him. They were kept long at sea by contrary winds, and met with much ice; but on the sixth of May they put into a port in the south of Acadie, which they called Rossignol, because there they took a French ship, commanded by a captain of that name, being confiscate for trading there contrary to the king's patent. Then doubling cape Sable, the southermost of that country, they run up to the northward in a large bay to that of S. Mary, and thence to a convenient harbour, which they called Port Royal; which Monsieur de Potrincourt demanded a grant of, to settle a colony and inhabit there, and had it given him. They proceeded still further up to cape Mines, so called because of some found there, and into the river of S. John; and then turning back, erected a fort in a small island twenty leagues from the said river, resolving to settle there, and calling it the island of Santa Croix, or the Holy Cross. It is small but very fruitful, and lies as it were among many others. Here

winter coming on, and the fort being ill seated as exposed to the north, the men suffered very much through extremity of cold and deep snows; and being forced to cross a great river for water and wood, many of them were dangerously sick. This hard season being over, Monsieur de Monts searched all the coast in a small vessel he built to discover a more convenient place to settle, and at last pitched upon Port Royal, where he left part of his men, and returned himself to France. Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1620.

An. 1605, and on the last day of March, captain George Weymouth with one ship sailed from the Downs, and on the eighteenth of May came to an anchor in S. George's island on the coast of Virginia, where he found great plenty of fish; and two days after removed into an excellent port, which he called Penticost harbour. Then he run up a great river twenty-six miles, and found it fit to receive and secure any number of ships. The natives of this coast traded in a friendly manner for several days, but were found at last to be treacherous, as only contriving by their fair show of kindness to draw the English into their power; who being aware of them in time broke off the correspondence, and returned into England without making any considerable advantage of this small discovery. Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1659.

An. 1606, Monsieur de Monts and Monsieur de Potrincourt sailed again from Rochel with one ship of an hundred and fifty ton. The twenty-eighth of June they came upon the bank of Newfoundland, and making the shore, coasted all along to Port Royal, where they had before left their colony, and anchored at the mouth of the harbour on the twenty-sixth of July. Here they found but two Frenchmen, the rest being gone with their small vessel towards Newfoundland; but soon returned, being met by a pinnace belonging to this last come ship, left to coast along close by the shore. Here they settled a-new, viewed all the country about for a more convenient seat for their town, were most obligingly treated by the natives, and planted, and had crops of all sorts of European grain and garden-stuff: yet after

all, the colony was forsaken, not for any defect in the country, as may appear by what has been said; but because new measures were taken in France, and the supplies that should have been sent them were employed another way. Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1627.

The same year, 1606, on the twentieth of December, three ships sailed from London, commanded by captain Newport, to settle a colony in Virginia; and passing among the Spanish American islands, on the twenty-sixth of April came into the bay of Chesapeac, where they presently landed, and had some men hurt in skirmish with the natives. The twenty-seventh they marched eight miles up the country, and the twenty-eighth went up the bay in their boats, where they always found shallow water; but returning, they fell into a channel six, eight, and ten fathom deep, which was a satisfaction, and therefore they called the point of land next it cape Comfort. The point at the mouth of the bay they called cape Henry. The following days they surveyed all the shores in their boats, being civilly treated every-where by the Indians; and running up Powhatan river, found a place where their ships could lie moored to the trees in six fathom water. Here on the fourteenth of May they landed all their men, and fell to work to fortify themselves, resolving to settle their colony, as they did, giving it the name of James Town; which is the first plantation of the English in Virginia that continued, as it does to this day. June the twenty-second captain Newport in the admiral was sent back into England. In the colony were left an hundred and four men with little provision, and therefore they were soon reduced to great extremities; many also dying of diseases peculiar to that country. But in their greatest distress, the natives, who before had been their enemies, supplied them with plenty of all sorts of victuals, which recovered the sick men, and was the saving of the colony. Every year after ships arrived from England with supplies, till the new town grew to a considerable body, and sent out other colonies to the parts adjacent, where they were thought necessary, till they made themselves masters of

that northern part of America. The relation is too long any more than to be hinted as above, but to be seen at large in Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1705.

An. 1610, Mr. Hudson again undertook the discovery of a north-west passage, which had been laid aside for some years, and proceeded an hundred leagues further than any before him had done, giving names to some places, to be seen in the maps; as Desire provokes, Isle of God's Mercies, Prince Henry's Cape, King James's Cape, and Queen Anne's Cape: but he could proceed no farther for ice.

An. 1611, sir Thomas Button, at the instigation of prince Henry, whose servant he was, pursued the north-west discovery. He passed Hudson's strait, and leaving Hudson's bay to the south, sailed above two hundred leagues to the south-westward, through a sea above eighty fathom deep, and discovered a great continent called by him New-Wales; where after much misery and sickness, wintering at port Nelson, he carefully searched all the bay, from him called Button's bay, back again almost to Digg's island. He discovered the great land called Cary's Swansnest. He lost many men during his stay in the river called Port Nelson, in 57 degrees 10 minutes of north latitude; though he kept three fires in his ship all winter, and had great store of white partridges, and other fowl, besides deer, bears and foxes.

An. 1612, Mr. Richard Moore was sent in April with one ship and sixty men to inhabit the Summer islands, otherwise called Bermudas, long before discovered by the Spaniards, who after some attempts to settle there, abandoned them; and were after accidentally found by sir Thomas Gate and sir George Summers, who were shipwrecked upon them, and lived there nine months, during which time they built a ship and a pinnace with the cedar growing there, and in 1610 sailed away for Virginia, leaving only two men in the great island. A ship sent thither from Virginia left only three men in the island, who found there amber-grease to the value of nine or ten thousand pounds. Mr. Moore at his coming this year found those three men in perfect

health. He settled a colony, and continued there three years, being relieved from time to time, till they amounted to above six hundred inhabitants, who built several forts, but had like to have been themselves destroyed by an infinite number of rats, which increased from a few coming ashore out of a ship, and continued for four years devouring all the growth of the country, notwithstanding all possible means were used to destroy them.

An. 1612, James Hall and William Baffin returned into England, having discovered Cockins sound in 65 degrees 2 minutes latitude, and tried the mine at Cunningham's River, which they found to be worth nothing.

An. 1615, Mr. Baffin went again, and the chief thing he discovered was, that there is no passage in the north of Davis's Strait.

An. 1616, Mr. Baffin was sent the third time, and entered sir Thomas Smith's bay in 78 degrees of latitude; and returned, despairing of finding any passage that way.

An. 1620, a ship sailed from Plymouth for New England on the sixth of September; though we have not the commander's name, nor what force his ship was of. It is also here to be observed, that all the northern coast from about 60 to 40 degrees of north latitude, was first discovered by Sabastian Cabot, and afterwards at several times by Cortereal a Portuguese, as has been set down in their proper places, and by sundry English and French discoverers; to particularize every one of whose voyages would swell a volume, and therefore only the principal discoveries and plantations are here set down, as most suitable to the nature of this discourse, and the intended brevity. The ship we now speak of, anchored in the bay of cape Cod in New England, and in 41 degrees and a half of north latitude on the eleventh of November. Here they put out their boat, and landed men, who went some miles into the country several ways without meeting any people, and only found some little Indian wheat buried, the boat coasting along the shore. This they continued for several

days, seeking out some proper place to settle. At length, on the twenty-third of December, they pitched upon a place to their mind, and fell to work to building their houses, dividing themselves into nineteen families, that the fewer houses might serve. About this place they found no people, but were told by an Indian, who came to them from the next part inhabited, that the natives there had all died lately of a plague. This savage brought some of the neighbouring people to them, by whom they were conducted to their king, a very poor one, with whom they concluded peace and amity. The following year this new colony was reinforced with thirty-five men from England, and supplied with provisions and necessaries, and called New Plymouth in New England. A war soon breaking out with another Indian prince, the English fortified their colony to secure themselves against all attempts of their enemies. From hence all other colonies were by degrees sent into other parts of the country; of which it were too tedious to give any further account. Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1842.

An. 1631, Captain James sailing into the north-west, was much pestered with ice in June and July; and entering a great bay near port Nelson, he named the land New South-Wales. Roving up and down these seas, he gave names to these places discovered by him, viz. cape Henrietta Maria, Lord Weston's Island, Earl of Bristol's Island, Sir Thomas Roe's Island, Earl of Danby's Island, and Charlton Island. He wintered there in 52 degrees 3 minutes latitude, and returned home the following year, 1632, having discovered much beyond Hudson, Button, and Baffin. The Danes have attempted to discover in these northern parts, but there is nothing remarkable in their actions.

An. 1667, Zachariah Gillam in the Nonsuch ketch passed through Hudson's Strait, and then into Baffin's bay to 75 degrees of latitude, and thence southerly into 51 degrees; where, in a river called Prince Rupert's River, he had a friendly correspondence with the natives, built a fort, which he called Charles Fort, and returned with success: having laid the foundation of an advantageous trade in those parts.

An. 1669. Captain John Narborough, afterwards sir John Narborough, sailed in the Sweepstakes, a man of war of three hundred ton, thirty-six guns, and eighty men and boys, with a pink of seventy ton and nineteen men, both set out at the charge of his majesty king Charles II. and his royal highness the duke of York, to make a farther discovery on the coast of Chile. On the twenty-first of October the year following, he came to the mouth of the straits of Magellan, and through them to the South-sea, about the middle of November; having taken a most exact survey of that passage, which is made public in his voyage. On the twenty-sixth of November he went ashore on the small island called Neustra Senora del Socorro, or Our Lady of Succour; where he watered, but found no people. Holding on his course to the northward, on the fifteenth of December he sent his boat, with the lieutenant in her, ashore on the south side of port Baldivia, which is in 39 degrees 56 minutes of south latitude. Here the lieutenant and three others going ashore to a Spanish fort, were detained, and the ship sailed away without them. From hence captain Narborough turned again to the southward, and through the strait of Magellan returned into England; where he arrived in June following, having been out about two years.

An. 1673, on the thirteenth of May, F. Marquett a jesuit, with only six other Frenchmen, set out in two canoes from the Lac des Puans, or the Stinking Lake, in the province of Canada in North America; and passing through the provinces of Folle Avoine and Iliquois, Indians in peace with France, sometimes carrying their boats by land, and sometimes being carried in them, they came at length to the great river Mississippi. They ran many leagues along this river through a desart country, their course always south, though sometimes bending east, and sometimes west. At the end of several days solitude, they came among savage Indians, were friendly received, and heard that the sea was within two or three days sail of them; which was the gulph of Mexico. Thus he discovered all that inland part of North-America along the river, from 38 to 34 degrees

of north latitude, lying on the back of Canada, Virginia, &c, down to Florida. The particulars of this voyage may be seen in Thevenot's small collection of voyages in octavo.

An. 1680 and 1681, captain Sharp having been buccaneering in the South-sea, and not able to recover the strait of Magellan to return home, he run further to the south beyond Le Mair's and Brower's, till he came into 60 degrees of south latitude; meeting with many islands of ice, and abundance of snow, frost, and whales, and called a small place he found the Duke of York's island. Thus he came into the north sea a new way, and made it appear that the land in the straits of le Maire and Brower must be islands, and not joined to any continent. Introduction to the account of several late discoveries, printed in 1694, p. 13.

Here we may conclude with the American voyages and discoveries, having run along from north to south on the east side of that new world, or along that commonly called the North-sea; and back from south to north along the west side, or South-sea. It follows next, as was done after the eastern discoveries, to show the extent of this vast tract of land thus found, and what benefits the world has received by this navigation. The whole length of what has been discovered, is from 78 degrees of north latitude, in which sir Thomas Smith's bay lies, to 60 degrees of south latitude, in all a hundred and thirty-eight degrees; which, allowing twenty leagues to a degree, in a strait line amounts to two thousand seven hundred and sixty leagues, a thing almost incredible, were it not so well known, that so great and stupendous a part of the world should lie concealed so many ages: being never known since the creation, till about three hundred years ago. Now to descend to particulars: from 80 to almost 50 degrees of north latitude being 30 degrees, and according to the rate above of twenty leagues to a degree, six hundred leagues; the extremity of the cold, which is there more fierce than in the parts of Europe under the like elevation, renders that part little regarded, and consequently not inhabited by any European nation, though much of it be peopled

by savages, living there little better than brutes: and all the advantage made of those northern nations is the fishery of whales and morses; the former for their oil and bone, and the latter for their teeth, which are finer than ivory. The next division beginning above 50 degrees of north latitude, and reaching to about 44, is Canada or New-France; running up the river of Canada above two hundred leagues into the continent, and possessed by the French, who have there several colonies, and trade with the natives for furs. Next to Canada is New-England, lying along the sea-coast north-east and south-west about 70 miles, subject to the crown of England, and their chief trade furs, flax, hemp, and some corn. After it follows New-York, the trade much the same with those spoken of. Then comes Pensylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, almost north and south for above a hundred leagues of English conquest, and the principal commodity tobacco. Carolina is next in course, being a part of the great province of Florida, lying between 29 and 36 degrees of latitude, and therefore about a hundred and forty leagues in length; it has been possessed by the English but of later years, in the reign of king Charles II. from whom it took the name; and being so lately subdued, the returns of it are not yet great, but much is hoped from it. Florida is a vast part of the continent, reaching above two hundred and fifty leagues from north to south, and above four hundred from east to west, besides a large province of it shooting out into the sea, where begins the channel of Bahama: part of it is subject to the Spaniards, and a greater part not yet conquered; so that it affords no great profit. But now follows the great and wealthy kingdom of Mexico, running above a hundred and thirty leagues almost north and south, and about the same length upon a turn it makes in the south part towards the east, including the great peninsula of Yucatan, above three hundred leagues in compass. In this vast dominion, entirely subject to Spain, is to be found in great plenty all that is necessary and convenient for human life, except wine and oil; and from it Europe is supplied with great store of silver,

cochineal, indigo, cacao, bairullas, cotton, mechoacan, and many other precious commodities. Whence to Porto Bello the coast runs partly near east and west, and partly almost north and south, above three hundred and fifty leagues of countries incredibly rich, and affording all the commodities above mentioned, more plenty of gold, and many other precious things. From Nombre de Dios to Cabo de Galera, taking it in a straight line, the coast runs east and west about four hundred and fifty leagues, all still Spanish, and abounding in wealth; particularly the pearl-fishery on the coast of Paria, and the rich emeralds up the inland. From cape Galera to Cabo de Conde, along the coast of Caribana, lying south-east and north-west about two hundred and fifty leagues, and thence to Caparare more southerly about a hundred and twenty leagues, in all three hundred and seventy; all this for the most part unconquered, and peopled by savage Indians. From cape Caparare to Cabo do Natal about four hundred leagues east and west, somewhat southerly, and from Cabo do Natal to Rio de Janeiro almost north and south near four hundred leagues, and so to Lagoa de Pernaba a hundred and fifty leagues, in all nine hundred leagues; all this tract of land, commonly known by the name of Brasil, and subject to the crown of Portugal, yielding abundance of tobacco and sugar, infinite quantities of brasil wood, which gives the name to the country, and of late years a gold mine found in it, which yields considerable treasure. From Lagoa de Pernaba to the river of Plate, about three hundred leagues south-west and north-east, under the dominion of Spain. From the mouth of the river of Plate, running up the continent on the back of Brasil, the Spanish dominions reach quite across to Peru, being at least four hundred leagues, and above as much north and south in the inland; being fruitful countries, almost overrun with flocks and herds of all sorts of cattle, whence they send abundance of hides to Spain, and much silver which they have from Peru by way of trade. From the mouth of the river of Plate, to the entrance into the strait of Magellan, south-west and north-east four hundred leagues; all this country is inhabited only by

savage Indians, and was never subdued by any European nation: therefore yielding no profit, though fruitful and good land. Terra del Fuogo, or Terra Magellanica, lying to the south of the strait, is little known, and not worth conquering by reason of its coldness, and therefore no more needs be said of it. The strait of Magellan is about a hundred leagues in length, and coming out of it into the South sea, from cape Victoria to Rio de los Gallegos, about two hundred leagues; all still the country of the Patagones, never inhabited by christians, nor yielding them any benefit. But here begins the coast of Chile, extending above three hundred leagues; a country infinitely rich in gold, for which the silver is neglected, though it has plenty of it, and yielding the most precious natural balsam in the world; all subject to Spain, as is the whole coast on the South-sea up to 40 degrees of north latitude, for which reason it will be needless to repeat it. Peru reaches four hundred leagues north-west and south-east, well known for its inexhaustible silver mines of Potosi and Porco. Next is the province of Quito, about an hundred leagues along the coast north and south. Then the firm land, or continent, so called peculiarly, and provinces of Panama and Veragua, above an hundred leagues north-east and south-west, and north-west and south-east. After this follows the government of Guatemala, near three hundred and fifty leagues along the coast north-west and south-east; and then that of Mexico two hundred and fifty leagues, abounding in gold, silver, all useful woods, rich drugs, cotton, and many other precious commodities. Lastly, New-Mexico reaching up to 40 degrees of north latitude, being about four hundred leagues; a rich country in silver mines, and plentiful in cattle, corn, and all other blessings for human life. Having run along both sides of America, and given a particular of each division, as to extent, product, and by whom possessed, as far as the brevity of this discourse would permit; it is fit to note that all the lengths are here taken in a straight line, and not winding with the shores, which would make them double what is computed; and, as in such vast extents not pretended to be measured to exactness, but accord

ing to the general computation of sailors. The total thus amounts to six thousand five hundred leagues, taking only the greatest windings of the coast, and this along what is conquered by Europeans; excepting only the seven hundred leagues of the land of the Patagones about the strait of Magellan, and two hundred and fifty or thereabouts, of Caribana, not so well subdued. And to sum up the commodities we have from these countries; the principal are gold, silver, pearls, emeralds, amethists, cochineal of several sorts, indigo, anatto, logwood, brasil, Nicaragua wood, brasilette, fustic, lignum vitæ, sugar, ginger, cacao, bairullas, cotton, red wool, tobacco of various sorts, snuff, hides raw and tanned, amber-greece of all sorts, bezoar, balsam of Tolu, of Peru, and of Chile, jesuit's bark, jalap, mechoacan, sarsaparilla, sassafras, tamarinds, cassia, and many other things of lesser note. It only remains now to add a word concerning the islands belonging to this mighty continent. The first of these beginning northerly, is Newfoundland, above three hundred leagues in compass, peopled by French and English, who have some colonies in it fruitful enough, were it well cultivated; yet it yields no commodity to export from the land: but the sea is an inexhausted treasure, furnishing all Europe with salt and dried fish; which yield a mighty profit to those that follow the fishery, and is a general benefit to all men. The next are the Bermudas, or Summer-islands, lying above three hundred leagues east from the coast of Virginia: the biggest of them is not twenty miles long, and not above two or three in breadth, the others much smaller: yet here is a strong colony of English, the land being delightful to live in, producing all things for human life plentifully, and the trade is some cochineal, amber-greece and pearl: it used to send abroad the fairest oranges in these parts, but they have failed of late years. Off the coast of Florida are the islands called Lucayos, the first discovered by Columbus; but they are small and of no account. South of the point of Florida is Cuba, above two hundred leagues in length, and about forty in breadth in the widest place; a plea-

sant place, has gold and copper mines, and yields tobacco, sugar, and cotton. East of Cuba lies Hispaniola an hundred and fifty leagues in length, and about sixty in breadth, producing the same commodities as Cuba; and both subject to Spain. Jamaica lies south of Cuba, about seventy leagues in length, and twenty in breadth, possessed by the English, and producing sugar, indigo and cotton. The island of Puerto Rico is less than Jamaica, yields the same commodities, and belongs to Spain. The Caribbe islands are many, but small; some of them possessed by the English, French, and Dutch, others not inhabited: they produce sugar, indigo, cotton and tobacco, and run from the coast of Paria to Puerto Rico. The Leeward-islands lie along the coast of Paria, the most remarkable of them being Margarita, and Cubagua, famous for the pearl-fishery. La Trinidad is a large island before the gulph of Paria, near which there are many small ones, but not considerable. All the coast southward has no island of any note, till we come to the strait of Magellan, the south part whereof is made by Terra del Fuego and other islands, of which little is known. Nor is there any ascending again northward worth speaking of, till the mouth of the bay of Panama, where are the islands of Pearls, so called from a pearl-fishery there; they are small, and of no consideration in any other respect. The only great island on this side America is California, found to be so but of late years, running from the tropic of Cancer to 45 degrees of north latitude, north-west and south-east, above five hundred leagues in length, and an hundred in breadth in the northern part, whence it runs tapering down to the south. It has hitherto yielded no great profit to the Spaniards, who have not had leisure to build colonies there till within these very few years, and not above two as yet. This is all that belongs to America; it remains to add some few voyages to the isles of Solomon, Terra Australis incognita, and the land of Yesso, or Jedso; which being properly no part of the East or West Indies, and but little of them as yet known, they have been reserved to be spoke of by themselves.

An. 1595, Alvaro de Mendana, with the title of governor and lord-lieutenant, set out from Peru for the islands of Solomon, whereof some uncertain knowledge was had before by ships that accidentally had seen some of them: he had four sail, with men and women, and all other necessaries to settle a colony. In about 9 or 10 degrees of south latitude, and fifteen hundred leagues west of the city of Lima in Peru, he discovered four small islands inhabited by very handsome and civilized people. Hence holding on his course still westward, he found several other more considerable islands, where he intended to have settled his colony, but was hindered by many misfortunes, and among the rest sickness. All that is extant of this relation, is only a fragment in Spanish taken out of Thevenot's second volume; which being inserted in this collection, it will be needless to add any more in this place, only that three of the ships perished; two were never heard of, a third cast away on the Philippine islands, the men saved; and the fourth, being the admiral, arrived at Manila, with the men almost starved: and thus this enterprise was disappointed.

An. 1600, four ships sailing from Peru for the Philippine islands, were by northerly winds driven south of the equinoctial, where they fell upon several rich countries and islands, not far from the isles of Solomon; they called one place Monte de Plata, or Mountain of Silver, because they found plenty of it there. After which a captain of note went out on purpose, and saw these discoveries. This is all we have of it in Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1432; only he adds two petitions of captain Peter Fernandez de Quiros to the king of Spain, suing to be employed in conducting colonies to those southern parts, alleging the vast extent and riches of the continent, and great value of the islands, which he speaks of as an eye-witness, and by the report of natives he brought away from thence, as may be seen more at large in Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1422.

An. 1628. On the twenty-eighth of October, the Dutch set out eleven sail for India, among which was the Batavia, commanded by captain Francis Pelsart,

which being parted from the rest was cast away on the rocks near some small islands not inhabited, and having no fresh water, in upwards of 38 degrees of south latitude, but all the people saved on the islands. This want obliged them to build a deck to their long boat and put out to sea, where they soon discovered the continent, bearing north and by west about six miles from them. This was on the eighth of June,

An. 1629, and the weather being rough, and the coast high, they were forced to beat at sea till the fourteenth, when they found themselves in 24 degrees of south latitude; and six men swimming ashore saw four savages quite naked, who fled from them: they went to seek fresh water, but finding none, swam back to their boat. The fifteenth the boat made into shore, and found no fresh water, but the remains of the rain that lay in the hollow of the rocks, which relieved them, being almost choaked. The sixteenth they went ashore again, but found no water, the latitude here 22 degrees; the twentieth in 19 degrees, the twenty second in 16 degrees 10 minutes. Thus Pelsart sailed along this coast to the northward till he came among the Indian islands, and then struck over to Java, where he met two Dutch ships, which carried him to Batavia, whence he returned with a vessel to save as much as might be of the wreck. Thevenot, vol I.

An. 1642, Abel Jansen Tasman set sail from Batavia in the island of Java with a yacht and a flyboat, and September the fifth anchored at the island Mauritius in 20 degrees of south latitude. The eighth they departed thence south till 40 or 41 degrees, then bore away east somewhat southerly, till the sixth of November they were in 49 degrees. The twenty-fourth in 42 degrees 25 minutes they saw land east and by north at ten miles distance, and called it Antony van Diemen's land, and after running along the coast came to an anchor on the first of December in a bay they named Frederick Hendrick's Bay: they heard some noise as of people, but saw none, and only the footing of wild beasts, and some smokes. Departing hence on the thirteenth of December they anchored in the country called in the

maps New-Zealand; here they saw some natives lusty people, and half naked, who coming aboard on pretence to traffic, fell upon the men in the boat, and killed four of them, for which reason it was called Murderers Bay. Here they seemed to be embayed, but on the fourth of January 1643, came up with the N. W. cape of this land, and finding an island there, called it Three Kings Island; and going thither to refresh, they saw some large men, but could not understand them. Hence they directed their course north-east, till in 22 degrees 35 minutes they saw a small island, which they could not come at, but called it Piilstreet's island. January 21, in 21 degrees 20 minutes, they called two islands, the one Amsterdam, the other Zealand; on the first they got many hogs, hens, and all sorts of fruit. The inhabitants were friendly, had no weapons, and seemed to know no evil, but that they would steal. In the latter of these islands they saw gardens with square beds and trees regularly planted. Leaving this place they saw many islands as they stood northward, and in 17 degrees 19 minutes they run among eighteen or twenty islands, which in the charts are called Prince William's Islands, or Hemskirk's Shoals. Directing their course now N. or N. N. W. after much foul weather, on the twenty-second of March, in 5 degrees 2 minutes south latitude, they had sight of land four miles west of them, being about twenty islands, called in the charts Onthong Java, about ninety miles from the coast of New-Guinea. March the twenty-fifth, in 4 degrees 35 minutes, they were up with the islands of Mark, found before by William Schouten, and John le Maire: the natives are savage and have their hair tied up. March the twenty-ninth they passed by Green Island, the thirtieth by S. John's Island, and April the first, in 4 degrees 30 minutes, they reached the coast of New-Guinea at a cape called by the Spaniards Santa Maria, and run along the coast to the promontory called Struis Hook, where the land bends to the south and south-east, as they did to find a passage to the south, but were forced to turn to the west. April the twenty-eighth they came to the burning island, where they

saw a great fire come out of the hill, and sailing betwixt the island and the main saw many fires. At the islands Jama and Moa they got refreshment. May the twelfth, in only 54 minutes of south latitude, they sailed along the side of William Schouten's island, which seems to be well inhabited: and the eighteenth they came to the west-end of New-Guinea, and on the fifteenth of June returned to Batavia, having finished the voyage in ten months. Thevenot, vol. II.

An. 1643, a Dutch ship sailing to the northward of Japan, came upon a coast in 39 degrees 45 minutes latitude. Running up as far as 43 degrees, they saw several villages near one another, and say there are about them many mines of silver. The land in some places seemed to bear no grass, but the sea was very full of fish. In 44 degrees 30 minutes, they went ashore in a mountainous country, supposed to be full of silver mines. In 46 degrees the land resembled the coast of England, the soil being good, but the natives do not till it. In 48 degrees there are small hills covered with short grass. In 45 degrees 50 minutes is an island, which the Dutch call Staten island, and beyond it the Companies land, another island: in this they found a sort of mineral earth, that looked as if it had been all silver. In 45 degrees they observed, that though the land was not cultivated it yielded very good fruit of several sorts, the sea-shore was covered with rose-trees, and on the rocks many large oysters, but on the land they saw no beast but one bear. The inhabitants of this land of Eso or Yedso, for so it is called, are all strong set, thick, with long hair and beards, good features, no flat noses, black eyes, a sallow complexion, and very hairy about their bodies: the women are not so black as the men, some of them cut their hair, and others tie it up. They seem to have no religion nor government, every man has two wives, who serve him at home and abroad: they are very jealous of their women, love drinking, look like savages, but yet are very civil and obliging to strangers: their houses are only small cottages, and but a few of them together: they eat the fat and oil of whales, all sorts of fish and herbs, and rose-buds are their greatest dainty.

Their clothes are some of silk and some of the skins of beasts. They use bows and arrows to kill wild beasts, and they spin hemp. They trade with the Japoneses, whom they furnish with train-oil, whales tongues smoaked, furs, several sorts of feathers, for which they receive rice, sugar, silk, and other coarser garments, copper-pipes, tobacco-boxes, and varnished dishes and vessels for their meat and drink, pendants for their ears, copper ear-rings, hatchets, knives, &c. The capital of the country is small, they call it Matsmay, where the prince or governor of the country resides, who every year goes over to pay his respects to the emperor of Japan, and carry him presents. This is what the Dutch discovered, but a Japonese told them this land of Eso or Yedso was an island. Thevenot, tom. I.

Anno 1698-9. On the fourteenth of January captain Dampier, in his majesty's ship the Roe-Buck, sailed from the Downs upon a new discovery, touched at the Canaries and isles of Cabo Verde, and the twenty-fifth of March came to an anchor in Bakia de Todos Santos, or the Bay of All-saints, in Brasil. April the third he left this place, and the twenty-third of April saw the land about the cape of Good Hope. August the first having run from Brasil a hundred and fourteen degrees, he made into the shore of New-Holland in 26 degrees south latitude, thinking to put into some harbour; but finding rocks and foul ground, stood out to sea again till August the sixth, when he came to an anchor in 25 degrees at an opening, which he called Sharks Bay, where he could get no fresh water, but plenty of wood, and refreshed the men with racoons, tortoises, sharks, and other fish, and some sorts of fowl. He sounded most of this bay, and on the fourteenth sailed out of it, coasting as the weather would permit to the northward, and then to the north-east, as the coast runs, where, in 20 degrees 21 minutes, he found several islands, and going ashore on some of them could get no fresh water, nor see any inhabitants; so he continued along the shore as near as could be with safety, till on the thirtieth he anchored in eight fathom water, where he saw some of the natives, but could not take any. Looking for

water none was found, and digging pits they got some that was brackish and not fit to drink. Finding no water or other refreshment on this coast, in the beginning of September he stood over for the island Timor, where he took in fresh water, and on the third of December arrived on the coast of New-Guinea, and had some commerce with the inhabitants of an island called Pulo Sabuti. Then passing to the northward, and to the eastermost part of New-Guinea, he found it did not join to the main land of New-Guinea, but was an island which he called New-Britain. Having discovered thus far, and being unprovided to proceed, he returned by Timor and Java, so to the cape of Good Hope, and island of S. Helena. At the island of the Ascension his ship foundered, but the men were saved, and returned to England aboard the East-India ship called the Canterbury. Dampier's voyage to New-Holland, being his third volume.

The voyages round the world, which, for so many thousand years as past from the creation till the discovery of the West-Indies, could never so much as enter into the thoughts of man, and which after they were performed gave just subject of admiration, do well deserve to be mentioned apart from all others, as being the boldest action that could be undertaken, and to be performed but one way, though several attempts have been made to find out others, as has been showed in the fruitless voyages for discovery of the north-east and north-west passages: for this reason they have been reserved for this place, where something shall be said of all hitherto performed, but more particularly of the first, as the most glorious and honourable, because it showed the way to all that followed. This wonderful enterprise was undertaken and performed after this manner:

An. 1519, Ferdinand de Magalhaens, or as we corruptly call him, Magellan, by nation a Portuguese, by descent a gentleman, and by profession a soldier and seaman, having served his prince well both in Afric and India, and being ill rewarded, renounced his country, disnaturalizing himself as the custom then was,

and offered his service to the emperor Charles the fifth then king of Spain. He had long before conceived an opinion, that another way might be found to India, and particularly to the Molucco islands, besides the common track by the cape of Good Hope followed by the Portugueses. This he proposed to the emperor with such assurance of performing what he promised, that he had the command of five ships given him, and in them two hundred and fifty men: with this squadron he sailed from S. Lucar de Barrameda on the twentieth of September, the aforesaid year 1519. Being come to the river called Rio de Janeiro on the coast of Brasil, and near 23 degrees of south latitude, some discontent began to appear among the men, which was soon blown over; but proceeding to the bay of S. Julian in 49 degrees of latitude, where they were forced to winter, the mutiny grew so high, three of the captains and most of the men being engaged that Magellan having in vain endeavoured to appease it by fair means, was forced to use his authority, executing two of the said captains, and setting the third with a priest who had sided with them ashore among the wild Indians. This done, he proceeded on his voyage, and on the twenty first of October 1520, having been out above a year, discovered the cape, which he called Cabo de la Virgines, or the Virgins' Cape, because that day was the feast of S. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins; and there turned into the strait he went in search of, which from him to this day is called the strait of Magellan: it lies in 52 degrees of south latitude, is about a hundred leagues in length, in some parts a league wide, in some more, in some less, but all narrow, and enclosed with high land on both sides, some bare, some covered with woods, and some of the loftiest mountains with snow. Having sailed about fifty leagues in this strait, they discovered another branch of it, and Magellan sent one of his ships to bring him some account of it; but the seamen being parted from him took the opportunity, and confining their captain for opposing their design, returned into Spain, spending eight months in their return. Magellan having expected beyond the time ap-

pointed, and finding they did not return to him, proceeded though the strait, and came into the South-sea with only three ships, having lost one in his passage, but all the men saved, and another as was said being stolen away from him. The last land of the strait he called Cabo Deseado, or the Desired Cape, because it was the end of his desired passage to the South-sea. The cold being somewhat sharp, he thought good to draw nearer to the equinoctial, and accordingly steered west-north-west. In this manner he sailed three months and twenty days without seeing land, which reduced them to such straits, that they were forced to eat all the old leather they had aboard, and to drink stinking water, of which nineteen men died, and near thirty were so weak, that they could do no service. After fifteen hundred leagues sailing he found a small island in 18 degrees of south latitude, and two hundred leagues further another, but nothing considerable in them; and therefore held on his course, till in about 12 degrees of north latitude, he came to those islands which he called De los Ladrones, or of Thieves, because the natives hovered about his ships in their boats, and coming aboard stole every thing they could lay hold of. Finding no good to be done here, he sailed again, and discovered a great number of islands together, he gave that sea the name of Archipelago de S. Lazaro, the islands being those we now call the Philippines. On the twenty-eighth of March he anchored by the island of Buthuan, where he was friendly received, and got some gold; then removed to the isle of Massana, at a small distance from the other, and thence to that of Cebu. Magellan having hitherto succeeded so well, stood over to the island Matan, where not agreeing with the natives he came to a battle, and was killed in it with eight of his men. After this disaster the rest sailed over to the island Bohol, and being too weak to carry home their three ships, burnt one of them, after taking out the cannon and all that could be of use to them. Being now reduced to two ships, they made away to the south-west in search of the Molucco islands, and instead of them fell in with the great one of Borneo,

where they made some short stay, being friendly received: and departing thence, with the assistance of Indian pilots arrived at length at the Moluccos on the eighth of November 1521, in the twenty-seventh month after their departure from Spain, and anchored in the port of Tidore, one of the chief of those islands, where they were lovingly treated by the king, who concluded a peace, and took an oath ever to continue in amity with the king of Spain. Here they traded for cloves, exchanging the commodities they brought to their own content: when they were to depart, finding one of the ships leaky, and unfit for so long a voyage, they left her behind to refit, and then sailed for Spain as soon as possible. The other ship called the Victory, commanded by John Sebastian Cano, and carrying forty-six Spaniards, and thirteen Indians, took its course to the south-west, and coming to the island Malva, near that of Timor, in 11 degrees of south latitude, staid there fifteen days to stop some leaks they discovered in her. On the twenty-fifth of January 1522, they left this place, and the next day touched at Timor, whence they went not till the eleventh of February, when they took their way to the southward, resolving to leave all India, and the islands to the northward, to avoid meeting the Portugueses, who were powerful in those seas, and would obstruct their passage: therefore they run into 40 degrees of south latitude before they doubled the cape of Good Hope, about which they spent seven weeks beating it out against contrary winds, so that their provisions began to fail, and many men grew sick, which made some entertain thoughts of turning back to Mozambique, but others opposed it. In fine, after two months more hardships, in which they lost twenty-one of their company, they were forced to put into the island of S. James, being one of those of Cabo Verde, where with much intreaty they obtained some small relief of provisions; but thirteen of them going ashore again for some rice the Portugueses had promised to supply them with, were detained ashore, which made those that were left aboard the ship hoist sail and put to sea, fearing the like treachery might surprise them, and

on the seventh of September arrived safe at S. Lucar, below the city Sevil, where after firing all their guns for joy, they repaired to the great church in their shirts and barefoot to return thanks to God. The ship that performed this wonderful voyage was called the Victory, as was said before; the commander's name was John Sebastian Cano, who was well rewarded and honoured by the emperor. This was the first voyage round the world, which we shall soon see followed by other nations; and this was the discovery of the strait of Magellan, which made the voyage practicable. The other Spanish ship we mentioned to be left at the Moluccos to stop her leaks, attempted to return the way it came to Panama, but after struggling above four months with the easterly winds, most of the men dying, and the rest being almost starved, it went back to the Moluccos, where it was taken by the Portugueses; and the few men that survived after being kept two years in India, were sent to Spain in the Portugueses ships. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. IV, IX, and dec. 3. lib. I. IV. Hackluyt, vol. III. and Purchas, vol. I.

The second voyage round the world was begun

An. 1577, by Mr. Francis, afterwards sir Francis, Drake, with five ships and barks, and a hundred and sixty-four men, who sailed from Plymouth on the thirteenth of December, and on the twenty-fifth of the same month touched at cape Cantin on the African coast, in 31 degrees of north latitude; on the seventeenth of January 1578, at cape Blanco on the same coast, and twenty-one degrees of latitude, and then at the islands of Cabo Verde. Departing thence they sailed fifty-four days without seeing land, and on the fifth of April came upon the coast of Brasil, where they watered, and proceeded to the mouth of the river of Plate in 36 degrees of south latitude. Sailing hence, on the twenty-seventh of April they put into a port in the latitude of 46 degrees, where Drake burnt a flyboat that attended him, after saving all that could be of use. On the twentieth of June he again put into a good harbour, called Port S. Julian, in the latitude of 49 degrees, and continued there till the seventeenth of August,

when putting to sea again, he entered the straits of Magellan on the twenty-first of the same month. What sort of straits these are was described in Magellan's voyage, and therefore needs no repetition. Here on an island they found fowl that could not fly, as big as geese, whereof they killed three thousand, which was good provision; and they entered the South-sea on the sixth of September. Hence they were drove by a storm to the southward as far as the latitude of 57 degrees 20 minutes, and anchored among certain islands; whence removing to a good bay, they saw many men and women naked in canoes, and traded with them for such things as they had. Steering away again to the northward, they found three islands, and in one of them an incredible quantity of fowl; but on the eighth of October they lost sight of one of their ships commanded by Mr. Winter, which the rest supposed to be cast away, but it was put back by the tempest into the strait of Magellan, and returned home the same way it came. Drake with the rest sailed for the coast of Chile, and sending for water at the island of Mocha, two of his men were killed by the Indians, which made him depart without it. This island is on the coast of Chile in 39 degrees of south latitude. Coasting still along, he came to the bay of Valparaiso, where he found a Spanish ship with only eight Spaniards and three blacks in her, whom he surprised and took, and then going ashore plundered nine houses, being all there were in that which they called the town of Santiago. At Coquimbo in 29 degrees 30 minutes of latitude fourteen men landing, one of them was killed by the Spaniards, the rest fled back to their ships. Not far from thence landing for fresh water, they met one single Spaniard and an Indian boy driving eight lamas, or Peru sheep, loaded with silver, which they took. Running on thence to Arica on the coast of Peru in 18 degrees 30 minutes latitude, he plundered three barks, in which was some quantity of silver, but not one man. Hence he advanced to the port of Lima in 12 degrees of latitude, and after rifling what little was in them cut the cables of 12 vessels that lay there, letting them drive

wheresoever the water would carry them, there being no man aboard, as having never seen an enemy in those seas. Near cape S. Francis in one degree of north latitude he took a rich ship called Cacafuego, and a little further another. Then he plundered Guatulco, and after refitting his ship in a small island run away to the northward in 43 degrees of latitude, where feeling much cold he returned into 38 degrees, and there put into a large bay on the coast of California, which Drake called Nova Albion. Here he was well received by the people, and continued some time, and sailing hence directed his course for the Molucco islands, seeing no land till the thirtieth of October, when he discovered the islands de los Ladrones in eight degrees of north latitude. On the fourteenth of November he fell in with the Molucco islands, and came to an anchor in that of Ternate, the king whereof came aboard Drake's ship, offering him all the island could afford; and he having taken in what was most necessary and could be had there, went over to a small island south of Celebes, where he graved his ship, and fitted her to return home, which took him up twenty-six days. Thinking to return to the Moluccos, they were drove by contrary winds to the northward of the island Celebes, till turning again to the southward for fear of the many small islands in that sea, the ship on a sudden sat upon a rock, where it was feared she would have perished; but lightening her of three ton of cloves, eight guns and some provisions, she got off. On the eighth of February 1579, they fell in with the island Barateve, where they refreshed themselves after their fatigues, and took in store of such provisions as the place afforded, the natives proving very friendly, and bartering their commodities for linen. Being well furnished with all necessaries, they left this place, and again made some stay at the island of Java, the natives by their civility inviting them to it. Thence they steered directly for the cape of Good Hope, which was the first land they came near from Java, yet touched not there, nor at any other place till they came to Sierra Leona, the westermost point of Guinea, in 8 degrees of north lati-

tude, on the twenty-second of July, and there recruited themselves with provisions. Departing thence on the twenty-fourth, they arrived iu England on the third of November 1580, and the third year after their departure. This relation is to be seen at large in Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 742, and in Purchas, vol. I. lib. II. p. 46.

An. 1586. Mr. Thomas, afterwards sir Thomas Candish, undertook the third voyage round the world with three small vessels, one of a hundred and twenty, the second of sixty, and the third of forty tons burden, all fitted out at his own charges; and sailed from Plymouth on the twenty-first of July 1586. On the twenty-third of August he put into a bay on the coast of Afric, and destroyed there a village of the blacks, because they killed a man with a poisoned arrow. After some days spent about this place, he sailed away south-west, and on the first of November put in between the island of S. Sebastian and the continent of Brasil, in 24 degrees of south latitude, where the men were set to work ashore to build a pinnace, make hoops for the casks, and fill fresh water, which took them up till the twenty-third of the month, when sailing again on the seventeenth of December, they entered Port Desire, in 47 degrees and a half of latitude, and that being a convenient place for the purpose, careened their ships, and refitted what was amiss. The third day of January 1587, they anchored at the mouth of the straits of Magellan, the weather being very stormy, which lasted three days, all which time they continued there, but lost an anchor, and the sixth day entered the strait. The seventh, as they drew near the narrow part of the strait, they took a Spaniard, being one of the twenty-three that still remained alive, which were all then left of five hundred there three years before to guard the strait, the rest being dead with hunger. These had built a town, which they called king Philip's city, and fortified it, but they could make no works against famine, which consumed them all to those before mentioned, who except him that was taken were gone along the coast, hoping to get to the river of Plate. Candish

having wooded and watered here, called this place Port Famine. The weather proving very boisterous and foul, he was forced to ride it out often at anchor, and therefore did not get out into the South-sea till the twenty-fourth of February. On the first of March a violent storm parted the bark of forty tons from the other two ships, and they met not before the fifteenth betwixt the island of S. Mary and the continent of Chile, in 37 degrees and a half of south latitude. Here they took in as much corn as they would have and abundance of potatoes, all which had been laid up in the island for the Spaniards, besides as many hogs as they could salt, abundance of hens, and five hundred dried dog-fishes. The eighteenth they left this place, and on the last of the month landed at Punta de Quenuro in 33 degrees of latitude, but saw no man, though they travelled some miles, only spied some herds of very wild cattle; but the first of April going to water, the men were set upon by the Spaniards, and twelve of them cut off. Proceeding hence along the coast of Chile and Peru, they took some coasting vessels carrying provisions from one place to another. In this manner they ran along to the island Puna, in about 3 degrees of south latitude, being a famous place for supplying all those coasts with cables. Here the English took what they found for their use, the island being inhabited by none but Indians, except some few Spaniards that lived in the chief town, who killed twelve of the English, but were put to flight, and the town burnt, as was the church particularly, and the bells carried away. This second loss of men obliged Candish to sink his bark of forty ton, that had attended him out of England. On the twelfth of June they cut the equinoctial line, and holding on their course to the northward all that month, on the first of July came upon the coast of New-Spain; where on the ninth they took and burnt a ship with seven men in her, and soon after a bark, whose men were fled to shore. The twenty-sixth day they anchored at Copalita in 16 degrees of north latitude, whence they went with thirty men to Aguatulco a small Indian town, which they burnt and rifled. Then keeping along that coast, they

continued ravaging the Indian towns, till they came to a small island in 23 degrees of latitude, and eleven leagues from the city Chiametlan; where having watered, and staid till the ninth of November, they then stood over to cape S. Lucar, which is the southermost point of California, and beating about it till the fourth of November, met then with the S. Anne, being the Spanish galeon bound from the Philippine islands to the port of Acapulco in New-Spain. After a fight of six hours the galeon was taken and carried into the port called Puerto Seguro; where setting ashore the Spaniards, and taking out what goods they could carry, they burnt the galeon, and on the nineteenth of November sailed thence towards India. This night Candish, who was in the Desire, lost his other ship called the Content, and never saw her after. Being thus left alone he sailed before the wind, as is usual there, for the space of forty-five days, and on the third of January 1588, came up with the islands de los Ladrones, having run about eighteen hundred leagues; on the fourteenth with cape Espiritu Santo, a great head-land of one of the Philippine islands to the westward in 13 degrees of latitude, and about three hundred leagues from the islands Ladrones. At the island Cabul he continued some days getting fresh provisions, and then sailing amidst all those islands south-west and by south, on the eighth of February discovered the island Batochina near Gilolo, in 1 degree of south latitude; whence he steered to the south side of the great island of Java, and touching there on the twelfth of March, traded with the natives for provisions, which were brought him in great plenty. On the sixteenth he set sail for the cape of Good Hope, and doubled it about the middle of May; having spent nine weeks betwixt the island of Java and this place, which is about eighteen hundred leagues distance. On the ninth of June he anchored at the island of S. Helena, about five hundred leagues distant from the cape of Good Hope, lying betwixt the coast of Afric and Brazil, in about 15 degrees of south latitude. This island is generally touched at by ships going to and returning from the East-Indies, because

of the conveniency of watering, besides the great plenty it produces of excellent fruit, as also abundance of fowl, swine, and goats, the place being extremely pleasant, but very small. Having taken in wood and water here, and made clean the ship, on the twentieth of June, Candish sailed for England; on the twenty-fourth of August he discovered the islands Flores and Corvo, two of the Azores, and on the ninth of September after a terrible storm, which carried away part of his sails, put into the port of Plymouth. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 803, and Purchas, vol. I. lib. II. p. 57.

An. 1598. The Dutch resolving to perform as much as had been done before by Magellan's ship, and by sir Francis Drake and sir Thomas Candish, they fitted out four ships under the command of captain Oliver d'Oirt, as Van Meteren calls him, or Oliver Noort, according to Purchas. The rest proceeded on their voyage upon the nineteenth of July; and to omit particulars of less moment, and their touching at places not material, on the tenth of December they came to the Prince's Island, or Ilha do Principe on the coast of Congo, in 2 degrees of north latitude; where the Portugueses killed some of their men, and the Dutch commander in revenge assaulting their fort, was repulsed with greater loss. This made him desist; and sailing thence, on the fifth of February 1599, came on the coast of Brazil. Here they spent much time, seeking refreshment and water along the shore, and being much shaken by a storm, and abundance of the men sick, besides, that it was the winter season there, they put into a little island called S. Clare, on the coast of Brazil, in about 21 degrees of south latitude. Here the sick men being set ashore, some of them presently died; the rest ailing nothing but the scurvy, were cured with eating sour plums they found there. One of the ships being very leaky, was here burnt, after all that could be of use had been taken out of her. On the sixteenth of July they left this place, steering for Port Desire in 47 degrees; and after many storms put into it on the twentieth of September, careened their ships, and took abundance of fowl. Some men were here killed by the Indians.

Departing hence on the twenty-ninth, they came to cape Virgines at the mouth of the strait of Magellan, on the fourth of November; where they met with storms of wind, rain, hail, and snow, besides much sickness and contention among themselves, having been from home fifteen months, before they could get into the strait; so that it was the last of February 1600, before they came into the South-sea. March the twelfth they lost sight of the vice-admiral, and sailed without him to the island Mocha, in 38 degrees south. Another ship missing the island of S. Maries, and being drove by necessity to make the continent for provisions, lost most of its men ashore, the rest putting to sea with the vessel. Being now in fear of the Spanish men of war, he directed his course with the two ships he had left for the islands de los Ladrones, which he had sight of on the fifteenth of September; and on the fourteenth of October discovered the island of Luzon or Manilla, the chief of the Philippines. Near this island he met the two Spanish ships bound thence for New Spain; and after a desperate fight, Noort sunk one of them; but at the same time the other took his second ship, and he made all haste away to Borneo, but made no stay there for fear of the natives, who attempted to cut his cable; and therefore sailing hence, he traded for pepper at Java, and at length returned by the cape of Good Hope, and isle of S. Helena, arriving at Amsterdam on the twenty-sixth of August 1601. Purchas, vol. I. lib. II. p. 71. Van Meteren, lib. XXIII.

An. 1614. George Spilbergen, commander of five Dutch ships, sailed out of the Texel on the eighth of August, and entered the strait of Magellan on the twenty-eighth of March 1615, but being drove out again by contrary winds, he re-entered on the second of April. In the strait they continued going ashore on the south side upon the land called Tierra del Fuego, known since to be an island, till the sixth of May, when they came out into the South-sea, which received them with storms, and on the twenty-sixth came up with the island la Mocha, on the coast of Chile, mentioned in all the

former voyages. Here they treated with the Indians, exchanging hatchets, and other utensils, as also coral, for large Peru sheep, which serve not only to eat, but to carry burdens. Landing at the island of S. Mary on the 29th, they had a skirmish with some few Spaniards, and got some booty of sheep. Running along the coast, they touched at Valparaiso, cape Quintero, and other places; but finding the Spaniards every-where had taken the alarm, they durst not do any thing ashore. July the seventeenth keeping along the shores of Peru, they discovered eight Spanish ships set out to engage them. That very night they engaged, and after a hot dispute, three of the Spanish ships sunk. In this action they had forty men killed, and sixty wounded. Drawing too near the shore at Callao the port of Lima, the Huntsman, one of the Dutch ships, was almost sunk with a thirty-six pounder, which made them keep further off: and holding their course to the northward, they took the little town of Peita. Therefore August the twenty-first they set out to sea again, and beat about in bad weather till the eleventh of October, when they put into the harbour of Acapulco in New-Spain, and there exchanged the prisoners they had taken for provisions. Which done, they run up into twenty degrees of north latitude, and on the twenty-sixth of November stood over for the islands de loss Ladrones. In January following, which was the year 1616, many of the men died of diseases. On the twenty-third of the same month they discovered the Ladrones, and on the ninth of February cape Espiritu Santo, the eastermost point of the Philippine islands to the northward; passing among which, they arrived at Ternate, the chief of the Moluccos, on the twenty-ninth of March, which the Dutch in the island reckoned the twenty-eighth; the fleet by following the course of the sun having lost a day, whereas they that sail round to the eastward gain a day. About these islands they continued some months, and arrived at Jacatra in the island of Java on the fifteenth of September, on the thirtieth of March 1617 at the island of S. Helena, and in July following in Zealand. Purchas, vol. I. lib. II. p. 80.

An. 1615. Isaac le Maire a merchant of Amsterdam, and William Cornelison Schouten of Horn, resolving to find out a new way to the East-Indies, besides those already known by the cape of Good Hope and strait of Magellan; at their own charges fitted out a good ship of three hundred and sixty ton and twenty guns, and a smaller of an hundred and ten ton and eight guns, in which they sailed themselves out of the Texel on the sixteenth of June in the aforesaid year, resolving to find another passage into the South-sea, to the southward of the strait of Magellan; which their design they kept secret, till they came near the line, where they discovered it to the seamen, who were well pleased with the undertaking. To pass by all other particulars, as too like those in the foregoing voyages, on the ninth of December they sailed up into Port Desire, on the coast of America, in 47 degrees and 40 minutes of south latitude: where bringing their ships ashore to clean them, as they were burning reeds under the lesser of them, she took fire, and burnt till the tide coming up, quenched the flame; yet so that nothing of her could be saved, but a little wood for fuel and the iron-work. The thirteenth of January 1616, the great ship now left alone sailed out of Port Desire, and the twenty-fifth discovered the island they called Staten-land to the eastward and the point of Tierra del Fuego to the westward, which they called Maurice-land, in almost 55 degrees of south latitude. Entering betwixt these two lands, they steered south-south-west, till coming under 55 degrees 36 minutes, they stood south-west and then south. Thus the twenty-sixth they came under 57 degrees, and the twenty-ninth discovered those they called Barnevelts islands. The third of February they were under 59 degrees 25 minutes, and the twelfth found the staits of Magellan lay east of them; and therefore being satisfied that they were in the South-sea, they called the newfound passage the strait of le Maire. March the first they came near the islands of John Fernandez, in 33 degrees 40 minutes of south latitude, and at some distance from the coast of Chile; but though they en-

deavoured it, could never come near enough to anchor, being still beaten off by the wind and current, and therefore steered away to the westward to prosecute their voyage; and in April they discovered several small islands inhabited by naked people, none of whom would come aboard, nor could they come to an anchor. These islands were in about 14 or 15 degrees of south latitude. Sailing on still westward, they saw many more islands in May, and had some trade with the natives, who attempted to surprise the ship, or at least the boat; but were soon scared away by the fire arms, when they saw they did execution, for before they thought they had only made a noise. Finding no continent, and perceiving they were at least sixteen hundred leagues to the westward of Chile or Peru, they steered to the northward, for fear they should fall south of New-Guinea, and perhaps not be able to clear themselves of the coast, the winds being always at east. Many more islands are mentioned in the journal, at some of which they touched and got refreshment; but on the first of July they anchored near the coast of New-Guinea, whence they sailed still along the shore, and amidst a multitude of islands, till they came into half a degree of south latitude, whence they saw a small island off the shore of the land of Papous, and called it William Schouten's Island, after the captain's name, and the westernmost point of it the cape of Good Hope. September the 17th they arrived at the island Ternate, and thence in October to Jacatra, or Batavia in the island of Java; where the president of the Dutch East-India company seized the ship and goods. Whereupon William Cornelison Schouten the master, Jacob le Maire the merchant, and ten seamen, put themselves aboard the Amsterdam, a Dutch ship homeward bound, and twelve others aboard the Zealand, and arrived in safety at Amsterdam in July; having discovered the new strait called le Maire, as was said before, and performed the voyage round the world in two years and eighteen days. Purchas, vol. I. lib. II. p. 88.

An. 1643. Brewer, or Brower, went another way into the South-sea, by a passage called after his own name, which is east of le Maire's strait; but whether this was a strait with land on each side, or an open sea, is not known, his diary not being made public; but most maps make it a new strait.

An. 1683. One John Cook sailed from Virginia in a ship of eight guns and fifty-two men a buccaneering; and with him one Cowley, as master. On the coast of Guinea they took a ship of forty guns by surprise, in which they sailed away to the South-sea, meeting by the way another ship commanded by one Eaton, who joined them to follow the same trade. They ran into 60 degrees of south latitude, and passed that way into the South-sea, where Cowley says they discovered several islands about the line. Thence they sailed over to the Ladrones, whence they continued their course, and anchored at Canton in China. Departing from Canton, they came to the island Borneo, where Cowley, the author of this relation, with nineteen others, got a great boat in which they went away to Java. At Batavia the author, with two others, shipped himself on board a Dutch vessel, and so returned to Europe. The relation of this voyage is shortened, because there have been so many voyages round the world before, and all of them performed in the same ship; whereas in this there was much shifting. Those that desire may see it at large in the collection of original voyages, published by captain William Hack, An. 1699.

Captain Dampier in his first book of voyages gives an account of this same last mentioned, but more at large, he being aboard with the same Cook; and therefore no more needs be said of it, though there may be many circumstances which this discourse cannot descend to: wherefore here shall end the voyages round the world, it being time to proceed to what remains.

After so long a discourse of voyages and discoveries, it may seem superfluous to treat of the advantages the public receives by navigation, and the faithful journals and accounts of travellers. The matter is natural, and no man can read the one without being sensible of the

other; and therefore a few words may suffice on this subject, to avoid cloying the judicious reader with what is so visible and plain, and to save runningout this introduction to an unreasonable length. What was cosmography before these discoveries, but an imperfect fragment of a science, scarce deserving so good a name? When all the known world was only Europe, a small part of Afric, and the lesser portion of Asia; so that of this terraqueous globe not one sixth part had ever been seen or heard of. Nay, so great was the ignorance of man in this particular, that learned persons made a doubt of its being round; others no less knowing imagined all they were not acquainted with, desart and uninhabitable. But now geography and hydrography have received some perfection by the pains of so many mariners and travellers, who to evince the rotundity of the earth and water, have sailed and travelled round it, as has been here made appear; to show there is no part uninhabitable, unless the frozen polar regions, have visited all other countries, though never so remote, which they have found well peopled, and most of them rich and delightful; and to demonstrate the antipodes, have pointed them out to us. Astronomy has received the addition of many constellations never seen before. Natural and moral history is embellished with the most beneficial increase of so many thousands of plants it had never before received, so many drugs and spices, such variety of beasts, birds, and fishes, such rarities in minerals, mountains and waters, such unaccountable diversity of climates and men, and in them of complexions, tempers, habits, manners, politics, and religions. Trade is raised to the highest pitch, each part of the world supplying the other with what it wants, and bringing home what is accounted most precious and valuable; and this not in a niggard and scanty manner, as when the Venetians served all Europe with spice and drugs from India by the way of Turky and the Red sea; or, as when gold and silver were only drawn from some poor European and African mines; but with plenty and affluence, as we now see, most nations resorting freely to the East-Indies, and the West, yearly sending

forth prodigious quantities of the most esteemed and valuable metals. To conclude, the empire of Europe is now extended to the utmost bounds of the earth, where several of its nations have conquests and colonies. These and many more are the advantages drawn from the labours of those who expose themselves to the dangers of the vast ocean, and of unknown nations; which those who sit still at home abundantly reap in every kind: and the relation of one traveller is an incentive to stir up another to imitate him, whilst the rest of mankind, in their accounts, without stirring a foot, compass the earth and seas, visit all countries, and converse with all nations.

It only remains to give some few directions for such as go on long voyages: which shall be those drawn up by Mr. Rook, a fellow of the Royal Society, and geometry professor of Gresham college, by order of the said society, and published in the Philosophical Transactions of the eighth of January 1665-6, being Numb. 8. They are as follow:

1. To observe the declination of the compass, or its variation from the meridian of the place, frequently; marking withal the latitude and longitude of the place where such observation is made, as exactly as may be, and setting down the method by which they made them.

2. To carry dipping needles with them, and observe the inclination of the needle in like manner.

3. To remark carefully the ebbings and flowings of the sea in as many places as they can, together with all the accidents ordinary and extraordinary of the tides; as, their precise time of ebbing and flowing in rivers, at promontories or capes, which way the current runs, what perpendicular distance there is between the highest tide and lowest ebb, during the spring tides and neep tides, what day of the moon's age, and what times of the year the highest and lowest tides fall out: and all other considerable accidents they can observe in the tides, chiefly near ports, and about islands, as in S. Helena's island, and the three rivers there, at the Bermudas, &c.

4. To make plots and draughts of prospect of coasts, promontories, islands and ports, marking the bearings and distances as near as they can.

5. To sound and mark the depth of coasts and ports, and such other places near the shore as they shall think fit.

6. To take notice of the nature of the ground at the bottom of the sea, in all soundings, whether it be clay, sand, rock, &c.

7. To keep a register of all changes of wind and weather at all hours, by night and by day, showing the point the wind blows from, whether strong or weak: the rains, hail, snow, and the like; the precise times of their beginnings and continuance, especially hurricanes and spouts; but above all, to take exact care to observe the trade-winds, about what degree of latitude and longitude they first begin, where and when they cease or change, or grow stronger or weaker, and how much, as near and exact as may be.

8. To observe and record all extraordinary meteors, lightnings, thunders, ignes fatui, comets, &c. marking still the places and times of their appearing, continuance, &c.

9. To carry with them good scales, and glass-vials of a pint, or so, with very narrow mouths, which are to be filled with sea-water in different degrees of latitude, as often as they please, and the weight of the vial full of water taken exactly at every time, and recorded, marking withal the degree of latitude, and the day of the month; and that as well of water near the top, as at a greater depth.

This may suffice for sea voyages; but in regard it may be expected something should be said for those who travel by land, a few instructions have been collected from experienced travellers, who are best able to direct such as design to follow them into remote countries. We will therefore begin with Monsieur de Bourges, who with the bishop of Berytus made a journey through Turky, Persia and India, as far as Cochinchina. He advises such as intend for those parts so to order their

affairs, that they may come into Turky in October. to avoid the excessive heats of those countries for four or five months before that time. If our traveller will hold on his journey to Persia, he must go with the caravan from Aleppo to Babylon, or Bagdat, which will take him up a month; thence he embarks upon the river Euphrates, which carries him down to Bassora. whence he proceeds by sea to Bander, where he may find convenience by land to Ispahan, the capital of Persia; from Ispahan the difficulties of travelling by land to India are almost invincible, and therefore the proper way is to repair to the port of Gomrom, whence there is a constant and safe passage to Suratte, or any other part of India. All persons that travel in Turky must change their habit into that of the country, and must lay aside the hat and wear a turbant, and the meaner the habit the safer they will be from extortions and robberies; they must endeavour to have a Turkish interpreter on the road with them, who may own whatever goods they carry, and protect them against any affronts that may be offered them; but above all, they must endeavour to be well recommended to the captain of the caravan, which will be their greatest safeguard. This recommendation must be from some of the christian consuls, but generally the best from the French, who are much regarded in those parts. Such as will not carry all their stock in ready money, must be careful to carry those commodities that will turn to best account, amongst which the brightest yellow amber, and the largest red coral, are in great esteem. These though not wrought, are profitable; and to avoid the duties paid at several places, may be carried in a bag, or portmanteau on the horse the traveller rides, for those are not searched. The best money they can carry are Spanish pieces of eight, provided they be full weight, and not of Peru, which are not so fine silver as the others. By this money they will have seven or eight per cent. profit in some parts, and ten per cent. in others, and the same in French crowns. As for gold, the greatest profit is made of the Venetian and Hungarian, and it is very considerable. There is so great an

advantage to be made by those who rightly understand the best coins and their value, that those who are well instructed in it can travel for a very inconsiderable expence. It is absolutely necessary to carry good arms to defend themselves upon all occasions, but more particularly to fight the Arabs, and other rovers. Above all, it is requisite in Turky that travellers be armed with patience to bear many affronts the infidels will put upon them, and with prudence and moderation to prevent, as much as possibly may be, any such insolencies. They will do well never to go without provisions, because the caravans never stop to bait, and very often at night have no other inn but the open fields, where they lie in tents, and eat what they carry. When they travel with the caravan, they must take care never to be far from it, for fear of being devoured by wild beasts, or by the wilder Arabs. This in Turky, for in Persia it is quite otherwise; here we may travel in the European habit, and wear hats, which are better against the heat than turbants; the roads are safe, and the Persians courteous to strangers, especially the better sort. However the traveller must watch the servants, and meaner sort of people of the country, who else will impose on him in matter of payments, of buying and selling; and therefore his best way is, where there are missioners to repair to them, who will assist and instruct him. He must carry no gold into Persia, because it bears a low price, and he will be a great loser by it: the best way is to change his money on the Turkish frontiers into Persian coin, or else to carry a quantity of good amber and coral, which will yield profit, as will also good watches. In India Spanish gold yields some profit, though small, which the traveller may take notice of, in case he has no goods to carry that may yield a greater profit: this at Suratte; but further in India, and particularly at Galconda, gold yields more, and especially old gold: however, at Siam again there is great loss in Spanish gold, and all other sorts, for there it is lower than in any other part of the East-Indies nearer to us, and still decreases beyond it, as in Cochinchina, Tonquin and China. In India the way

of travelling by land is commonly in carts drawn by oxen, and in some parts on elephants, but in China the most common carriage is in palankenes, or chairs on mens shoulders, who travel swift and cheap.

These particulars may serve in relation to the eastern nations; and as for Europe, the methods of travelling are too well known to require any particular instructions, therefore it only remains to set down some general rules which may concern all travellers to observe. They are in the first place to consider, that they do not go into other countries to pass through them, and divert themselves with the present sight of such curiosities as they meet with, nor to learn the vices of those people, for which they need not take the pains of going abroad, nor to observe their faults that they may have matter to rail when they come home. If they will make an advantage of their trouble and cost, they must not pass through a country as if they carried an express, but make a reasonable stay at all places where there are antiquities, or any rarities to be observed; and not think that because others have writ on that subject, there is no more to be said; for upon comparing their observations with other mens they will often find a very considerable difference. Let them therefore always have a table-book at hand to set down every thing worth remembering, and then at night more methodically transcribe the notes they have taken in the day. The principal heads by which to regulate their observations are these, the climate, government, power, places of strength, cities of note, religion, language, coins, trade, manufactures, wealth, bishoprics, universities, antiquities, libraries, collections of rarities, arts and artists, public structures, roads, bridges, woods, mountains, customs, habits, laws, privileges, strange adventures, surprising accidents, rarities, both natural and artificial, the soil, plants, animals, and whatsoever may be curious, diverting or profitable. It is not amiss, if it may be, to view all rarities in the company of other strangers, because many together are apt to remark more than one alone can do. Every traveller ought to carry about him several sorts of measures, to

take the dimensions of such things as require it; a watch by which, and the pace he travels, he may give some guess at the distances of places, or rather at the length of the computed leagues, or miles; a prospective-glass, or rather a great one and a less, to take views of objects at greater and less distances; a small sea compass or needle, to observe the situation of places, and a parcel of the best maps to make curious remarks of their exactness, and note down where they are faulty. In fine, a traveller must endeavour to see the courts of princes, to keep the best company, and to converse with the most celebrated men in all arts and sciences. Thus much for travellers; but that every man may have his due, as we owned the instructions for the eastern countries to be those given by Monsieur de Bourges, so we must here confess, that most of these general rules may be found in Monsieur Misson's travels. Having given an account of the advancement of navigation, and all discoveries made by help of it, of the countries so discovered, of the advantages the public receives by the relations of travellers, and some directions for them; it now only remains to subjoin a catalogue and character of books of travels, for the information of such as take delight in this sort of pleasant and profitable reading.

A

CATALOGUE

AND

CHARACTER

OF MOST

BOOKS OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Latin.

DESCRIPTIO Africæ, 8°.
Descriptiones Asiæ.
De Lege Mahumetica, and
De Rebus Mahumeticis.

These four by John Leo, a Spaniard by birth, and a mahometan by education, but afterwards converted, who before his conversion travelled through the greatest part of Afric, and has given the best light into it of any writer, as Johannes Bodinus affirms. He first writ them in the Arabic for his own nation, but afterwards translated them himself into Italian, and John Florianus into Latin. He gives an excellent account of the religion, laws, customs and manners of the people of Afric, but is too brief in martial affairs and the lives of the African princes.

Epistolæ viginti sex de rebus Japonicis, or twenty-six letters concerning the affairs of Japan, to be seen in several collections of this sort of letters.

Historica relatio de legatione regis Sinensium ad regem Japonum: or an account of the embassy sent by the emperor of China to Tai-

cosoma king of Japan, An. 1596. and of the strange prodigies that happened before the embassy, Rome 1599. 8°.

Historica relatio de rebus per Japoniam, An. 1596. *à patribus societatis durante persecutione gestis :* or an account of the proceedings of the jesuits in Japan, in the year 1596, during the persecution. These three by F. Lewis Froes, a jesuit who lived forty-nine years in the east, and thirty-six of them in the island of Japan as a missioner. It is believed these relations were writ in Portuguese by the author, and afterwards translated into Latin.

De Abassinorum rebus, deque Æthiopiæ patriarchis, Lions, 1615. 8°. The author was F. Nicholas Godinho, a Portuguese jesuit, who divides his work into three books, and in it refutes the fabulous history writ by F. Urreta.

Itinerarium ab oppido Complutensi Toletanæ provinciæ usque ad urbem Romanam. A journal of a journey from the university of Alcala in Spain to Rome, by Dr. James Lopez de Zuniga, a pious and learned man.

Literæ annuæ. The annual or yearly letters out of Ethiopia, China, India, and other parts, give much light into the affairs of those countries, and are to be found in several volumes, and scattered in collections of travels; of all which it will be needless to give any account in this place.

Athanasii Kircheri è societate Jesu China, monumentis qua sacris qua profanis, illustrata, fol. This is a complete history of China, and held in great reputation for some years, but of late its reputation has declined, since so many books of that empire have appeared writ by missioners, who have resided there many years, and discovered great mistakes in Kircher.

Jobi Ludolfi historia Æthiopica, fol. This history of Æthiopia is written by a German, who having gathered most of it from the writings of the jesuits, yet makes it his business to contradict them, from the information given him by an Ethiopian he was acquainted with in Germany, for he was never near Ethiopia himself; and his whole book has more of controversy, and of the Ethiopian language, than of history.

Relatio eorum que circa S. Cæs. Majest. ad magnum Moscorum Czarum ablegatos anno æræ christianæ 1675. *gesta sunt, strictim recensita per Adolphum Lyseck, dictæ legationis secretarium,* 8°. *Saltzburg* 1676. In this account of an embassy to the czar of Muscovy, we have an account of his travels through Silesia, Pomerania, Prussia, Lithuania, and Muscovy, to the court of Moscow, and of all things of note the author saw or heard of, being an ingenious person, and having a greater privilege than common travellers, as secretary to the embassy. Giorn. de Letter.

Johannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Lapponiæ, id est regionis Laponum & gentis nova & verissima descriptio, 4°. *Liptiæ* 1674.

An account of Lapland, which though it be not by way of travels, well deserves a place here, because we shall scarce find travellers that will go into that frozen region to bring us a just relation of it. This however is authentic, as gathered from the Swedish writers, who are best acquainted with those parts.

Theodori & Johannis de Brye India orientalis & occidentalis, 6 vols. fol. *Frankfort* 624. This collection being three volumes of the East and three of the West-Indies, begins with a particular account of the kingdom of Congo in Afric, as lying in the way to, and having accordingly been discovered before India; this account translated from the Italian writ by Philip Pigafetta. Next follows five voyages of Samuel Bruno of Basil, the three first to Congo, Ethiopia, and other parts round the coast of Afric; the fourth to several parts in the Straits, and the fifth to Portugal and Spain, &c. translated into Latin from the author's original in high Dutch. The next are Linschoten's Indian voyages, translated from the Dutch, and containing a very full account of all things remarkable in those parts. Then three Dutch voyages to the north-east passage, and after them a great number of cuts and maps, besides very many dispersed throughout the book, and a considerable number at the beginning. These are the contents of the first volume. The second begins with a large account of Bantam, Banda, Ternate, and other parts of India, being a voyage of eight Dutch ships into those parts in the year 1598, translated out of high Dutch. After that the description of Guinea, out of high Dutch. Spilberg's voyage, An. 1601. Gaspar Balbi's voyage, An. 1579. In the third volume Jacob Neck's voyage, An. 1603. Jo. Hermon de Bree, An. 1602. Corn. Nicolas, Cornelius Ven, and Stephen de Hagen, all to India. Verhuff's voyage to India, An. 1607. Dialogues in Latin and the Malayc language. Hudson's voyage to the north-east passage. An account of Terra Australis incognita, by Capt. Peter Ferdinand de Quir: and the description of Siberia, Samoieda, and Tingoesia. Two voyages of Americus Vesputius to the East-Indies. A very strange relation of an Englishman, who being shipwrecked on the coast of Cambaia, travelled through many of those eastern countries; and the description of the northern country of Spitzbergen: the whole illustrated with a vast number of maps and other cuts. Thus far the three volumes of the East-Indies. The three of the West are composed of these parts. Vol. I. an ample account of Virginia. The unfortunate expedition of the French to Florida, An. 1565. Laudonniere's voyage thither, An. 1574. Two voyages of John Stadius to Brazil and the river of Plate, where he lived among the Indians. Leri's account of Brazil. Villagano's voyage to South America. Benzo's history of the discovery of America. Vol. II. The second and third parts of Benzo's history of the West-Indies. Faber's description of several parts of America, where he travelled. Voyages of Sir

F. Drake, Cavendish and Raleigh. Dutch expedition to the Canaries. General account of America. Sebald de Weert's voyage through the straits of Magellan. Noort round the world. Vol. III. Two voyages of Americus Vesputius. Hamor's account of the state of Virginia. Captain Smith's description of New-England. Schouten and Le Maire's discovery of a new passage into the South-sea, called Strait le Maire. Spilbergen's voyage through the straits of Magellan. Herrera's description of the West-Indies. These are the contents of the six volumes, the whole Illustrated and adorned with such a vast number of maps and cuts, representing all such things as require it, that the like is not in any other collection, nor is it likely that any will be at so excessive an expence. To be short, this collection is a small library, including all the voyages and discoveries of any note till the time it was published, when most of the remote parts began to be well known, and therefore is of excellent use and great value.

Italian.

Delle navigationi & viaggi, raccolse da M. Gio Battista Ramusio, Venice, 3 vols. fol. 1613. Ramusio's collection of voyages and travels, the most perfect work of that nature extant in any language whatsoever: containing all the discoveries to the east, west, north, and south; with full descriptions of all the countries discovered; judiciously compiled, and free from that great mass of useless matter, which swells our English Hackluyt and Purchas; much more complete and full than the Latin de Brye, and in fine, the noblest work of this nature. The contents of it as briefly as may be set down, are as follow. In the first volume, John Leo's description of Afric. Alvise de ca da Mosto's voyage, and that of Peter de Santra to the coast of Afric. Hanno the Carthaginian's navigation on the coast of Afric. Voyage from Lisbon to the island of S. Thomas. Gama's voyage to Calicut. Peter Alvarez to India. Two voyages of Americus Vesputius. Voyages to India by Tho. Lopez and Gio. da Empoli. Barthema's travels to, and account of India. Corsali to India. Alvarez to Ethiopia. Discourse of the overflowing of the Nile. Nearchus admiral to Alexander the great, his navigation. Voyage down the Red-sea to Diu. Barbosa of the East-Indies. Voyages of Conti, and S. Stephano. First voyage round the world performed by the Spaniards. Gaeton of the discovery of the Molucco Islands. Account of Japan. Extracts of Barros's History of India. The second volume; Marcus Paulus Venetus's travels. Hayton the Armenian of the great chams or emperors of Tartary. Angiolello of the wars betwixt Ussuncassan king of Persia, and Mahomet emperor of the Turks; of Ismael Sophy and the sultan of Babylon, and of Selim the

Turk's subduing the mamalucks. Barbaro's travels to Tartary and Persia. Contarino's embassy from the republic of Venice to Ussuncassan king of Persia. Campense of Muscovy. Jovius of Muscovy. Arianus of the Euxine, or Black-sea. Geor. Interiano of the Circassians. Quini's shipwreck and adventures in 60 degrees of north latitude. The same by Christ. Fioravante and J. de Michele, who were with him. Baron Herberstain of Muscovy and Russia. Zeno's voyage to Persia. Nich. and Ant. Zeni's discovery of Frizeland, Iceland, and to the north pole. Two voyages to Tartary by dominicans sent by pope Innocent IV. Odoricus's two voyages into the east. Cabot's voyage into the north-west. Guagnino's description of Poland, Muscovy, and part of Tartary. The same by Micheorus. In the third volume; an abridgment of Peter Martyr of Angleria, his decads of the discovery of the West-Indies. An abridgment of Oviedo's history of the West-Indies. Cortes's account of his discovery and conquests of Mexico. Alvarado of his conquest and discovery of other provinces above Mexico. Godoy of several discoveries and conquests in New-Spain. Account of Mexico and New-Spain, by a gentleman belonging to Cortes. Alvar Nunez of the success of the fleet set out by Pamphilo de Narvaez, and his strange adventures for ten years. Nunno de Guzman of several cities and provinces of New-Spain. Francis de Ulloa's voyage to California. Vasquez Coronado and Marco de Nizza of the provinces north of New-Spain. Alarcon's voyage by sea to discover the seven cities north of Mexico. Discovery and conquest of Peru, writ by a Spanish captain. Xeres's conquest of Peru. The same by Pizarro's secretary. Oviedo's account of a voyage up the great river of Maranon. Verazzano's discovery of North America. Jaques Cartier's first and second voyages to Canada or New-France. Federici's voyage to India, with a large account of the spice, drugs, jewels, and pearls in those parts. Three voyages of the Dutch to discover the north-east passage to China and Japan, in which they found the straits of Weygats and Nova Zembla, and the coast of Geenland running to 80 degrees of north latitude. These, with many learned discourses and observations of the author's, are the contents of the three volumes.

Prima speditione all' Indie orientali del P. F. Gioseppe di Santa Maria, 4°. *Roma* 1668. This author was sent by pope Alexander VII. to the Malabar christians of S. Thomas, being himself a barefoot carmelite, and has in this left a most excellent piece of curiosity. He gives a very particular account of the places and people he saw, of birds, beasts, and other animals, and of the philosophy of the brachmans, their secrets, and of all the other Malabars, as also of the infinite number of their gods. Hence he proceeds further, to treat of the vast empire of the mogul, of the pearl fishery, of the Sabeans about Bassora, who pretend they received their religion from S. John Baptist; and

concludes with the errors of the jacobites, nestorians, Greeks, Armenians, and other eastern sects.

Historia delle Guerre Civili di Polonia, progressi dell' arme-Mocovite contro a Polacchi, relationi della Moscovia e Suetia, e loro governi, di D. Alberto Vinina Belluneso, 4°. *Venetia* 1672. Though the wars of Poland may not seem relating to travels, this work is inserted, as giving a good account of the Poles, Tartars, and Cossacks, their government, manners, &c. then follows that of Muscovy and Sweden, where the author travelled, and made his excellent observations.

Il viaggio all' Indie orientali del P. F. Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina da Siena, fol. *Roma* 1673. A voyage to the East-Indies, performed by F. Vincent Maria of S. Catherine of Siena, procurator general of the barefoot carmelites, and sent to India by the way of Turkey and Persia by the pope, together with F. Joseph of S. Mary, who writ also an account of his travels, which is mentioned above. This author divides his work into five books: in the first and last is a journal of all things remarkable in his travels thither and back again. The second treats of the affairs of the Malabar christians. The third and fourth of all the nations of India, their manners, customs, wealth, government, religion, plants, animals, &c. The whole is so faithful, exact, and learned an account of all things remarkable in those parts, that scarce any other can equal it.

Istorica descrittione de tre regni Congo, Matamba, & Angola, & delle missione apostoliche essercitaevi de religiosi Capuccini, compilata dal P. Gio. Antonio Cavazzi, & nel presente stile ridotta dal P. Fortunato Alamandini, fol. *Bologna*, 1687. An historical description of the kingdoms of Congo, Matamba and Angola; the authors were capuchin missioners, who compiled it by order of the congregation de propaganda fide, and have given a most accurate description of those countries, and all things of note in them; as also of the missions thither, which was the principal end of their painful travels.

Relatione della citta d' Attene, colle provincie dell' Attica, Focia, Beotia, e Negroponte, ne tempi che furono queste passegiate da Cornelio Magni l'anno 1674. 4°. *Parma* 1688. An account of Athens, and the provinces of Attica, Focia, Beotia, and Negropont, which the author viewed, and took a particular account of, and for further satisfaction conferred with Mr. Spon, who had travelled the same parts, for his approbation of what he delivers. He treats very briefly of Syria, Chaldea, and Mesopotamia, and principally inlarges himself upon the city of Athens, the condition whereof he describes more fully than any other has done.

Relatione e viaggio della Moscovia del signor cavaliere De Ercole Zani, Bologns, 12°. *Bologna* 1690. This voyage to Muscovy is writ by a most judicious person, and who had spent a great part of his life in travelling, and deserves to be highly valued as

coming from such a hand; and the more, because we have but very imperfect accounts of that country,

Viaggio del monte Libano del R. R. Jeronimo Dandina, 12°. He performed this voyage to mount Libanus by order of pope Clement VIII. to inquire into the faith of the maronite christians; he describes the country, gives an account of the peoples doctrines, their manner of living, their books, learning, bishops, priests, and religious men. A work very curious and useful. It is translated into French, and the translator has added many useful remarks of his own.

Relazione del viaggio fatto a Constantinopoli, &c. da Gio. Benaglia, 12°. *Bologna* 1664. This is an account of count Caprara's embassy to the great Turk, the author being his secretary, and has many good remarks of that court, and of the Turkish army, taken by him upon the spot, and therefore well worth the observation of the curious. Biblioth. Univ. vol. XV. p. 75.

French.

Relations de divers voyages curieux, par M. Melchisedec Thevenot. There is no need to give a character of this author, any further than that he has received the general approbation of the learned, for compiling a collection of curious travels in two volumes in folio. The first contains Greaves's description of the pyramids of Egypt, and Buratini's account of the mummies. An account of the Cossacks, another of the Tartars, another of Mingrelia, and another of Georgia. Jenkinson's voyage to Cathay. An extract of the Dutch embassy to the Tartar. A relation of the conquest of the island Formosa by the Chineses; another of the court of the mogol. Sir Thomas Roe's and Terry's voyage to the mogol. A Greek description of the East-Indies. The Arabic geography of Abulfeda. The antiquities of Persepolis. The beginning of a book of the Chaldeans of Bassora. Relations of the kingdoms of Golconda, Tanassari, and Aracan, of the gulph of Bengala, and of Siam. Bontekoue's voyages to India. The discovery of Terra Australis. The sailing course to India. Instructions upon the trade of India and Japan. Beaulieu's voyage to the West-Indies. Accounts of the Philippine islands, of Japan, of the discovery of the land of Yedso. A description of the plants and flowers of China. Ancient monuments of christian religion in China. The second volume; the Dutch embassy to China; the Chinese atlas. The state of India. The portraiture of the Indians. Acarete's voyage on the river Plate, and thence to Peru and Chile. Journey by land to China. The second book of Confucius the Chinese philosopher. The history of Ethiopia, and of some countries about it. Travels to the province of Zaide in Egypt. The history of Mexico in figures explained. Tasman's voyage to Terra Au-

stralia. Instructions for the navigation from Holland to Batavia. Two embassies to the emperor of Cathay. A chronological synopsis of the Chinese monarchy. Barros's Asia, or conquest of India. An account of the christians of S. John. A voyage to Tercera. The elements of the Tartar language. A fragment concerning the isles of Solomon; another of the history of some eastern princes.

Thevenot has also composed one volume in 8°. in which is an embassy from the czar of Moscovy to China by land. The discovery of some countries in North America, and of the great river Mississippi. A discourse of Navigation. The natural histories of the ephemera, or fly that lives but a day, and the cancellus.

Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier en Turque, en Perse, & aux Indes. These travels are printed in several sorts of volumes in French, according to the several editions, and have been translated into English. He is a faithful writer, and deserves full credit in what he delivers upon his own sight and knowledge; but in some relations taken from others, he was imposed upon, being a person of integrity, and not suspecting others would give a false information. His accounts are very particular and curious, and the extent he travelled very great, having taken several ways in his six journies. But above all, he gives the best description of the diamond mines, and rivers where they are found, and manners of finding them; having been upon the spot, as being a great dealer in those precious stones.

Receuil de plusieurs relations & traites singuliers & curieux de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, divise en cinque parties, 4°. This is an addition to his voyages, in which he treats of the Dutch practices to exclude all christians from Japan, negotiations of French deputies in Persia and India, remarks on the trade of India, an account of the kingdom of Tunquin, and the history of the proceedings of the Dutch in Asia.

Relation nouvelle de la Caroline, par un gentilhomme François, arrive depuis deux mois de ce nouveau pais, ou il parle de la route qu'il faut tenir pour y aller le plus surement, & de l'etat ou il a trouve cette nouvelle contrée. A la Haye 1686. 12°. This is a modern account of Florida, its estate in the year 1684, and the best way to it. The book has a good reputation; and as Florida is one of those American countries we have not the best account of, this is a considerable light into it.

Relation du voyage de monsieur l'evesque de Beryte par la Turque, la Perse, les Indes jusques au Royaume de Siam, & autres lieux, escript par monsieur de Bourges, Prestre, 8°. An account of the bishop of Berytus's journey by land through Turkey, Persia, and India, into China, by a priest that went with him; very curious in the description of those countries and manners of the

people, with instructions for travellers to those parts. Journ. des Scav. vol. I. p. 591.

L'embassade de D. Garcia de Silva Figuerra. This is a translation out of Spanish, and the account of the book is among the Spanish under the title Embaxada, &c. to which the reader may turn; only he is advertised that he may see more concerning this translation in Journ. des Scav. vol. I. p. 205.

Les voyages de monsieur de Monconys. Monsieur Monconys's travels in three volumes 4°. The first through Portugal, Italy, Egypt, Syria, and Constantinople. The second into England, the Low-Countries, Germany, and Italy. The third into Spain. Besides the general account of those countries and particular places, they contain abundance of rare and extraordinary observations and secrets in physic and chemistry, and mathematical inventions. But the author dying before the work was fitted for the press, it is in some measure imperfect, and has many particulars of no use to any but himself; which there is no doubt he would have omitted, had he lived. Journ. des Scav. vol. I. p. 339, and 424.

Description des costes de l'Amerique septentrional, avec l'histoire de ce pays, par monsieur Denys, 2 vols. 12°. The first volume is a description of the northern coasts of America and the countries adjacent, with a map of them, rendered extraordinary diverting by several stories related. The second is the natural history, very curious and learned. Journ. des Scav. vol. III. p. 141.

Relation ou journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes orientales, contenant les affairs du pais, & les establissements de plusieurs nations, &c. 12°. This author set out on his voyage in the year 1671. He is worth reading for several observations not easily to be found in others; but most for his account of the settlements of European nations, yet all short.

Nouvelle relation en forme de journal d'un voyage fait en Egypt, par le P. Vansleb, en 1672 *&* 1673, 12°. The author to what he saw himself, for the better information of his reader, adds all that is to be found remarkable in other late travellers relating to Egypt.

Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece, & du Levant, aux années 1675 *&* 1676, *par Jacob Spon,* 12°. 3 vols. This work, besides the general observations of travellers, is singular for its curiosity in the search of antiquities. Journ. des Scav. vol. VI. p. 128, and 185.

Voyage de François Pirard de la Val aux Indes orientales, Maldives, Moluques, & au Brasil, &c. 4°. This is one of the exactest pieces of travels, and the most diverting hitherto made public. M. Pirard the traveller furnished the materials, which were digested and methodised by several very able men in France. Many who have travelled after him mention much of what he does, and

yet he has some curiosities which others have not touched upon. Journ. des Scav. vol. VII. p. 15.

Ambassade de la compagnie des Indes orientales des Provinces unies vers les empereurs du Japon, An. 1641, fol. It is a perfect account of all that happened to the said embassadors, and full description of the country, towns, cities, &c. with variety of cuts. Journ. des Scav. vol. VIII. p. 130. and Biblioth. Univers. vol. IV. p. 499.

Nouvelle relation d'un voyage de Constantinople, presentée au roi par le Sieur Grelot, An. 1680, in 4°. A curious account not only of that city, but of all places to it, with cuts drawn by the author upon the spot. Journ. des Scav. vol. VIII. p. 296.

Relations des missions et des voyages des eveques vicaries apostoliques, & de lieurs ecclesiastiques en années 1676 *&* 1677, *in* 8°. This is a relation of what those preachers observed in their travels in Asia.

Les voyages de Jean Struys en Moscovie, &c. in 4°. In these travels through Muscovy, Tartary, Persia, India, the isle of Madagascar, and other places, being a vast extent of ground, and to be travelled many several ways, there are abundance of notable observations, not to be found in other books of this sort; the whole very instructive and diverting. Journ. des Scav. vol. IX. p. 260.

Relation nouvelle particulier du voyage des peres de la mercy aux royaumes de Fez & de Moroc, en l'an 1681, 12°. Besides what these fathers did, as the peculiar business of their religious profession, this book contains many curiosities relating to the king of Morocco and the customs of the country. Journ. des Scav. vol. X. p. 354.

Relation de la riviere des Amazons traduit par M. Gomberville, sur l'original Espagnol du P. d'Acufia jesuite. This is a relation of the said father's voyage down this vast river; to which the translator has added a dissertation, the principal matters treated of therein being the towns of Manoa, Dorado, and the lake of Parima. Journ. des Scav. vol. XI. p. 107.

Relation du voyages de Venise à Constantinople de Jaques Gassot, 12°. This author, though he writ above a hundred years ago, is valuable for many curious observations not to be found in later travellers. Journ. des Scav. vol. XII. p. 139.

Relation du voyage des Indes orientales, par M. Dellon, two volumes 12°. The author affirms, he has inserted nothing but what he saw; much of what he relates has been delivered by other authors: but he is very particular, and out-does them all in his account of the coast of Malabar; and concludes with a treatise of diseases in those parts, and their cures. Journ. des Scav. vol. XIII. p. 121.

Histoire de la conqueste de la Floride par les Espagnols, traduit de Portugais, 12°. This is a very exact account of that country,

and all that happened in the conquest of it, writ by a Portuguese gentleman, who served in that war, and was an eye-witness of all that passed. Journ. des Scav. vol. XIII. p. 394.

Voyages de l'empereur de la Chine dans la Tartarie, ausquels on a joint une nouvelle decouverte au Mexique, 12°. It treats of two journies the emperor of China made into the eastern and the western Tartary. The other part shows the settlement made by the Spaniards in the island of California, An. 1683. Journ. des Scav. vol. XIII. p. 446.

Relation de l'embassade de Mr. le chevalier de Chamont à la cour du roi de Siam, 12°. He writes not like a common traveller, but like an embassador, and is therefore more political, and treats of higher matters than others, though often descending to things of less moment worth the general observation, as the description of the country, customs and manners of the inhabitants, and other things of that nature. Journ. des Scav. vol. XIV. p. 396. and Biblioth. Univers. vol. III. p. 521.

Journal du voyage du Chevalier Chardin en Perse, & aux Indes orientales par la mer Noire, & par la Colchide, fol. Though so many travellers as have visited those parts before him, seem to have left him nothing new to write of, yet in him are found abundance of rarities not to be seen in any other, and remarks no where else to be found, and particularly the exposition of several passages in scripture, which the author makes out by customs preserved in the east from the time of Moses till our day. Journ. des Scavans, vol. XIV. p. 535. and Biblioth. Univers. vol. III. p. 520.

Ambassades de la compagnie Hollandoise d'orient vers l'empereur du Japan, 2 vols. 12°. It is an abridgment of a volume in folio, printed in the year 1680, and is divided into three parts: the first is the description of Japan; the second an account of the embassy there; and the third of five other embassies. To which is added a relation of the civil wars in Japan. Journ. des Scav. vol. XV. p. 139.

Journal du voyage de Siam, fait par monsieur l'abbé de Choisi, 4°. It is composed of several letters writ by this gentleman, who was sent by the king of France with the character of embassador in case the king of Siam had embraced christianity, as was hoped; and does not only inform as to all particulars of that great kingdom, but of many others about it as far as Tonquin and Cochinchina, without neglecting in the way to treat very accurately of the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope. Journ. des Scav. vol. XV. p. 301.

Histoire des Indes orientales, 4°. It is divided into two parts. The first treats of the voyage to, and observations at Cape Verde, of the Isle of Madagascar, and several passages which happened in Argier and Constantinople. The second of two voyages into

India. Journ. des Scav. vol. XV. p. 436. and Hist. des ouvrages des Scavans, vol. II. p. 307.

Histoire naturelle & politique du royaume de Siam, 4°. It is divided into four parts, which treat, 1. Of the situation and nature of the country. 2. The laws and customs of the people. 3. Their religion: and, 4. Of the king and court. Monsieur Gervaise the author of it resided there four years, understood the language perfectly, read their books, and conversed with the most intelligent persons, and therefore got good information of what he writes, having been careful to deliver as little as he could of what others had before made public. Journ. des Scav. vol. XV. p. 612.

Relation nouvelle & exact d'un voyage de la Terre Sainte, 12°. Contains an exact description of all the places where the principal passages of our Saviour's passion happened, and many other things well worth observing, being very short, and yet full enough. Journ. des Scav. vol. XVI. p. 204. and Hist. des ouvrages des Scavans, vol. III. p. 417.

Voyage en Moscovie d'un ambassadeur de l'empereur Leopold, 12°. *An.* 1661. He describes the great rivers, the chief towns on the banks of them, the manners, government, and religion of the people. Journ. des Scav. vol. XVI. p. 232.

Description historique du royaume de Macaçar, 12°. It is divided into three books, the first the description of the country, the second the manners and government of the people and kingdom, the third the religion. Journ. des Scav. vol. XVI. p. 532. and Hist. des ouvrages des Scavans, vol. V. p. 324.

Relation de la Nigritie, 12°. It contains an exact description of the kingdoms of the blacks, their government, religion, manners, rarities of the country, with the discovery of the river Senega, and a map of it. By four franciscan friars, who went thither upon the mission in the year 1689, from France. Journ. des Scav. vol. XVII. p. 311.

Voyage du pere Tachard & des jesuites envoyez par la roi au royaume de Siam, An. 1685, 4°. This is an historical, physical, geographical, and astronomical account, being taken by learned men, and great mathematicians. The first book is mostly astronomical observations in the voyage to the Cape of Good Hope; the second a relation of the table-mountain, and many other things about the aforesaid Cape; the third passages at Batavia and Macassar; the fourth of affairs of Siam and others: the fifth continues the same matter: the sixth much natural history, concluding with the king of Siam's letters to the pope, king of France, and F. le Chaise; the seventh the father's return home; and the eighth from thence to Rome. Journ. des Scav. vol. XVII. p. 415. and Biblioth. Univers. vol. IV. p. 472.

Second Voyage du pere Tachard & des jesuites envoyez par le roi au royaume de Siam, 1689, 8°. This father returned from his first

voyage to carry more missioners; and this second voyage, which he divides into eight books, like the other contains many historical, physical, geographical, and astronomical remarks, besides abundance of other observations and curiosities omitted in the first voyage. Biblioth. Univers. vol. XIV. p. 445.

Histoire de l'eglise du Japan, par Mr. l'abbé de T. 2 vols. 4°. It was writ by F. Solier, a jesuit, and published by l'abbé, who refined the language. This, though an ecclesiastical history, contains all the diverting particulars to be found in books of travels, as being composed by those fathers, who were all travellers in that country. It is an excellent work, in twenty books. Journ. des Scav. vol. XVII. p. 486.

Journal du voyage fait à la mer du Sud, avec les flibustiers de l'Amerique, en 1684, *& années suivantes, par le sieur Ravenau de Lussand*, 12°. It is a buccaneering expedition, containing very much of robbery, with an account of the isthmus of America and countries about it, where the author with his gang travelled much by land. Journ. des Scav. vol. XVII. p. 721.

Histoire de monsieur Constance premier ministre du roi de Siam, & de la derniere revolution de cet estat. Par le P. d'Orleans, 12°. It is a relation of that gentleman's wonderful adventures in Siam, where he attained to be first minister to that great monarch in the year 1685, and those that followed, with the revolution of that kingdom, and the persecution that ensued against the christians. Journ. des. Scav. vol. XVIII. p. 373.

Du royaume de Siam. Par Mr. de la Loubere, envoye extraordinaire du roi apres du roi de Siam, en 1687 *&* 1688, 2 vols. 12°. In this there are many particulars not to be found in other relations. The first volume divided into three parts; the first geographical, the second of customs in general, and the third of manners in particular. The second volume begins with strange fables and superstitions, proceeds to the practices of the religious men, and many other particulars extraordinary, curious, and remarkable. Journ. des Scav. vol. XIX. p. 256 and 269.

Relation du Voyage d'Espagne, 3 vols. 12°. Treats of the country in general, of the situation of its towns, of public and private structures, of palaces and churches, with their ornaments, &c. of the king's power, government, councils, employments, benefices, and their revenues; of the orders of knighthood, and the inquisition; with many pleasant adventures, in which there is much of the romantic. Journ. des Scav. vol. XIX. p. 364. It is writ by the countess d'Aunoi, and has much of the woman.

Nouvelle relation de la Gaspesie. Par le P. Chretien le Clercq. 12°. This is a complete account of the manners and religion of the savages called Gaspesians, carrying crosses, and worshipping the sun; and other nations of Canada in North America. It was

taken in twelve years, the author residing there as missioner, beginning An. 1675. Journ. des Scav. vol. XIX. p. 395. and Biblioth. Univers. vol. XXIII. p. 86.

Premier establissement de la foi dans la Nouvelle France. Par le P. le Clercq, missionaire, 2 vols. 12°. It is the complete history of Canada, or New-France, from the first discovery of it till this time, containing the discoveries, settling of colonies, conquests, and all other passages from those northern parts down to the gulph of Mexico, with the battles of the English and Iroquois, An. 1690. Journ. des Scav. vol. XX. p. 131.

Voyages en divers estats d'Europe & d'Asie, pour decouvrir un nouveau chemin à la Chine, 4°. These travels were writ and performed by F. Avril, a jesuit, who spent five years in traversing Turkey, Persia, Muscovy, Poland, Prussia, Moldavia, and Tartary, and embarked in several seas to find out this way to China, to avoid the tedious voyage by the Cape of Good Hope and India. The relation is physical, geographical, hydrographical, and historical. Journ. des Scav. vol. XX. p. 187.

Les aventures de Jaques Sadeur dans la decouverte, & le voyage de la Terre Australe, 12°. This is a very extraordinary account of Terra Australis incognita, infinitely exceeding all that has been writ of it by others; the author being cast upon that country after the loss of the ship he was in, and living thirty years among those savages. He therefore treats of the manners of the people, their religion, employments, studies, wars, of the birds and beasts, and other rarities. Journ. des Scav. vol. XX. p. 256.

Voyages historiques de l'Europe, 8 vols. 12°. The first of these volumes treats only of France; the second of Spain and Portugal; the third of Italy; the fourth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; the fifth of the seven United Provinces; the sixth of the empire; the seventh of Muscovy: the eighth of Poland, Lithuania, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Iceland. These volumes are travels into the most considerable parts of Europe, and contain abundance of singularities not observed by other travellers and writers. Journ. des Scav. vol. XXI. p. 93, 95, 276.

Relation du voyage, & retour des Indes orientales, pendant les années 1690, 1691, *par un garde de la marine servant sur le bord de M. Duquesne commandant de l'Escadre,* 12°. It has many curious observations during the voyage outward and homeward bound, and an account of all places the squadron touched at. Journ. des Scav. vol. XXI. p. 177.

Les voyages du sieur le Maire aux isles Canaries, Cape Verde, Senegal, & Gambie, 12°. In this are many particulars of those African countries, little known, and scarce to be found in other travellers. Journ. des Scav. vol. XXIII. p. 364.

Nouvelle relation de la Chine, en l'année 1668, *par le R. P. Gabriel de Magaillons, de la compagnie de Jesus,* 8°. This was ori-

ginally writ in Portuguese, and ought to have been among the travels in that language, had we any number of them. It was thought worth translating into French first, and from that into English, but was never printed in its original language. It has the reputation of an exact and faithful account. His. des ouvrages des Scav. vol. II. p. 203.

Relation universelle de l'Afrique ancienne & moderne, par le sieur de la Croix, 12°. 4 vols. Besides the chronology and geography, it has the customs, manners, religion, trade, plants, and other particulars of the continent and islands, and what the king of France has done against the Barbary corsairs, An. 1688. A Lyon.

Le bouclier de l'Europe, contenant des avis politiques & chretiens, &c. Avec une relatione de voyages faits dans la Turquie, la Thebaide, & la Barbarie. Par le R. R. Jean Coppin, 4°. This father was first a soldier, then consul for the French nation at Damietta in Egypt, and lastly, a religious man. The design of his work is to stir up christian princes to make war on the Turk, and accordingly his first and second books are taken up in showing of how great consequence that war is, the methods of managing it, the causes of the rise and decay of the Ottoman empire, and much more to that effect. In the following books he proceeds to his travels; first in Egypt, where he has many curious observations not to be found in other travellers, but more particularly, in that he took the pains to travel the great desart of Thebaida, where few besides him have been in these latter times; and this is the subject of his third and fourth books. The fifths treats of Barbary, Phœnicia, and the Holy Land: and the work concludes with an exact description of the city Damietta, where he resided some years. His relation is faithful, and deserves all credit, especially in those things he delivers as an eye-witness. It was published at Paris in the year 1686. Biblioth. Univers. vol. V. p. 103.

Journal, ou suite du voyage de Siam, en forme de lettres familières, fait en 1685 *&* 1686, *par monsieur l'abbé de Choisi*, 8°. It is the third account of the French embassadors sent to Siam; monsieur de Chaumont, and P. Tachard, both before mentioned, being the two others. It contains an exact journal of that voyage, has all the sea terms, much of the same as F. Tachard, and several other remarks. He treats of the war at Bantam, of the island of Java, of Batavia, the power of the Dutch in India, of Siam, Tonquin, Cochinchina, &c. Biblioth. Univers. vol. VI. p. 274.

Histoire naturelle & politique du royaume de Siam, par Monsieur Gervaise, 1688. 4°. The author lived four years at the court of Siam, and affirms nothing but what he saw, or found in the best books of that country, as also by discourse by the best people there. He says little or nothing of what has been mentioned by

other travellers to Siam, and adds much, which they, as being only passengers, could not observe. The work is divided into four parts: the first contains the description of the country; the second the laws, customs, manners, and government of that nation; the third the religion; the fourth speaks of the king, royal family, and court. Biblioth. Univers. vol. X. p. 516.

Relation nouvelle & exacte d'un voyage de la Terre Sainte, ou description de l'etat present dies lieux, ou se sont passées les principales actions de la vie de Jesus Christ. Paris 1688, 8°. This is a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and therefore writ in a religious style, and contains an account of all the holy places in Palestine, and description of Malta; and is a good guide for such as desire to travel into those parts.

Voyages de M. de Thevenot en Asie & en Afrique. Paris, 1689, 3 vols. 12°. It is to be observed, that whereas before mention is made of Thevenot's travels, that is a collection of other men, as appears there, but these are Thevenot's own travels, divided into three parts; the first of the eastern countries under the Turk; the second continues other eastern parts, proceeding towards Persia; and the third the East Indies. It is one of the most curious and exact works of this nature hitherto published, and well deserving to be read by all that are curious of travels. Biblioth. Univers. vol. XIII. p. 246.

Voyages d'Amerique, histoire des avanturieres qui se sont signalez dans les Indes, &c. Par Alexander Olivier Oexmelin. Paris, 1688. 2 vols. 12°. This was a surgeon sent over in the service of the French West-India company, and sold in America, where he lived several years. The author of the Biblioth. Univers. gives a great character of this work, and says, no man has yet given so good an account of the manner of living in those parts, besides very good descriptions, and all that is requisite in such a work; of which see more in the said Biblioth. Univers. vol. XVIII. p. 129.

Nouveau voyage d'Italie fait en l'année 1688, *avec un memoire contenant des avis utiles à ceux qui voudront faire le meme voyage. A la Haye,* 1691, 2 vols. 12°. *Par Monsieur Misson.* This author gives a general account of all things observable in Italy, and therefore is the more diverting. He begins his travels in Holland, of which he gives a short account; then crossing Germany and Tirol, he runs down Italy by the Adriatic shore, and returns on the other side through Tuscany, Genoa, Piedmont, Swisserland.

Voyage en divers etats d'Europe & d'Asie, entrepris pour decouvrir un nouveau chemin à la Chine. Par le P. Avril. Paris, 1693, 12°. The first book contains the author's travels from Marseilles to Erivan in Persia; the second from Erivan to Moscow; in the third he gives an account of Tartary, but it was such as he received

from others, for he was not in that country; and in the fourth, of his return to Poland, thence to Constantinople, and thence for want of health to France. Biblioth. Univers. vol. XXIV. p. 203.

Histoire de la revolution de l'empire du Mogol. Par monsieur F. Bernier, 8°. This history of the revolution of the empire of the mogul contains the whole account of Aurenge Zeb dethroning his father, with all the intrigues and wars on that account; the description of Agra and Delhi, capital cities of that empire, many particulars of that court, the doctrines, customs, &c. of the Indians, the mogul's journey to Cachemire, and many other curious observations made by the author in his travels in that country.

Relation d'un voyage en la Mauritanie. Par le sieur Roland Frejus, 8°. The author of this voyage into Mauritania was sent by the king of France's order in the year 1666, to settle trade in the kingdom of Fez, and gives a very just, though brief account of his voyage and negotiation. There is added to it a letter of monsieur Charant, who lived twenty-five years in Suez and Morocco, giving an account of the religion, manners, trade, &c. of those people.

Voyages en Asie, Afrique, & l'Amerique. Par monsieur Jean Mocquet, 8°. See this among the English, 8°.

Voyage par monsieur du Quesne aux Indes en 1691 *&* 1692, *&c.* See more of this among the English, 8°.

Voyages historiques & curieux en Allemagne, Boheme, Suisse, Holland, &c. de monsieur Charles Patin, 8°. See this among the English.

Voyages aux Indes, de Dellon, 2 vols. 12°.

Histoire de la Chine sous la domination des Tartares. Par le P. Greslon de la comp. de Jesus, 8°. *Paris* 1672. We have here a succinct history of China from the year 1651, till 1669, delivered by a missionary resident there many years; his principal subject is the astronomy of China, which gained the first admission to the missioners; of which, and all its parts, and how used and practised there, he treats very ingeniously and learnedly. Giorn. de Letter.

Voyage du Levant. Par monsieur de Loir, 12°. A voyage to the Levant in ten letters, containing all things remarkable in the islands of the Archipelago, Ephesus, Smyrna, Constantinople, Scutari, Negropont, Greece, the Morea, and all the coasts to Venice; in which are all the ancient and modern names of places, and what authors have said of them, compared with what was when the author travelled. A work no less learned than curious. Giorn. de Letter. An. 1673.

Voyage d'Angleterre, par monsieur Sorbierre, 12°. This account of England is not methodical, but contains some observations worth reading.

Relation universelle de l'Afrique ancienne & moderne, par le sieur de la Croix, 4 vols. 12°. *Lyon* 1688. This is the fullest and most perfect account yet extant of that great part of the world, being a judicious and laborious collection of all the best that has been writ on the subject. Giorn. de Letter. An. 1689.

Histoire de l'isle de Ceylon, par le capitaine Jean Ribeyro, traduite du Portugais en François, 12°. *Paris* 1701. This short history of Ceylon, though writ originally in Portuguese, and published in the year 1685, is here inserted in the French translation, because the translator Mr. le Grand has added to it several chapters, collected from the best authors that have writ of that island. It is divided into three books; the first is the description of the island, its government, religion, product, &c. the second treats of the wars there between the Portugueses, the natives, and the Dutch: and the third, of the errours the Portugueses committed in their conquests of India, and the power of the Dutch in those parts. Journ. de Scav. vol. XXIX. p. 389.

Nouveau memoires sur l'estat present de la Chine, par le P. Louis le Comte, 2 vols. 12°. *Paris* 1696. F. le Comte's memoirs of China have appeared in English; they have abundance of very remarkable passages and singular curiosities, and have been too much talked of to require much to be said of them. Journ. des Scav. vol. XXV. p. 58.

Dernieres descouvertes dans l'Amerique septentrionale de monsieur de la Sale, mises au jour par monsieur le chevalier Tonti, governeur de fort S. Louis aux Islinois, 12°. *Paris* 1697. This is an account of a vast discovery in North America, being the whole length of the river Mississipi, from the French plantations in Canada down to the gulph of Mexico to the southward, and from the same plantation to the source of the said river northwards. Journ. des Scav. vol. XXV. p. 311.

Relation d'un voyage fait en 1696 *&* 1697, *aux costes de l'Afrique, detroit de Magellan, Brezil, Cayenne, & isles Antilles, par le sieur Froger*. This is a relation of an expedition of six French ships fitted out during the war with Spain in those years; it is looked upon as very faithful, and adorned with a great number of maps and cuts of all sorts. Journ. des Scav. vol. XXVI. p. 164.

Memoirs du chevalier Beaujeu, contenant divers voyages en Pologne, Allemagne, & en Hongrie, 12°. *Paris* 1679. The author of these memoirs having travelled in Poland, Germany, and Hungary, undertakes to rectify many mistakes in the maps as to distances of places; he gives a particular account of these countries, and most especially of Poland, and all things relating to it. Journ. des Scav. vol. XXVI. p. 284.

Relation du voyage du sieur de Montauban capitain des Flibustiers en Guinée, dans l'année 1695. This was a privateer voyage, which ended in the blowing up the ship; but so that the captain

escaped, and got ashore on the coast of Afric, of which he gives some account; thence he got over to Barbadoes, and thence into France.

Relation curieuse & nouvelle de Moscovie, contenant l'etat de cet empire, 12°. *Paris* 1698. This account of Moscovy is composed by Mr. de Nouville, envoy from the king of Poland to the czar, who during his residence there collected the best account of a way through Muscovy and Tartary to China, as convenient as any for travellers in Europe, which he says he was told by one that travelled it twice; but that the czar at the request of the Dutch has prohibited merchants trading that way.

Journal du voyage des grandes Indes, contenant tout ce qui s'y est fait & passe par l'escadre de sa majesté, envoye sous le commandement de M. de la Haye, 12°. *Orleans* 1697. This is a voyage of the French fleet to the Indies in the year 1670; it describes Goa, and gives some account of these coasts, of taking the city of S. Thomas or Meliapor, and the losing it again to the Dutch and infidels, with the return of the French.

Voyage d'Italie & de Grece, avec une dissertation sur la bizarrerie des opinions des hommes, 12°. *Paris* 1698. This author set out from France in the year 1691, and gives such a description of the countries he passed through, and of the adventures that befel him, as renders it extremely diverting; concluding with a reflection upon the extravagant humours of men, whose behaviour he condemns in many particulars, which are rather pleasant and diverting than solid. Journ. des Scav. vol. XXVI. p. 535.

Spanish.

Historia del Gran Tamorlan. Itinerario, y relacion de la embaxada que Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo le hizo por mondado del senor Rey D. Henrique tercero de Castilla. Sevil 1582. fol. This is the first Spanish book of travels, at least of any reputation, now extant, and is of no less than 300 years antiquity: for though the book was published as above, the embassy was in the year 1403, in which the author spent three years, saw a considerable part of Asia, following Tamerlan's camp, and besides what he saw during those years, had an ample account of all that mighty prince's wars: it is a book rare and of great value.

Comentarios do grande Alphonso de Albuquerque capitao general da India, collegidos por seu filho das proprias cartas, que elle escrivio ao rey D. Manoel. Lisboa 1576. fol. This is a large relation of the actions of that great man, who was one of the first Portuguese conquerors of the East-Indies; and a particular encomium of it is given by Anthony Ferreira in his poems.

Naufragios de Alvar Nunez Cabeca de Vaca, y.

Comentarios de Alvar Nunez Adelantado y governador de la provincia del Rio de la Plata. Valladolid 1555. 4°. The first was

writ by Alvar Nunez himself, wherein he gives an account of his shipwreck, and unparalleled sufferings in Florida. The second was composed by his order by Peter Fernandez his secretary, and is an account of the province of the river of Plate, where he was governor: both curious and scarce.

Nuevo descubrimiento del gran Catayo, o reynos de Tibet en el anno de 1624. Madrid 1627. It is writ by F. Anthony de Andrada, a jesuit, who in it gives an account of his travels in the most remote eastern countries.

Verdadera description de la Tierra Santa como estava el anno de 1530. Alcala 1531. 8°. It is an exact account of the Holy Land at that time, writ by F. Anthony de Aranda, who travelled it all over as a pilgrim at that time.

El devoto peregrino viage de la Tierra Santa. Madrid 1654. 4°. The description of the Holy Land in a pious style, for the help of pilgrims, by F. Antony del Castillo, a franciscan; who was superior of the monastery at Bethlehem.

Relacion de lo sucecido a los padres de la campania de Jesus en la India, y Japon, en los anos de 1630 *y* 1631. Valladolid 4°. An account of the travels and actions of the Jesuits in India and Japan, by F. Antony Collaco.

Jornada de arcebispo de Goa D. F. Aleino de Meneses, &c. as serras de Malabar, & lugares em que moram os antigos christaos de S. Thome. Coimbra 1606. fol. It was writ by F. Antony de Gouve of the order of St. Augustin, who treats very curiously of the inland parts of Malabar, and christians of S. Thomas there.

Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas, y tierra firma del mar oceano, escrita por Antonio de Herrera. Madrid 1615. 4 vols. fol. A most excellent and complete history of the discovery and conquest of America by the Spaniards, not omitting to mention the discoveries made at the same time by other nations. It reaches from Columbus's first discovery An. 1492 till 1554, divided into four volumes, and those into eight decads, with a very just description of that vast continent.

Historia general de la India oriental, los descubriemientos y conquista que hon hecho los armos de Portugal en el Brazil, &c. hosta el ano de 1562. Valladolid 1603. fol. This though ancient is the fullest account there was till that time of the Portugueses in the East-Indies and Brasil, writ by F. Antony de S. Roman of the order of S. Benedict.

Historia de la conquista espiritual de la provincia del Paraguay. Madrid 1639. 4°. It is an account of the progress of the preaching jesuits in that province, and written by one of them who was rector of some colleges in that country.

Itinerario da India a Portugal per terra anno 1520. Coimbra 1565. 16°. A journal of Antony Tenreiro's travels from India by land into Portugal. It was more rare in those days than now, yet there are good remarks to be found in it.

Viage desde Manila a la China. This voyage was performed by F. Augustin de Tordesillas, a franciscan, but published by John Gonzales de Mendoza, An. 1585, being a voyage from the Philippine islands to China; which I have not seen, nor met with any further account of it.

Historia del descubrimiento, y conquista del Peru, de Augustin de Zarate. Seville 1577. 8°. The author was an examiner or controler of accounts in the king's household, and sent over to Peru to inquire into the king's revenue during the rebellion in those parts, where he gathered materials for his history, which has always been in good esteem where known, as appears by its having been twice translated into Italian.

Historia da Ethiopia alta, do P. Baltasar Tellez. fol. He was a Portuguese jesuit, who collected this history of Ethiopia from the writings of the jesuits, who resided there. He is highly commended by D. Francisco Manoel in his epistles and his history, and no less by Georgius Cordosus in Agiologio.

Conquista de las islas Molucas, de Bartolome Leonardo de Argensola. Madrid 1609. fol. This author was historiographer of the kingdom of Arragon, and the most accomplished master of the Spanish tongue in his time: so that his history is not only valuable for his excellent account of the Molucco islands, but for its language, wherein he has outdone most men.

Manual y relacion de las cosas del Peru, de F. Bernardino de Cardenas. Madrid 1634. 4°. The author was a native of Peru, and bishop of Paraguay; so that his birth, education, and learning, qualified him to give a good account of that country.

Navigacion de oriente y noticias de la China, 1577. 8°. It is a short but ingenious treatise of the eastern voyages, and some affairs of China.

Historia de Yucatan, de Bernardo de Lizana. The author was a missioner in the province of Yucatan, whose history he writes, but intermixed with much devotion.

Historia de las cosas antiguas que los Indios usavan en su infidelidad, por F. Bernardino de Sahagun. This history treats of the idolatry, rites, and ceremonies of the Indians, and of their government, laws, and politics. The same author also writ La Conquista, or the conquest of Mexico.

Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana, por Bernal Diaz del Castillo. fol. The author of this history of the conquest of Mexico served in it under Cortes, from the begining till the last; and therefore speaks as an eye-witness, having been in all the expeditions of note, and received what he could not be present at from those that were. He says he finished his work in the year 1568, but it was not published till some years after.

Relacion de las grandezas de Peru, Mexico, y los Angelos, de Bernardo de la Vega. Mexico 1601. 8°. This is only a collection of

rarities in those parts, as the title imports. The author was canon of the church of Tucuman in South America.

Sitio naturaleza y propriedades de Mexico, de Diego de Cisneros, 1618. The author was physician to the marquis De Guadalcacar viceroy of Peru, and gives a very good account of that place.

Decadas de Asia, de Joao de Barros. He finished three decades, in as many volumes, of the history of India; of which work the learned Nicholaus Antonius, in his Bibliotheca Hispana, p. 498, says it is a most complete work, which will last for ever to the honour of the compiler. His 4th volume and decade, which he left imperfect, was finished by John Baptiste Labanha, historiographer to k. Philip II. But after that James de Couto undertook to continue the history from the third decade, where Barros ended, and writ nine more; so that the whole work consists of twelve decades, but of these only seven have been printed at Lisbon.

Relaciones del Pegu, de Duarte Fernandez. Of this relation I find no further account.

Relacion de la provincia de Tecuman, de Fernando de Quintana. This relation is of good authority, and the author was one of the first that went over to inhabit that country.

Memorial y relacion las islas Philippinas, de Fernando de los rios Coronel. The author was a priest in good repute, and gives an account of the wealth, not only of the Philippine, but of the Molucco islands, representing at the same time what faults there are in the governments of those parts to be redressed.

Verdadeira informazao do Presse Joao das Indias, de Francisco Alvarez. Lisboa 1540. fol. The author, a man of great probity, was sent by king Emanuel of Portugal into Ethiopia, with his embassador Edward Galvao, and resided there six years, returning thence in the year 1533, and during his stay there had time to collect this historical account, in which he gives a description of the country, of its trade, and all things that happened there during the stay of the Portugueses.

Relazao das provincias de Japao, Malabar, Cochinchina, &c. do P. Francisco Cordim. The author was a Portuguese jesuit, who had been in those parts; and his work was so well approved of, that it was thought worthy to be translated into French, and printed at Paris 1645.

Historia general de las Indias de Francisco Lopez de Gomara. This author wrote in a commendable style; but his history is of no credit, being full of false relations, as is made out by all other authors that write of those parts, some of whom were eye-witnesses of the things he misrepresents, and others received them upon much better information.

Conquista del Peru, por Francisco de Xeres. Salamanca 1547. fol. The author was secretary to Francis Pizarro the great disco-

verer and conqueror of Peru, and wrote this account of the conquest of that vast kingdom, as an eye-witness, which he presented to the emperor Charles the fifth.

Commentarios de los reges Incas del Peru. *Lisboa* 1609. fol.

Historia general del Peru, 1617. fol.

Historia de la Florida, y jornada que hizo a ella el governador Hernando de Soto. 1695. 4°. These three by Garcilaso de la Vega, who calls himself inca, as being the son of a Spaniard, who was one of the conquerors of the kingdom of Peru, by an Indian woman of the imperial race of the incas, from whom he took that name. The history of the ancient incas he received from the natives, that of the actions of the Spaniards from his father and others, who had a share in them.

Tresado em que se contam muitopor estenso as cousas da China, e assi do regno de Ormuz, pelo P. Gasparda Cruz. *Ebora* 1569. 4°. The author, a dominican friar, travelled as a missioner in India, Persia and China, where he made his observations and dedicated his work to king Sebastian of Portugal. Several authors of note make mention of him.

Historia general de las Indias. *Salamanca* 1547. fol.

Historia del Estrecho de Magallones, 1552. fol.

Navigacion del Rio Marannon. These three by Gonzala Fernandez de Oviedo, who after many honourable employments in Spain, was sent governor of the city of Santo Domingo in Hispaniola, where he resided ten years, and compiled his history of the Indies mentioned in the first place, which he had divided into fifty books, whereof only nineteen are in the volume above mentioned; to which is added one called, Of shipwrecks. The rest have not appeared, unless we allow his history of the straits of Magellan, the second here spoke of, to be his 20th book, which is published by itself. His account of the river Marannon is in the 3d volume of Ramusio's travels.

Tratado de la conquista de las islas de Persia y Arabia, de las muchas gentes, diversas gentes, y estranas y grandes battallas que vio, por Juan Angier. *Salamanca* 1512. 4°. The author, of whom we have no further account, assures he saw all he writes, which is all the character we can here give his work, but only that he treats of the conquest of the islands on the coast of Arabia and Persia, and of several nations where he travelled, and the battles he was in.

Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran regno de la China. *Madrid* 1586. 8°. This history of the most remarkable things, and the customs and manners of China, was writ by F. John Gonzales de Mendoza, of the order of St. Augustin, who in the year 1580 was sent into China by k. Philip the 2d of Spain, where he gathered the materials of his history, and composed it at his return.

Virtudes del Indio, de D. Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, obispo de

la Puebla de los Angelos. 4°. This is a treatise writ in defence of the Indians by the good bishop, and gives an account of their disposition and manners, in opposition to those that represented them as brutal, and scarce endued with reason. This, though it seems not a book of travels, being the manners and customs of strange nations, and by a traveller to those parts, very well deserves admittance among them.

Ethiopia oriental, e varia historia de cousas notaveis do oriente, do P. F. Joao dos Santos. Ebora 1609. fol. It treats of the eastern parts of Afric, where the author, who was a dominican, resided eleven years as a missioner, making his collections on the spot, which he after methodised in his own country.

Historia natural y moral de las Indias, por el P. Joseph de Acosta. Madrid 1610. 4°. This history is so well known and generally esteemed, that little needs be said of it; the universal character of it being better than what it can here receive, being the history natural and moral of the West-Indies.

Description del nuevo orbe, y de los naturalez del, por el P. F. Luis Jeronymo de Ore. Lima 1598. fol. The author was an American by birth, a great traveller in those parts, an able scholar, and of excellent natural parts; all which rendered him capable to write well upon this subject.

Description general de Africa, por Luis del Marmol Caravajal. 3 vols. fol. This is the fullest account extant of Afric, generally esteemed in all parts, and has been translated into French. The author being a slave at Morocco, there read and heard those accounts he afterwards published, of the interior parts of Afric which remain inaccessible to christians. Thuanus and Ambrosius Morales, in their histories, commended this work.

Historia de Ethiopia, y.

Historia de la orden de predicadores en Ethiopia, por F. Luis de Urreta, 2 vols. 4°. Both these generally condemned as fabulous, and particularly by F. Nicholas Godinho in his book de Abyssinorum rebus.

Historia de las islas del Archipelago, China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Sian, Camboja, y Japon, por el P. Morcello de Ribadencira. Barcelona 1601. 4°. This history of those eastern countries was collected there by the author, who travelled the greatest part of them as a missioner.

Relacion del nombre, sitio, plantas, &c. de regno de Sardenha, por el Dr. Martin Camillo. Barcelona 1612. 4°. This was a doctor of the civil law, who being sent by king Philip of Spain into Sardinia, to inspect all the courts there, travelled over the whole island of Sardinia, and took that opportunity to write this learned treatise of its name, situation, plants, conquests, conversion, fertility, towns, cities, and government.

Relacion del Govierno de los Quixos en Indias. 1608. 4°. An ac-

count of the province called Los Quixos in South America writ by Dr. Peter de Castro Eorle of Lemos. What more to say of it I do not find.

Relacion de Philippinas, por el P. Pedro Chirino. Roma 1604. 4°. The author of this account of the Philippine islands spent the greatest part of his life, and ended his days there, so that he was well acquainted with what he writ; but a great part of it consists of the actions of the jesuits in those parts, he being of that society.

Primera parte de la Chronica de Peru, de Pedro Cieca de Leon. Antwerp 1554. 8°. It treats of the limits and description of the provinces of Peru, the founding of cities, and the customs and manners of the Indians. Only this first part is extant, the other four, which the author promises, and were historical, having never been published; which is a great loss, for by the value of this first we may judge of the rest.

Historia da provincia de Santa Cruz, a que vulgarmente chamamos Brasil. The history of the province of Santa Cruz, vulgarly Brasil, by Peter de Magalhaens Gandavo. Lisbon 1579. 4°. It is commended by Antonius Leo, in his Bibliotheca Indica.

Relacion dos reges de Persia y Ormuz, viage da India oriental a Italia por terra no anno de 1604. An account of the kings of Persia and Ormuz, and travels from India to Italy by land, in the year 1614. 4°. The author Peter Texeira a Portuguese, who performed the journey.

Itinerario de las missiones orientales, con une sumaria relacion del imperio del gran Mogor. An account of the eastern missions, and of the empire of the mogol. Rome 1649. 4°. Composed by Sebastian Manrique, of which we have no other particulars.

Cortas de D. Hernando Cortes Marque del Valle, de la conquista de Mexico, al emperador. The original letter writ by Cortes the famous conqueror of Mexico, giving the emperor Charles the 5th an account of his expedition. There is no need to speak of the value of such papers, than which nothing can be more authentic, as being the relation of a commander in chief to his sovereign.

Corta do P. Gonzalo Rodrigues do sua embaixado a Ethiopia, e do que la le sucedeo com o seu Rey Claudio. A letter giving an account of the embassy of F. Gonzalo Rodriguez, sent by the king of Portugal to the emperor of Ethiopia. It is to be seen in F. Nicholas Godinho de rebus Abyssinorum, lib. II. cap. 58.

Relacion del viage que hizieron los capitones Bartolome Garcia de Nodal, y Gonsalo de Nodal hermanos al descubrimiento del Estreco Nuevo de S. Vincente, y reconocimiento del de Magalhanes. This is an account of a voyage performed by the two captains above named to the straits of St. Vincent, which we call strait Le Mayre, and to view that of Magellan, in the years 1618 and 1619. Madrid 1621. 4°. It is an exact journal of their voyage and observations

whilst they were out, which was 11 months; and they were both able seamen, who had served the king many years.

Viage a la santa ciudad de Jerusalem, descripcion suya y de todo la Tierra Santa, y peregrinacion al monte Sinai, por el P. Bernardo Italiano. Naples 1632. 8°. A journey to Jerusalem, the description of that holy city and country, and a pilgrimage to mount Sinai, performed by the author, a franciscan friar.

Relacion de los sagrados lugares de Jerusalem, y toda la Tierra Santa. The author F. Blaze de Buiza, a franciscan, and collector of the charity gathered to pay the Turks the tribute for the privilege of those holy places. It is a curious relation, printed at Salamanca 1624. 8°.

Tratado de las drogas, y medicinas de las Indias orientales. Burgos 1578. 4°.

Tratado del viage de las Indias orientales y loque se navega por aquellas partes. Both these by Christopher de Costa, a native of Tangier, who spent many years in his travels in Afric and Asia, and was a doctor of physic, which enabled him to write that most excellent treatise first mentioned of these two, of the plants and drugs of the East-Indies. The second is of the East-India voyage, and of those seas.

Relazao da navigazão de Duarte Lopez a Africa, e Congo, no anno de 1578. Or Lopez his voyage to Afric, and the kingdom of Congo, which is to be seen in Latin in Theodore de Bry's collection.

Viage de D. Fradrique Henriquez de Ribera a Jerusalem. Lisboa 1580. 4°. This is a pilgrimage to Jerusalem performed by this nobleman, who was marquis of Tarifa, and spent two years in it, setting out in November 1518, and returning in October 1520, when he left this monument of his piety and ingenuity.

Peregrinacao de Fernan Mendez Pinto. Lisboa 1614. fol. Pinto's travels in India, so fabulous that the general consent of the world has exploded them, though some few have taken the pains to defend those chimeras.

Viage que hizo a Jerusalem Francisco Guerero. Sevil 1645. This is another pilgrimage to Jerusalem, by a demi-canon of the cathedral of Sevil, and can only be a repetition of what we see in the others above mentioned.

Chorographia de alguns lugares que stam em hum caminho que Fez Gaspor Barreiras, o anno de 1546, *de Badajoz em Cassella ate Milan en Italia. Coimbra* 1561. 4°. The author gives an account of the places he passed through in his journey from Badajoz in Spain, to the city of Milan. But Andrew de Resende complains that he stole notes which he friendly communicated to him, and inserted them as his own.

Itinerario da India per terra ate Portugal, com a descripsao de Jerusalem. Lisboa 1611. 4°. This journey was performed and

book writ by F. Gaspar de Sa, a Portuguese franciscan, being a journal of his travels, from India to Portugal by land, and a description of Jerusalem; but of this sort there are several, and this I do not find has any thing more remarkable above others.

Viage de Jeronimo de Santistevan de Genova por el Cairo a la India, y sa buelta a Portugal. A voyage by Jerome de Santistevan from Genoa by the way of Grand Cairo to India, and his return to Portugal. It is to be seen in Italian in the first volume of Ramusio's collection.

Itinerario de Esparca a las Philippinas, y de alli ala China, y buelta por la India oriental. This is a voyage round the world by F. Martin Ignatius de Loyala, a franciscan, who took his way from Spain to America, thence to the Philippine islands, thence to China, and so round home by the East-Indies. It is printed in F. John Gonzales de Mendoza's history of China, with the author's name to it, in the edition of the year 1585, but the name is left out in that of 1586.

Jornada da Terre Santa. Another holy land pilgrimage, by F. Nicholas Diaz, of the order of St. Dominic.

Itinerario da Terra Santa, è odas las suas particularidades. Another pilgrimage still to the Holy Land, by F. Pantaleo de Aveiro. Lisbon 1593. 4°.

Relazao de Pedro Alvarez Cabral da sua navegazao à India oriental. This Cabral was the next after Gama sent by Emanuel king of Portugal into India; and accidentally being drove thither by storms, discovered Brasil. This relation is to be seen in Italian in John Baptista Ramusio's collection.

Relazao de Pedro de Cintra, da sua navegazao a costa de Guinée, y a India. A voyage to the coast of Guinea and India, by Peter de Cintra, of which I find no more, but that it was translated into Italian by Aloisius Cadamustus.

Relazao do viage de Pedro Covillam de Lisboa a India per terra, e volta ao Cairo. 1587. This Covillam was one of the first sent from Portugal to discover India by land, before the way to it had been opened by sea; and this is the account of his travels thither, and back to Grand Cairo.

Viage que hizo a Jerusalem el P. F. Pedro de Santo Domingo, de la orden del mismo santo. This was a dominican lay-brother, who gave an account of his pilgrimage; but enough of them. It was in the year 1600, and printed at Naples in 1604. 8°.

Viage de Jerusalem de Pedro Gonzales Gallardo. Another holy land voyage printed at Sevil 1605. 8°.

Naufragio y peregrinacion en la costa del Peru, de Pedro Goveo de Victoria. This is an account of a shipwreck and travels in America by this Goveo in his youth, a book of no great fame, and therefore hard to find any account of it. Printed in 1610. 8°.

Viage del mundo, por Pedro Ordonez de Zevallos. 4°. This though the author calls it the voyage of the world, only shows a piece of vanity, for it reaches no further than America, a part whereof the author saw, and writes of.

Relacion del voyage que hizo a la India Tomas Lopez, el anno de 1502. This voyage to India by Lopez, is to be seen in Italian in Ramusio's collection.

Nuevo descubrimiento del gran Rio de las Amazonas. A new discovery of the great river of Amazons, by Christopher de Acuna, a jesuit who went upon that expedition by order of the king of Spain. Madrid 1641. 4°.

Relacion del voyage de los hermanos Nodales, de Diego Ramirez. This is a relation of the voyage made by the two brothers Bartholomew and Garcia de Nodal to the straits of Le Mayre; their own journal of this voyage was mentioned before, yet this relation is much commended by Anthony de Leon in his Biblioth. Ind. occident. p. 91.

Relacion del naufragio de la nao Santiago, y itinerario de la gente, que della se salvo el anno de 1585. This is an account of a Portuguese ship cast away, and of the great sufferings of those that were saved. It is a very remarkable relation, and printed An. 1602. 8vo.

Relacion del descubrimiento de las siete ciudades, de Fernando de Alarcon. The discovery of seven cities in the North America by Ferdinand de Alarcon. It is to be found in Italian in Ramusio's collection. vol. III.

Relacion del descubrimiento de las siete ciudades, de Francisco Vasquez Coronado. The discovery of the seven cities last mentioned by Coronado, and to be found in the same volume of Ramusio.

Tratado de las guerras de los Chichimecas. An account of those northern people in America, called Chichimecas, and the wars with them, by Gonzalo de los Casas, a native of Mexico, and lord of the province of Zanguitan in that country.

Relacion de lo sucedido a los padres de la compania de Jesus en la India oriental y Japon en los anos 1600, 1601, 1607, *y* 1608. This account was first writ in Portuguese, and translated into Spanish, and has not very much but what relates to religious affairs.

Historia ecclesiastica del Japon desde del ano 1602, *hosta el de* 1621. This is an ecclesiastical history of Japan for those years above mentioned, composed by F. James Collado, and printed at Madrid, An. 1623. in 4°. It was continued to the year 1622, by F. Jacintus Offanel of the order of St. Dominic, as was the other.

Historia evangelica del regno de la China del P. F. Juan Baptista Morales. This history of China has been always in good repute; the author was a dominican and missioner first in Camboya, and

then in China, where he suffered much, being put to the rack, twice whipped, and then banished. Coming to Rome he gave the pope a good account of the affairs of that country, whither he returned and spent there the remainder of his life, dying at 70 years of age in the province of Fokien. Thus much has been said of him, to show that he was well acquainted with what he writ, and well deserves the general approbation he has met with.

Embaxada de D. Garcia de Silva Figueroa a la Persia. This embassador was a man curious and knowing, and observed many considerable things which other authors have not spoke of, and made learned reflections on what ancient historians have writ of the eastern countries. He gives an account of the manners and customs of the people, and description of all places in the way he went from Goa to Ispahan, the capital of Persia. The relation of the Persians taking Ormus from the Portugueses, a description of Chilminara the ancient palace of Persepolis, burnt by Alexander the Great when he was drunk. This is a book of great value in the original Spanish, the French translation being vitiated by the translator, so that there is no relying on it.

Conquista y antiquedades de las islas de la Gran Canaria, su descripcion, &c. Per el licenciado Juan Nunez de la Pena. 4°. *Madrid.* The conquest and antiquities of the Canary islands, being perhaps the best relation we have of them, both as to their present state and antiquities.

English.

Hackluyt, a minister by profession, is the first Englishman that compiled any collection of travels now extant: he himself was no traveller, but only delivers what he could gather from others. His work was published in the year 1598, and reaches down to 1597; it is divided into three parts, composing one thick volume in folio. The first contains the following voyages: 1. K. Arthur to Iseland, an. 517. 2. K. Malgo to Iseland, Gotland, &c. an. 580. 3. K. Edwin to Anglesey and Man, an. 624. 4. Bertus to Ireland, an. 684. 5. Octher beyond Norway, an. 890. 6. Octher into the Sound. 7. Wolstan into the Sound. 8. K. Edgar round his monarchy, an. 973. 9. Edmund and Edward into Hungary, an. 1017. 10. Harald into Russia, an. 1067. 11. An Englishman into Tartary, Poland, and Hungary, an. 1243. 12. F. de Plano's wonderful voyage, an. 1246. 13. F. de Rubricis's journal, an. 1254. 14. F. de Linna towards the north pole, an. 1360. 15. Hen. e. of Derby into Prussia, an. 1390. 16. F. of Woodstock into Prussia, an. 1391. 17. Sir H. Willoughby to Lapland, an. 1553. 18. Chancellor's discovery of Muscovy by sea, an. 1553. 19. Burrough to the river Ob, an.

1556. 20. Johnson to the Samoeds, an. 1556. 21. Burrough to Wardhouse, an. 1557. 22. Jenkinson to Russia, an. 1557. 23. Jenkinson from Moscow into Bactria, an. 1558. 24. Jenkinson through Russia into Persia, an. 1561. 25. Alcock, &c. by land to Persia, an. 1563. 26. Johnson, &c. by land to Persia, 1565. 27. Southam and Spark to Novogrod, an. 1566. 28. Jenkinson to Russia, an. 1566. 29. Edwards, &c. by land to Persia, an. 1568. 30. Banister and Ducket by land to Persia, an. 1569. 31. Burrough to Livonia, an. 1570. 32. Jenkinson to Russia, an. 1571. 33. Burrough by land to Persia, an. 1579. 34. Pet and Jackman to the north-east, an. 1580. 35. Horsey by land from Moscow to England, an. 1584. 36. Russians to the north-east. 37. Voyage to Siberia and the river Ob. 38. Vanquishing the Spanish armada, an. 1588. 39. Voyage to Cadiz, an. 1596. Thus far the first volume; the first 16 of which voyages are not of much moment or authority, and the two last are warlike expeditions; which were not properly placed among discoveries; the rest of the volume is filled with treaties, patents, and letters. Thus it appears all these, except the two last, are northern voyages. The second volume contains voyages to the straits, coast of Afric, and the East-Indies. Of these the greatest part are pilgrimages to Jerusalem, many of very little moment, expeditions for the Holy Land, common trading voyages, that have little or nothing of curiosity, and sea-fights; all which being a great number, and of no moment, are not worth inserting here: the small remaining part are voyages to Guinea, and other coasts of Afric, and some few to the East-Indies; of all which there is a much better account in Purchas and others, and therefore they are not inserted in this place. Besides, as in the first part, there are abundance of letters, discourses, patents, and such original papers. The third volume, not to mention many of no worth, has these considerable voyages, Sebastian Cabot's to North America, three of sir Martin Forbisher to the north-west passage, two of Davis's to the north-west, Hore and Gilbert to Newfoundland; Granpre, and others to the isle of Ramea; three of Jaques Cartier to Newfoundland, Canada, &c. Roberval to Canada; Amadas, Balow, Greenvil, and others, to Virginia; Verazzano, Ribault, Laudonnierre, and Gourges to Florida; Marco de Nica, Francis Vasques Coronado, and Antony de Espejo to Cibola, Culiacon and New Galicia; Ulloa, Alarcon and Drake to California; Ovalle to the Philippine islands, Lequeos, China, and back to Acapulco; Tonson, Bodenham, Chilton, Hawks, Philips, and Hortop to New Spain, Peru, and Panuco; Pert and Cabot to Brasil; Tison and Hawkins to the West-Indies; Hawkins to Guinea and the West-Indies; Drake to Nombre de Dios; Oxnam, Barker, Drake, Michelson to Mexico, &c. Newport to Puerto Rico, &c; May to the straits of Magellan; Dudley, Preston, Drake, Sherley, Parker, to several

parts of the West-Indies; Raleigh to the island Trinidad, and to Guiana; Hawkins, Reniger, Hare, Lancaster to Brasil: two Englishmen and Drake up the river of Plate; Drake round the world; Silva through the straits of Magellan; Winter into the South-sea; Fenton to Brasil; Witherington to 44 degrees of south latitude; Candish round the world; Ship Delight to the straits of Magellan; Candish his last voyage. Thus have we briefly run over the contents of Hackluyt's collection, precisely setting down all in the first volume, to give the reader a taste of the author's method of heaping together all things good and bad which has been abridged in relation to the second and third volumes, to avoid being tedious. The collection is scarce and valuable for the good there is to be picked out; but it might be wished the author had been less voluminous, delivering what was really authentic and useful, and not stuffing his work with so many stories taken upon trust, so many trading voyages that have nothing new in them, so many warlike exploits not at all pertinent to his undertaking, and such a multitude of articles, charters, privileges, letters, relations, and other things little to the purpose of travels and discoveries.

Purchas was the next great English collector of travels after Hackluyt, whom he has imitated too much, swelling his work into five volumes in folio. The whole collection is very valuable, as having preserved many considerable voyages which might otherwise have perished. But to particularize with him, as has been done before with Hackluyt; his first volume is divided into five books. The first contains the travels of the ancient patriarchs, the apostles and philosophers, with the warlike expeditions of Alexander the Great, and other princes; to which is added an enquiry into languages, and an account of the several sorts of religions. The second book treats of navigation in general, the discoveries made by Henry prince of Portugal, king John of Portugal, Columbus of the West and Gama of the East-Indies; then follow Magellan, Drake, Candish, Noort, and Spilbergen round the world, and Le Maire's discovery of the new strait of his name. The third book is filled with some private voyages to the East-Indies, and the seven first made by the East-India company with descriptions, and an account of all those parts, their product, trade, government, religion, &c. but all, as delivered by the first that resorted there and made no long stay, imperfect, and far short of what we have had since. The fourth book contains the 8th voyage of the East-India company, capt. Saris to Japan; Finch to India; 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th voyages of the company; observations for sailors; Steel to the mogul's court; Milward to India; Peyton to India; an extract of sir Thomas Roe, embassador from king James to the mogul, his journal; Coryat's travels. The fifth book still continues upon accounts of the East-Indies, of all parts thereof, and from

many several hands, upon differences between the Dutch and English, wars of the natives, engagements of the English and Portugueses, and many other passages and occurrences to the same purpose. The sixth book, being the first in the second volume, begins with collections of John Leo's history of Afric, and R. C.'s history of Barbary: then follow Nicholay's description of Argier; an expedition to Argier under sir Robert Mansel; and some relations of Afric. The seventh book begins Jobson's voyage to Guinea; Battle's account of Angola is next, then Pigafetta's relation of Congo, Alvarez's voyage to Ethiopia; D. John de Castro from India to Suez; Bermudez the patriarch to Ethiopia, and Nunhes Barretto of the same country. The eighth contains several pilgrimages to Jerusalem, christian expeditions to the Holy Land; Barton's (q. Elizabeth's embassador to the great Turk) account of his voyage and the adventures of J. Smith. The ninth book consists of Sherley's travels into Persia; Benjamin the son of Jonas his peregrination; Terry's voyage to the mogul; Barthema's to Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia and India; collections of Asia out of Arabic; Menesses's account of India; Figueroa to Ispahan; J. de Santos to Ethiopia; Jobson on Gambra river; account of the grand signior's seraglio; Sanderson's voyages in the straits; Timberley from Cairo to Jerusalem: Newberry of the eastern parts of the world; Fran. Pyrard de la Vol to the East-Indies. The tenth book has a collection of Spanish and Portuguese voyages out of Galvan; Trigautius his voyage to India; letter touching Japan; Frederick's Indian observations; Balbi to Pegu; Fitz to Goa, and other parts of India; Pimenta's observations of India; Linschoten's voyages to India; relation of Ormuz; sir Rob. Sherley to Persia; Coryate's travels; Lithgow Scot to the Holy Land, &c.; Intelligence out of Turkey; Brown's Indian voyage; Dutch proceedings at Amboyna; and description of the bay of Todos os Santos. The third volume, book the first, contains as follows: W. de Rubricis' travels into the East; relations of Bacon, and Balvacensis; Wendover of the Tartars; Mr. Paulus Venetus his voyages; S. J. Mandeville's travels; extracts of an Arabic history of Tamerlan; travels of Chaggi Memet, a Persian; treatise of China, of F. Gaspar da Cruz; Pereira of China. The second book has, Sir H. Willoughby, Chanceller, and Jenkinson's voyages to the north-east; Extracts of Fernan Mendez Pinto's travels; discovery and planting of the Philippine islands; Goes' travels from Lahor to China by land; Jesuits first entrance into China and Japan; Pantoja's account of China; Discourse of China out of Riccius and Trigautius. The third book, Fletcher's treatise of Russia; Edge's northern voyages; Barent's into the north-sea; Gerart de Veer's northern voyages; Iver Boty of Iceland and Greenland; description of Siberia, Samoieda and Tingoesia; Gourdon to Pecora; Logan to Pecora, and his wintering there; Pusglove to Pecora, and wintering there; Gourdon wintering at Pustozra;

Voyages to Cherry island; Hudson's northern voyages; discovery of Nicholas and Anthony Zeni; Quirino's shipwreck; Barkley's travels in Europe, Asia, Afric and America; Broniovius embassador to the Crim Tartar; Blefkin's voyages and history of Iceland and Greenland; Angrim Jonas's history of Iceland. The fourth book, sir T. Smith to Cherry island; Pool to Greenland; Baffin to Greenland; Fosterby to Greenland; several northern voyages; revolutions in Russia; Cossac's travels out of Siberia to Catay; discovery of the river Ob; Cabot, Thorn, and Weymouth's voyages to the south-west; Hall to discover Greenland; Knight to the north-west passage. Other northern voyages. The fifth book, Herrera's description of the West-Indies, Acosta and Oviedo of the West-Indies, Mexican history in cuts, conquest of Mexico by Cortes, other particulars of America. The fourth volume begins with the sixth book, and in it as follows: the first book, earl of Cumberland's voyage, Cabot, Pert, Hawkins and Drake's voyages and sea-fights, Carder living among the savages in Brasil, Candish's unfortunate voyage to the straits of Magellan, Knivet's adventures with Candish, Turner in Brasil, Parker taking Puerto Bello, Middleton and Geare to the West-Indies. Description of the island Trinidad, country of Guiana, and river Oronoko, by F. Sparry. Leigh's voyages to Guiana, massacre of English in Guiana, Wilson's relation of Guiana, Harcourt to Guiana, description of the river of the Amazons. The seventh book, a treatise of Brasil written by a Portuguese; extracts of Leri's history of Brasil; Schnirdel's 20 years travels, Hawkins to the South-sea, Ellis of the same voyage, relation of an Englishman 13 years prisoner in Peru, Ursino of the coast of the firm land, and secrets of Peru and Chili; notes of the West-Indies out of Peter Ordonez de Cevallos. New discovery in the South-sea by Peter Fernandez Quiros, Lope Vas of American affairs, extracts of Benzo of the new world, and of Garcilasso incas of Peru; Pizarro's conquest of Peru, occurrences in Peru after the conquest. The eighth book, Alvar Nunez of Florida, Soto to Florida, discoveries to the northward of Mexico by Nuno de Guzman, Marco de Nica, D. Fr. Vasquez Coronada, and D. Ant. de Espejo; Casas of the cruelties of the Spaniards, voyages and plantations of French in North-America, Gosnol to Virginia, other voyages to Virginia. Description of the Azores. The ninth book, description of Virginia, and proceeding of the English colonies there, wreck of sir Thomas Gate, and account of the Bermudas; Argol from Virginia to Bermudas, affairs relating to Virginia, fight of an English and two Spanish ships, voyages to the Summer Islands, and history of them. The tenth book, discovery and plantation of New England, Chalton's voyage for North Virginia, extracts of Smith of New England's trials, other accounts of New England; New Scotland the first planting of it, Newfoundland the first settle-

ments there, and account of the island; warlike fleets set out by queen Elizabeth against the Spaniards, the duke of Medina's for invasion of England, squadron of the galeons of Portugal; the expedition to Portugal by sir John Norris and sir Francis Drake, supposed to be writ by colonel Antony Wingfield; expedition to Cadiz, and the success against the Spanish ships, and in taking the town; the earl of Essex his fruitless expedition to the Azores, the conclusion of the work. The fifth volume is a theological and geographical history of the world, consisting of the description, and an account of the religions of all nations. This author like Hackluyt, as was observed at first, has thrown in all that came to hand to fill up so many volumes, and is excessive full of his own notions, and of mean quibbling and playing upon words; yet for such as can make choice of the best the collection is very valuable.

A voyage to Surat in the year 1689, giving a large account of that city, its inhabitants and factory of English, describing Madeira, Santiago, Annoboa, Cablanda, Malamba, S. Helena, Bomba, Mascate, Mycate, the cape of Good Hope, and island of Ascension, the revolution of Golconda, description of Aracan and Pegu, an account of the coins of India and Persia, and observations concerning silk-worms. By J. Ovington, 8°. London 1696. This account was by a person well qualified to make such observations.

Travels and voyages into Asia, Afric, and America, performed by Mons. John Morquet, keeper of the cabinet of rarities to the king of France in the Tuilleries, in six books with cuts. Translated from the French by Nathaniel Pullen, gent. 8°. London 1696. For so many travels the relation is too short, however there are things in it worth observing.

A new voyage to the East-Indies, in the years 1690 and 1691, with a description of several islands, and of all the forts and garrisons in those parts, now in possession of the French, the customs, &c. of the Indians, by Mons. du Quisne. It has also a description of the Canaries, and of Senega and Gambia on the coast of Afric, with several cuts and a map of the Indies, and another of the Canaries. Made English from the Paris edition, 12°. London 1696. Of the French factories in those parts we have no such account; and few better for the bulk, of all other places the author undertakes to speak of.

The voyages and travels of sir John Mandevil, knt. showing the way to the Holy Land and Jerusalem, to the Great Cham, Prester John, India, and other countries, 4°. London 1696. It is needless to say much of this book, as being so universally allowed to be fabulous.

Two journeys to Jerusalem, the first an account of the travels of two English pilgrims, and accidents that befel them in their journey to Jerusalem, Grand Cairo, Alexandria, &c. The second

of 14 Englishmen in 1669, with the antiquities, monuments, and memorable places mentioned in scripture; there are also ancient and modern remarks of the Jewish nation, the description of the Holy Land, captivities of the Jews, what became of the ten tribes, &c. Here is very much promised, but the performance scarce answers, the volume being too small, and looks more like a collection out of some real travels, than any true pilgrimage performed.

Travels through Germany, Bohemia, Swisserland, Holland, and other parts of Europe, describing the most considerable cities and palaces of princes; with historical relations and critical observations, upon ancient medals and inscriptions, by Charles Patin, M. D. of the faculty of Paris, made English and illustrated with copper cuts, 8°. London 1694. For those who are curious in medals this piece will be most acceptable, yet this does not lessen the value of the descriptions and other relations.

A new discovery of a vast country in America extending above 4000 miles between New France and New Mexico, with a description of rivers, lakes, plants, and animals, manners, customs, and languages of the Indians, &c. by L. Hennepin; to which are added new discoveries in North America, and not published in the French edition, 8°. The promise is very great, but there is little or rather no proof of such a vast extent of land, which no man has yet seen, and is all framed upon conjectures, or what is as groundless, idle relations of Indians; the other parts have more in them, yet only what are collections out of better authors.

A late voyage to S. Kilda, the remotest of all the Hebrides or western isles of Scotland; with a history of the island, natural, moral and topographical, containing an account of the people's religion and customs, of the fish, fowl, &c. As also of a late imposter there, pretending to be sent by St. John Baptist. By M. Martin, gent. 8°. London 1698. We have here the only history and account of this island, that ever perhaps appeared in any language: and being such, its reputation ought to hold good, till any better can appear to lessen it.

The history of the buccaniers of America, 8°.

A new account of East-India and Persia in eight letters, being nine years travels, containing observations of the moral, natural and artificial state of those countries, as the government, religion, laws, customs, soil, seasons, diseases, animals, vegetables, manufactures, trade, weights and measures, in the principal places there. By John Fryer, M. D. with maps and tables, London 1698.

A voyage to the East-Indies, giving an account of the isles of Madagascar and Mascarenhas, of Surat, the coast of Malabar, Goa, Gomron, Ormuz, and the coast of Brasil, &c. and of the religion, customs, trade, &c. of the inhabitants, also a treatise of

distempers peculiar to the eastern countries. There is annexed an abstract of Mons. Reneford's history of the East-Indies, with his proposals for improvement of the East-India company; written originally in French, by Mons. Dellon, M. D. 8°. London 1698. This work has been well received both in French and English.

A new voyage and description of the isthmus of America, giving an account of the author's abode there, the form of the country, coasts, hills, rivers, wood, soil, weather, &c. trees, fruit, beasts, birds, fish, &c. the Indian inhabitants, their features, complexion, manners, customs, employments, marriages, feasts, hunting, computation, language, &c. with remarkable occurrences on the South-sea and other places, by Lionel Wafer, with cuts, 8°. London 1698. A work that has been well received by the public.

A new account of North America, as it was lately presented to the French king; containing a more particular account of that vast country, and of the manners and customs of the inhabitants, than has been hitherto published, 8°. London 1698. We have here a French account of those countries, but more particularly what belongs to them, more exact than any other has delivered.

The new atlas, or travels and voyages in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, &c. 8°. London 1699. A little volume, which seems rather some collections out of books and travels, than any real voyage.

An account of a voyage from Archangel in Russia, in the year 1697, of the ship and company wintering near the north cape, in the latitude of 71 degrees: their manner of living, and what they suffered by the extreme cold; also remarkable observations of the climate, country and inhabitants; with a chart describing the place where they lay, land in view, soundings, &c. By Thomas Allison commander of the ship. This is the latest relation we have of any such northerly wintering, and well worth comparing with such others as write of those northern parts.

A relation of two several voyages made into the East-Indies, by Christopher Fryke surgeon, and Christopher Scwartzer, particularly describing those countries that are under the Dutch, 8°. London 1699. There is nothing extraordinary in them.

An account of a Dutch Embassy to the emperor of China, writ by one of the embassador's retinue, fol. It is a translation from the Dutch original, and contains a description of the country, and all places they passed through, with 200 cuts drawn upon the spot; it treats also of the government of China, and manners of the people.

The description of the island of Ceylon by captain Knox. He lived 19 years upon the island, being taken, and kept there all

this while by the Dutch, and had the opportunity of seeing the greatest part, and being informed of the rest by the natives. He gives a particular account of his manner of living, and accidents that befel him till he made his escape, and than treats very fully of all things that relate to the island. The Dutch, who are masters of Ceylon, have thought this account worth translating into their language, and it has found a good reception among them, which must add to its reputation.

Travels to Dalmatia, Greece and the Levant, by Mr. George Wheeler. He travelled with Mr. Spon, who published the same travels in French, but Mr. Wheeler remaining there behind him, has several curiosities that escaped the other, many medals and curious cuts of antiquities; so that his work seems the most complete, or at least both together confirm one another.

Terry's voyage to the East-Indies, begun in the year 1615. 12°. He was chaplain to sir Thomas Roe, embassador to the mogol from K. James the first, and gives an account of some things in that country omitted by sir Thomas in his relation; but a great part of his book is filled up with discourses of his own, very little to the purpose.

An account of several late voyages and discoveries to the south and north, containing sir John Narbrough's voyage through the straits of Magellan, to the coast of Chile, in the year 1669. Capt. Wood's voyage for the discovery of the north-east passage, an. 1676. Capt. Tasman's round Terra Australis, an. 1642, and Frederick Marten's to Spitsberg and Greenland, an. 1671. With a supplement, containing observations and navigations to other northern parts; and an introduction, giving a brief account of several voyages. This collection has generally a good reputation, and seems very well to deserve it.

Collection of original voyages, published by capt. Hack, 8°. It contains Cowley's voyage round the world, which is the same with Dampier's mentioned in the next place; capt. Sharp's voyage into the South-sea: both buccanier voyages. The third is capt. Wood's voyage through the straits of Magellan, which is the same as sir John Narbrough's before mentioned: and the fourth Mr. Roberts's adventures among the corsairs of the Levant; so that there is little new in them, the three first being in other collections, and the last a very indifferent piece.

Dampier's voyages in three volumes, 8°. The first a new voyage round the world, begun an. 1697. It describes the isthmus of America, and several of its coasts and islands, the passage by Tierra del Fuego, the isle of Guam, one of the Ladrones, the Philippines, Formosa, Luconia, Celebes, the cape of Good Hope, and island of S. Helena.

The second volume he calls a supplement to his voyage round the world, where he describes Tonquin, Achen, Malaca, &c.

their product, inhabitants, manners, trade, &c. the countries of Campeche, Yucatan, New Spain in America; and discourses of trade, wind, breezes, storms, seasons, tides, currents of the torrid zone.

The third volume is his voyage to New Holland, which has no great matter of new discovery, but gives an account of the Canary islands, some of those of Cabo Verde, and the town and port of Baya de Totos los Santos in Brasil. All the three volumes have cuts and maps.

A collection of voyages by the Dutch East India company, being three to the north-east, two to the East-Indies, and one to the straits of Magellan. Little can be said in behalf of this work, being no more than what is to be seen in several other collections, 8°.

An historical relation of the island of Ceylon in the East-Indies, &c. illustrated with cuts and a map of the island, fol. The author, who lived long in that country, gives a general description of it, referring the reader to the map; and then the whole natural history.

Lassel's travels through Italy, first printed in one volume, 12°. then in two. He was there four times, and gives a particular and curious account of most things of note there.

Relation of the discovery of the island Madeira, 4°. This is a discovery before it was peopled, and it continued lost again for several years, and has little of certainty.

Gage's survey of the West-Indies, 8°. This book has gained some reputation.

The discoveries of John Lederer in three several marches from Virginia to the west of Carolina, and other parts of the continent, begun in March 1669, and ended in September 1670. 4°. This is a small account of the author's, who was a German, and travelled further up the inland in that part, than any has yet done; is contained in about four sheets, published by sir William Talbot, in which there is much worth observing.

Relation of the travels and captivity of W. Davis, 4°. A small pamphlet of a few sheets.

Account of the captivity of Thomas Phelps at Machaness in Barbary, and his escape. Another small 4°. pamphlet.

The Golden Coast, or description of Guinea, in which are four English voyages to Guinea. A 4°. pamphlet, and has several pretty observations.

Herbert's travels into divers parts of Africa, and Asia the Great, more particularly into Persia and Indostan, fol. These travels have always deservedly had a great reputation, being the best account of those parts written by an Englishman, and not inferior to the best of foreigners. What is peculiar in them, is the excellent description of all antiquities, the curious remarks on them, and the extraordinary accidents which often occur; not

to mention other particulars common in the books of all other travellers, which would be too tedious for this place.

Brown's travels in divers parts of Europe, fol. The author, a doctor of physic, has showed himself excellently qualified for a traveller by this ingenious piece, in which he has omitted nothing worthy the observation of so curious a person, having spent much time in the discovery of European rarities, and that in those parts which are not the common track of travellers, who content themselves with seeing France and Italy, and the Low-Countries; whereas his relation is of Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thessaly, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Friuli; adding to these Germany, the Low-Countries, and a great part of Italy, of all which he has composed a work of great use and benefit.

The voyages and travels of J. Albert de Mandelslo, a gentleman belonging to the embassy sent by the duke of Holstein, to the duke of Moscovy and king of Persia, fol. These are also known by the name of Olearius's travels; the first part, which is of Muscovy and Persia, being altogether his, who was secretary to the aforesaid embassy: but then the following part, which treats of all parts of the East-Indies, is solely Mandelslo's, who left the embassadors and Olearius at Ispahan, and proceeded to view those remoter parts. It is needless to give any other character of this work, than to inform such as are unacquainted with it, that it has generally the reputation of being one of the most accomplished books of travels now extant.

Blunt's travels to the Levant, is a very short account of a journey through Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Bosnia, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Rhodes and Egypt. The whole very concise, and without any curious observations, or any notable descriptions; his account of the religions and customs of those people, only a brief collection of some other travellers, the language mean, and not all of it to be relied on, if we credit others who have writ better.

A description of the present state of Samos, Nicaria, Patmos, and mount Athos; by Jos. Georgirenes, archbishop of Samos, 8°. This prelate resided long as archbishop at Samos, and saw Nicaria, as being a dependance of his diocese; but being weary of that function, he retired to Patmos, where he continued some time, and after visited mount Athos; so that all he delivers of these places, is as an eye-witness, and indeed the most particular account we have of them. The description is very exact, and what he says of the Greek religion may be relied on, as having so much reason to know it. All that can be excepted against, is what he says of the people in Nicaria, conversing at four or five miles distance, which indeed is not very credible. The preface the reader must observe is the translator's, not the author's, which is requisite to be known.

A voyage to Constantinople, by Mons. Grelot, 8°. translated into English by J. Philips. This though perhaps in the relation it may not contain much more than what may be picked out of other travellers who have writ of those parts, yet it exceeds them in fourteen curious cuts, the exactness of which is attested by several travellers that have been at Constantinople, and seen the places they represent; besides that all the ingenious people of Paris gave their approbation of the work, and upon their testimony the king himself having seen the draughts, thought fit to order the author to print it. So that we need not make any scruple to reckon it among the best books of travels; for as far as it reaches, which is to Constantinople, the Propontis, Hellespont, and Dardanels, with the places adjoining, the remarks of the religion, worship, government, manners, &c. of the Turks, are singular.

A description of the islands and inhabitants of Færoe, being 17 islands, subject to the king of Denmark, in 62 deg. of north lat. written in Danish and translated into English, 12°. The description is very particular and curious, and indeed more than could well be expected of those miserable northern islands; but the author was provost of the churches there, and had time to gather such an account, which is somewhat enlarged with philosophical observations on whirlpools and other secrets of nature. His character of the people is very favourable, and savours more of affection than sincerity; but the worst part of this small book, is first a collection of some romantic stories of the ancient inhabitants of Færoe; and in the next place, what is yet worse, a parcel of insignificant tales of spectres and illusions of Satan, as the author calls them.

Josselin's two voyages to New England, 8°. In the first of these there is little besides the sea journal and common observations, unless it be an account of necessaries for planters. The second is a very particular description of all the country, its beasts, fowl, fish, plants, and trees, the manners and customs of the English inhabitants, the time of their settling there, with many other matters well worth observing. Of the Indians he has very little or nothing. The relation is curious and faithful, but in many places, where the author makes his own remarks, there are the oddest uncouth expressions imaginable, which look very conceited; but that is only as to his style. He concludes with what he calls chronological observations of America, much whereof no way relates to that part of the world, and the rest is of no great use, especially for that there are several errours in it.

Josselin's New England rarities, a very small 8°. is a more particular account of the fowl, beasts, fishes, serpents, insects, plants, stones, minerals, metals, and earth of that country, than he has given in his voyages.

The adventures of M. T. S. an English merchant, taken prisoner by the Turks of Argier, and carried into the inland country of Afric, 12°. Containing a short account of Argier in the year 1648, of the country about it, and more particularly of the city Tremizen, where the author resided three years, going abroad with several parties which his master commanded, and relates some love intrigues he had with moorish women, as also very strange metamorphoses of men and other creatures turned into stone. The relation is plain and without artifice. At the end are added directions how to turn it out at the straits mouth with a westerly wind.

Wyche's relation of the river Nile, its source and current, a small 8°. This is only a translation of a Portuguese jesuit's account who lived in Ethiopia some years, being the same that is given by F. Alvarez and others of the society who lived there, and no doubt is very authentic, as delivered by an eye-witness, who was a person of probity. Other things relating to the unicorn, rhinoceros, bird of paradise, pelican, and phœnix, he writes upon hearsay, which deserve not the same credit, particularly when he says, that the rhinoceros has two horns, which we have seen in England to be otherwise; and of the great rarity of pelicans, which are also sufficiently known. But these are trifles; he discourses well of the reason of calling the Ethiopian emperor Prester John, on the Red-sea, and of the palm or cocoa-tree.

Ray's travels, or his observations topographical, moral, and physiological, made in a journey through part of the Low-Countries, Germany, Italy, and France. He throughout it gives a very brief, yet ingenious description of every town he saw; observes some particulars of the customs and dispositions of the people; and curiously lays before us any thing that is rare in itself, or not known to us: but in his account of mineral waters, and of foreign plants, as one so understanding in those particulars, he outdoes any thing that could be expected from other travellers. He makes an excuse for the language, which he need not, it being well enough for plain notes of a traveller. Venice he describes more particularly than any other place; but of all universities, as being himself a scholar, he says more than of other towns. Of France not much, as having made but a short stay there. He closes his work with a Latin catalogue of plants he observed abroad, which either do not grow or are very rare in England. He has inserted Willoughby's travels in Spain.

Thus have we run through all the books of travels of any note now extant, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, and English, placing each as near as we could in its own original language; and therefore those who miss any in the English, may look for them in the other languages, where they will certainly find them, if they were not originally in that tongue. We have not made any particular catalogue of Dutch, because they are not very many, and all of

them will be found, as they were translated into other languages. As for the characters given of books, in some places it is quoted where they were had; but if such authority be not quoted, it is because the books have been purposely perused and examined, where such account could not be found of them. Lastly, the reader must observe, that in this catalogue, there is no mention made of any of the travels contained in this collection, which would be a needless repetition, they being all mentioned and characterised in the general preface.

An Account of the Books contained in this Collection.

THE first volume begins with Navarette's historical, political, moral and religious account of China. The author was a dominican friar sent over by his order in the year 1646, to exercise his ecclesiastical function in the Philippine islands. But there finding no great encouragement, he ventured over into China, where he spent several years in the service of the christians he found there, learning the Chinese language, reading their histories, studying the points in controversy among the missionaries, and thoroughly qualifying himself to give a just account of that mighty monarchy. He wrote in Spanish, and was never translated till now. Those that have read him in the original give a high commendation of his learning, judgment, and sincerity; for in handling the particulars mentioned in the title of his book, he delivers nothing but upon the best grounds, as an eye-witness, where he could be so, or else upon the authority of Chinese histories, which he searched and very well understood, or upon the information of credible persons; ever mentioning on which of these the reader is to rely for the truth of what he relates. He often quotes his second volume, calling it, of controversies, the main subject of it being those points still in dispute among the missioners; this book (as we are informed) was printed, but by the interest and artifice of the jesuits, the edition was seized by the inquisition before it was published, so that very few copies of it got abroad.

He gives us an exact history of the empire of China, both ancient and modern; a description of the country and people, perfect in all circumstances; a genuine translation of the morals of Confucius their great philosopher; a full view of the Chinese learning, and a judicious explication of their opinions in religious matters: in which he is so careful and particular, that no other author whatsoever has given so complete an account of the religion of that nation. Nor does he confine himself to China, but in his

way thither delivers many curious observations he made in his voyage to New-Spain, and gives a very good account of that country, as also of the Philippine islands (where he made a considerable stay), of the islands lying about them, and of other parts of India; and the accidents he met with in his return home, which was in the year 1673, after he had been abroad 26 years. On his arrival in Europe he repaired to the court of Rome, upon the matter of the controversies between the missionaries; where he was treated with all the honour due to a person of his merit; and soon after his return to Spain, he was promoted to an archbishopric in Hispaniola.

II. Baumgarten, whose travels we have here into Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, and Syria, was a German nobleman, as appears by his life prefixed to his travels. His journal was not published by himself, but after his death collected from his own and his servant's observations, both of them having kept diaries of all they saw; and therefore are two several witnesses for the truth of what is delivered. Here is not only a description of the countries above mentioned, but a great deal of their ancient history inserted; and what renders the relation yet more agreeable, is the great variety of occurrences in this voyage well worth the relating. In particular, we are obliged to him for his account of the discipline and manners of that strange and unparalleled society of men, the Mamalukes, who for a long time held the dominion of Egypt, and of whom there is scarce to be found any-where else a tolerable relation. His observations on the lives of the christian religious men in those parts will be delightful to the curious reader, as will also his remarks on the superstitions of the Mamalukes, Arabs, and other infidels. This author travelled in the year 1507. His journal never appeared before in English. The Latin copy here translated was corrected by Joseph Scaliger's own hand.

III. Henry Brawern and Elias Herckemann were sent to the kingdom of Chili by the Dutch West-India company in the years 1642 and 1643. Brawern was ordered to endeavour to settle among the Indians of that country, who were then revolted from the Spaniards, as may appear by the advertisement before the voyage; but he died there, and so that design came to nothing. The main thing in this journal is an account of the voyage, and a description of the island of Castro lying off the south coast of Chili, as also of the river of Baldivia in that kingdom.

IV. The next tract in order in this collection is a description of the island of Formosa near the coast of China, where the Dutch had a considerable fort. Of the author we know no more, but that he was minister to the Dutch in that island. The description is but short, yet contains the most material points usually treated of in such relations.

V. The remarks on the empire of Japan give a particular account of the revenues of the emperor and all the great men of

that empire. The rest of it may almost as soon be read as characterized, and is therefore left to the reader's censure.

VI. Captain John Monck's voyage into the northern parts, was performed by order of Christian IV. king of Denmark, in the years 1619 and 1620. The particular preface to it mentions the most material points, which therefore need not be repeated here. What may be added concerning the captain is, that he was one of the ablest seamen of his time; that he had excellent natural parts; was of a bold and daring spirit, proper to attempt those dangerous discoveries: and hardy to endure all the rigours of those frozen climates: but what is his greatest commendation in this place is, that he was a man of truth and integrity, as may appear by his narrative, in which all that have followed him could find nothing to contradict.

VII. To Beauplan's description of Ukraine so particular a preface is prefixed, that little more can be added. In general, the reader will find many things both moral and natural, that are rare and remarkable. He lived in that country about the year 1640. He was excellently qualified to give this description, being a mathematician and an engineer; and he has performed it so well, that nothing seems to be wanting but the map, which he tells us was seized with his papers by the king of Poland.

VIII. The two voyages to Congo in Afric were performed, the first by Michael Angelo of Gattina and Denis de Carli of Piacenza, capuchins and missioners into that kingdom, in the year 1666. The first of these died there, after he had sent these particulars in letters to his friends. The other returned into Italy, where he composed a small book from which this is translated. It begins with their voyage from Italy to Lisbon, and thence to Brasil, which introduces a brief account of that country; and thence sailing over to Afric, treats of the Portuguese town of Loando on that coast, of the behaviour and manners of the people, their way of travelling, the product of the country, of the several princes, the proceedings of those and other missioners, the state of religion; and lastly, remarks in the author's travels through Spain and France in his return home. More particulars whereof may be seen in the translator's preface before the voyage.

IX. The other voyage to the same country was performed by F. Jerome Merolla da Sorrento in the year 1682, who was also a missioner. The vessel he went in being by contrary winds carried to the southward of the cape of Good Hope, the father delivers all that is remarkable in running along that southern coast of Afric, till his arrival at the port of Angola. Then he enters upon his business, with the discovery of Congo, and first missions to those parts; describes the river Zaire, relates the proceedings of the missioners, the superstitions and customs of the blacks, something of the wars betwixt the Portuguese and the blacks, and of the attempts of the Dutch and English to breed enmity betwixt those

two nations. He describes the beasts, birds, fruits, and plants of Congo, and has many curious things not taken notice of by the former missionaries.

X. The first volume concludes with sir Thomas's Roe's journal, a valuable piece. He was sent embassador by king James the first to the great mogul, in 1615, at the charge of the East-India company, to settle peace and commerce. Being in that high post, he was the better able to give us a true account of the court of that mighty monarch, to show us all the customs and manners of it, and to instruct us in their policies, arts and maxims of state, which common travellers are not allowed to pry into. There is no cause to suspect the truth of his relation, because his negotiations in Turkey, where he was embassador, lately printed, show the extent of his genius, which was universal; and for integrity, that he was one of the honestest as well as ablest ministers that ever was employed by any court; and in this journal he had an eye particularly to serve those who had business to transact in India, and were to have business there in all future time. For a fuller account of this work we refer to the preface before the journal itself.

I. The second volume commences with the voyages and travels of Mr. John Nieuhoff, a Dutchman, and employed by the Dutch company to the East and West-Indies. They are divided into three parts. The first to Brasil, an. 1640, in which he went merchant supercargo to a ship of the West-India company. His description of Brasil is so exact and full, that he has left nothing for the diligence of those who came after him; for besides the general map, there are draughts of the towns of Arecite and Olinda, and cuts of all the strange beasts, birds, serpents, insects, trees, plants, and of the Indians themselves, all taken upon the spot. To which he adds the transactions in the war betwixt the Dutch and Portuguese in that country, he being there in the height of it, that is, from 1640 till 1649.

The second part contains the author's travels in the East-Indies, begun in the year 1653. In the way thither he describes the islands of Cabo Verde, giving draughts of two of them, called S. Anthony and S. Vincent; and then a map of the cape of Good Hope. Thence he sails to Amboyna, of which, and of the Molucco islands, as also of Formosa, he leaves nothing worth relating untouched. The same he performs from China all along the coast of India and Persia; so plainly representing all things observable or strange there, that with the help of his cuts we seem to be conversing with the people of those parts, to see all their towns and living creatures, and to be thoroughly acquainted with their habits, customs and superstitions. But when he comes to Batavia, the metropolis of the Dutch dominions in the east, he there spares no labour or cost to express the greatness of that city; and this not only with words, but with abundance of fine

draughts, representing, besides the town and harbour, the church, the markets, the town-house, the hospital, and many other places and structures. All the habits of those parts are also represented. In short, the whole work contains eighty-two cuts, which being all drawn to truth, and not fancy, illustrate the work, and render it extraordinary valuable. All this is interwoven with discourses of the wars betwixt the Dutch and Indians in several parts; and many remarks of their history, both political and natural.

The third part is a voyage to the east-side of Afric, in the year 1672, which is very short and imperfect; Mr. Nieuhoff being unfortunately killed in the island of Madagascar by the natives.

II. After Nieuhoff follow Smith's adventures, travels and observations, beginning with his travels in the Low Countries, France and Italy, proceeding thence to the wars betwixt the Turks and Transilvanians, where the author served; and being taken prisoner and carried into Tartary, he speaks somewhat of that country: making his escape from the Tartars, he crossed all Europe, and passed into Barbary: hence he went to Virginia, the Summer Islands, and New England, and has left us the history of the English settlements in those places, and their state from the year 1624 to 1629, thence he passed to the Leeward Islands, of which he likewise gives an account.

III. Next to Smith's adventures the reader will find two journals of men left in the frozen regions of Greenland and Spitzbergen, to winter there, and make some observations on those countries.

The first of these is of seven sailors, who voluntarily consented to stay in the isle of Maurice, on the coast of Greenland. These kept an exact diary, setting down the wind, weather, and all other particulars they could observe, from the twenty-sixth of August 1633, till the twenty-ninth of April 1634. The method is plain, and such as might be expected from sailors; and as there is nothing in the relation that seems incredible, so neither is there any ground to call the truth of it in question, because they all died one after another, and left this journal behind them without any alteration: and doubtless as they felt themselves declining, they would have no inclination to impose on the world.

The second journal is of seven other Dutch sailors, left to winter at Spitzbergen in the year 1634, where they also kept a diary from the eleventh of September till the twenty-sixth of February, when being spent with the scurvy, and their limbs benumbed with the winter's cold, they could not help themselves, and like the others were all found dead at the return of the Dutch fleet in 1635.

IV. The next is a very brief relation of a shipwreck in Spitzbergen in 1646, and of the taking up of four of the men who escaped, after a wonderful manner; yet three of them died soon after, and only one returned home.

V. The descriptions of Iceland and Greenland were written about the year 1645, by M. la Peyrere, a learned Frenchman, author of the book about the Præ-Adamites, secretary to the French embassy at Copenhagen, at the request of the ingenious Mons. de la Mothe la Vayer, and sent to him: of Iceland, a country long inhabited, though so cold and northerly, he delivers something of ancient history, besides the description of the land, the manners of the people, and other things remarkable. In Greenland he follows much the same method, and both of them are well worthy to be read with attention, as delivering one of the most accomplished narratives we have of those parts, and esteemed as such by Mons. de la Mothe la Vayer, who was a very competent judge.

VI. The next in order is captain Thomas James's voyage, an. 1631, for the discovery of the north-west passage into the South-sea: setting sail in May, he ran into the latitude of 63 degrees and upwards. 'Tis very observable throughout the voyage, that we shall scarce meet with so continual a series of storms, and all sorts of hardships, miseries and calamities, as this captain run through; who after struggling till September with tempests, cold and uninhabited shores, at last was driven upon a desert frozen island, and there forced to winter in miserable distress. The account he gives of the extremity of the cold in those quarters, and his observations on it, are curious, and were very useful to Mr. Boyle, in the experiments he made about cold. But the general esteem his relation is in among the ingenious, will sufficiently recommend it. He returned safe home with most of his crew.

VII. The Muscovite embassador's journey by land from Moscow to China in 1645 is so short that it requires little to be said of it, but that it describes the way from Moscow to Peking, and shows us that the city is the same with the so much talked of and little known Cambalu, mistakenly supposed to be in Tartary. This embassador being never admitted to audience, could learn nothing of the Chinese court, and therefore does not pretend to inform us of any thing that relates to it.

VIII. Wagner's travels in Brasil and the East-Indies about 1633, which are annexed to this embassy, are as short, and may so soon be read over, that it is needless to give a character of them.

IX. The life of Christopher Columbus has a short preface to it, partly the author's, and partly the translator's, which is sufficient to inform the reader both of the contents of the book, and the value of it above others that treat of the same subject. And indeed nothing can be described more authentic, if we will give credit to original papers, and those from so good a hand as the admiral himself and his own son, who bore part with him in some of his enterprises. But we must not omit to observe, that

under the title of his life, is contained the narration of all that was done in the discovery of the West-Indies in his time, about 1492, besides abundance of curious remarks, scarce to be found in any other author that writes upon this subject.

X. Greaves's account of the pyramids, needs little to be said of it. The universal approbation it has received is a greater character than can be here given of it; the judicious Mons. Thevenot set such a value upon it, that he translated it into French. In a word, it is the most accomplished narrative we have of those wonderful piles, and may spare all other travellers the trouble of writing of them. He has said all that can be expected; he instructs us who were the founders of the pyramids, the time of erecting them, the motive and design of them, and then describes them exactly, and gives draughts of them.

XI. His Roman foot and denarius added to his pyramids, is another piece of excellent literature, to give light into the weights and measures of the ancients.

XII. Christopher Borri's account of Cochin-China, where he lived about the year 1620, closes the second volume. It is short, but contains many curious things, being full of matter, without superfluity of words to swell it to a volume.

I. The historical relation of the kingdom of Chili, by Alonzo de Ovalle, about the year 1646, has the first place in the third volume. It is the only good account of that kingdom; the author, being a jesuit, inserted the relations of several miracles in this work, which the translator has in great measure retrenched; for the rest, his veracity is unquestioned. The author himself is so modest, as to excuse any fault that may be found with his work, alleging its being written at Rome, where he was procurator for those of his order in Chili; and, being so far from home, ill provided with papers and all materials for composing a history of this sort: but whosoever reads it, will find more ground for commendation than need of excuse, nothing of the kind being more complete, full and accurate. Something might be here said as to the particulars contained in this book, but that the author and translator have done it already in two several prefaces before the book. The translator gives the author and his work that honourable character they deserve. The author in his preface sums up the contents of his book, declares how sincerely he has dealt, in order to deliver nothing but the truth; gives his reasons for what he says relating to Peru and Mexico, and lastly demonstrates how this work may be diverting and useful to all sorts of readers.

II. After Ovalle, follow sir William Monson's naval tracts. Sir William was a gentleman well descended, but of small fortune, as he confesses, which made him take to the sea, where he served many years in several capacities, till merit raised him to the degree of an admiral, first under queen Elizabeth, and then under king James

and king Charles the first. Being bred from his youth at sea, and being a man of excellent natural parts, there is not the least shadow of reason to make a doubt of his capacity in maritime affairs. His integrity will sufficiently appear to any that reads him, for he every-where carries such a visible ingenuity in what he delivers, that it plainly appears to be written with a true zeal for the public, and without prejudice or affectation. The excellent advice he gives to his eldest son, is a good instance of his virtuous inclination; and the small estate he declares he leaves him, after so many toils and dangers, plainly shows the honesty of his life. Thus much as to the author; as to his tracts there is a preface before them, to which the reader is referred for other particulars not touched upon in this place.

The first book is chiefly a collection of every year's actions in the war against Spain, on our own and the Spanish coasts, and in the West-Indies. Here the reader is not to expect a full narrative of these affairs, for many of them are so brief that no more is said of them, but the force they are undertaken with, and the success of the enterprise; yet the design is to show the reasons, either why they miscarried, or why so little advantage was made where they succeeded. In some he is more particular than in others; and what perhaps may be still of use, he at last sets down the abuses in the fleet, and the methods for redressing them.

His second book continues somewhat of the method of the first, beginning with fatherly instructions to his son; whence he proceeds to the peace with Spain, which put an end to the warlike naval actions, yet not to his command, being employed against pirates. He inveighs against the Dutch, shows the ill management of a design against Algier, and makes very notable remarks on the attempt upon Cadiz by king Charles the first, proposing methods how Spain might have been much more endamaged, with other particulars about the shipping of England, and sovereignty of the seas.

The third book treats only of the admiralty, that is, of all things relating to the royal navy, from the lord high admiral to the meanest persons employed ashore, and to the cabin-boys at sea; and from a complete fleet to the smallest vessel and part of it, with instructions for all officers, the size of all sorts of guns, all sorts of allowances on board the king's ships, and excellent directions for fighting at sea; an account of all the harbours in these three kingdoms, with many more curious matters accurately handled.

The fourth book is of another nature from any of the rest, being a brief collection of Spanish and Portuguese discoveries and conquests in Africa, Asia and America, with some voyages round the world, and somewhat of English and French plantations.

The fifth book is full of projects or schemes, for managing affairs at sea to the best advantage for the nation.

This sixth and last treats of fishing, to show the infinite addition of wealth and strength it would bring to England; with all instructions necessary for putting such a design in execution.

III. This third volume ends with the description of the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, and the island of Ceylon in the East-Indies, about the year 1649, by Philip Baldæus, a Dutch minister, who lived several years in those parts. The preface to the work gives a general idea of it, and of the author, to which the reader may recur to avoid repetition; but for his further information let it be observed, that he first gives a brief account of the actions, and conquests of the Portugueses in those parts, and then an ample and full relation how the Dutch expelled them; where we shall find more particulars concerning those affairs than have been hitherto made public in English, which is a very considerable piece of history. And though he only promises to treat of the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel on the continent, yet to lead the more methodically into it, he begins with the description of Cambaya, the treaties of the Dutch with the great mogul, the trade of several European nations along that coast; and leads us even into the Red Sea, describing many places of note upon those shores, and even up the inland country, acquainting the reader, at the same time, with all that is requisite to be known of the mahometans in those parts. Hence he descends to treat of all the great peninsula on this side Ganges, of its product, the rivers Nile and Ganges, and more particularly than any other has done of the Malabar language. After this he proceeds to Ceylon, where he enlarges more than upon the rest, as having lived longest there, and concludes with a large account of the idolatry of the East-India pagans.

I. The first voyage in the fourth volume is that of Dr. Francis Gemelli Careri round the world, a piece of extraordinary curiosity, altogether new, and but lately published in Italian in six octavo volumes, and now first in English, the author returning home from his long travels but at the end of the year 1698. His learning, as being a doctor of the civil law, and his excellent natural qualifications, have rendered his work so complete, that indeed it seems to be one of the most excellent pieces of this nature now extant. Nothing can be more diverting, as having that extraordinary variety which the whole compass of the earth affords, and that in the noblest and best parts of it. An air of truth appears throughout it, there being nothing but what is told with much modesty, and what is probable and natural enough in itself; besides that the most part of what is here related may be found dispersed in many other travellers, who saw but pieces of what Gemelli took a view of entire. His remarks and ob-

servations are extraordinary curious, because he was not only capable to make them, but had leisure, that being his only business, and money to carry him through. In fine, he has an excellent brief collection of history annexed to every part of his travels, which informs the reader of the ancient as well as the present state of the countries there spoken of. He is exact for the most part in setting down the distances of places, a great help to future travellers. His account of plants and fruits peculiar to the East and West-Indies, with the draughts and representations of them, is a good help to natural history, together with his other descriptions, and his observations of customs, manners, habits, laws, religions, and all other things in those vast regions he passed through. In particular, what he says in that part of his voyage which is from Aquapulco till his leaving the continent of America, is, besides what is in Gage, almost the only account we have of the inland parts of that continent. There is a preface to the work which gives a full account of it.

II. An account of the shipwreck of a Dutch vessel on the coast of the isle of Quelpaert, which happened in the year 1653, together with the description of the kingdom of Corea. This was originally writ in Dutch by one that calls himself the secretary of the ship then lost, who lived thirteen years in those countries, and at last made his escape with some others. It was thought worthy to be translated into French, and now lastly into English. 'Tis the only account yet extant of the kingdom of Corea, which lies on the east of China, being a peninsula joined to that mighty empire by a small neck of land: and it is no wonder we should be so very much strangers to this country, since besides its remoteness, the author tells us they admit of no strangers; or if any have the misfortune as he had, to fall into their hands, they never return home, unless they can make as wonderful an escape as he did. The relation itself has a particular preface annexed to it by the translator, to which the reader is referred.

III. Next follows a relation of a voyage from Spain to Paraguay, about 1691, by F. Antony Sepp, and F. Antony Behme, German jesuits; with a description of that country, the remarkable things in it, and residences of the missioners. We have a particular account of their voyage; they landed at Buenos Ayres, of which town they give a very good description, and of the great river of Plate which runs by it; and proceeding up into the country from Buenos Ayres, they treat distinctly of the several cantons of Paraguay.

IV. After this is placed a fragment translated out of Spanish, concerning the islands of Salomon in the South-sea, discovered by the Spaniards about 1695, but hitherto never conquered or inhabited by any European nation. It was inserted in Thevenot's collection of voyages. Both the beginning and conclusion are wanting; which, it seems, have perished through the negligence

of those intrusted with the original papers. However, by good fortune, as much has been preserved, as serves to give us some knowledge of those islands, and of the nature and disposition of their inhabitants. And because so little is known of those places, this fragment was judged not unworthy a place in this collection.

V. The history of the provinces of Paraguay, Tucumany, Rio de la Plata, Parana, Guaira, Urvaica, and Chili, was written in Latin by F. Nicholas del Techo a jesuit. The antecedent account of Paraguay, by F. Sepp, has lightly touched upon part of this subject, but that only relates to one of the provinces here named; whereas this extends from the North to the South-sea, and includes all that vast tract of land in America, lying south of Peru and Brasil. The greatest part of these countries have not been so fully described, nor the manners and customs of those savage Indians so fully made known, as they are by this author, who spent no less than twenty-five years among them. But to avoid repetitions, what more is performed in this work may be seen in the particular preface before it.

VI. Pelham's wonderful preservation of eight men left a whole winter in Greenland 1630, is the sixth treatise in this volume. The preservation was indeed very remarkable, especially considering how unprovided they were left of all necessaries for wintering in such a dismal country, it being accidental and no way designed. This narrative has nothing of art or language, being left by an ignorant sailor, who, as he confesses, was in no better a post than gunner's mate, and that to a Greenland fisher; and therefore the reader can expect no more than bare matter of fact, delivered in a homely style, which it was not fit to alter, lest it might breed a jealousy that something had been changed more than the bare language.

VII. Dr. John Baptist Morin's journey to the mines in Hungary, about 1650, is a very short relation of those mines, the ore they afford, the damps, the springs in them, the miners, the manner of discharging the water, and other particulars relating to them.

VIII. Ten-Rhyne's account of the Cape of Good Hope, about 1673, and of the Hottentots, the natives of that country, is very curious. After a short description of the cape and table mountain, he describes the birds, beasts, fishes, insects, and plants found in that part of the world; and then succinctly treats of people, their persons, garments, dwellings, furniture, disposition, manners, way of living, and making war, traffic, sports, religion, magistrates, laws, marriages, children, trades, physic, and language.

IX. The fourth volume concludes with captain Richard Bolland's draught of the straits of Gibraltar, in 1675, and his observations on its currents.

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